THE COLLECTED WORKS OF MAHATMA GANDHI

XIII

(January 1915 - October 1917)



ON ARRIVAL IN INDIA: 1915

THE COLLECTED WORKS OF
MAHATMA GANDHI

XIII
(January 1915 - October 1917)

सत्यमेव जयते

THE PUBLICATIONS DIVISION
MINISTRY OF INFORMATION AND BROADCASTING
GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

November 1964 (Agrahayana 1886)

PUBLISHED BY THE DIRECTOR, THE PUBLICATIONS DIVISION, DELHI-6
AND PRINTED IN INDIA BY JIVANJI D. DESAI, NAVAJIVAN PRESS,
AHMEDABAD-14

PREFACE

This volume, the first of the Indian period, covers the years 1915 and 1916 and the first nine months of 1917. It opens with Gandhiji's landing in Bombay on January 9, 1915 and closes with the end of the Champaran struggle.

Gandhiji had accepted Gokhale's advice that he should plunge into no hurried programme of action but should observe the Indian scene and study Indian conditions for a year before he expressed himself on any public issue. He felt bound by this "compact of silence" for one year and spent practically the whole of 1915 touring the country, meeting leaders and exchanging views with them. His *Diary* for the year, reproduced in this volume, gives a detailed account of his movements and of his contacts with personalities like Rabindranath Tagore and Mahatma Munshiram, the Swami Shraddhanand of later years.

Having taken the earliest opportunity to pay a visit to his family in Saurashtra, Gandhiji turned his attention to the practical problem of planning a way of life for himself and his associates which would continue the Phœnix tradition. The ideal of a rigorous moral discipline was as much a personal imperative with him as it was essential for the success of his programme for the application of moral force in solving public issues. In May 1915, an Ashram was founded at Kochrab, on the outskirts of Ahmedabad. This was intended to be a centre for training dedicated servants of the nation and the disciplines to which the inmates were to subject themselves are set out in the Draft Constitution (pp. 91-8), which lays down seriatim Gandhiji's whole programme to cover the different spheres of life, social, economic, religious and educational.

Having founded the Ashram, Gandhiji's next task was to educate the public in his ideals, in the philosophy of satyagraha and its application to the specific problems of India. He approached his task more in the manner of a journalist, in the best sense of the term, than that of a philosopher expounding a system in the abstract. He took every opportunity to mingle with the people, high and low, and put his ideas before them in the manner best suited to the occasion. The day after he landed in India, at a meeting of Gujaratis, held to honour him, he put one of his cherished ideas into action, namely, that Indians should use among

themselves one of their own languages instead of English. In almost everything he said or wrote thereafter, he dwelt on one or more of the requirements of a healthy and well-ordered public life. Among the most notable utterances in this volume are the much-discussed speech at the opening of the Benares Hindu University (pp. 210-6) and the carefully prepared discourses at Madras on Swadeshi (pp. 219-25) and at Allahabad on Economic *v.* Moral Progress (pp. 310-7).

It was, however, the problem of education which exercised him most; it is pre-eminently as an educationist that he appears in this volume. He saw that, if India was to remain herself and retain her creative vitality, the educational system would have to be radically recast so as to reduce the emphasis on book-learning and dethrone English from the central position it had usurped. His ideas on the subject are set out in some detail in his correspondence from Champaran with friends in Ahmedabad and the prospectus of the National School (pp. 332-4), but in a general way he touched upon the issue almost every time he had occasion to address students.

Gandhiji had left South Africa, but the country was very much in his mind. "Letter to J. B. Petit" (pp. 107-13) contains not only a detailed account of the Passive Resistance Fund, but also a brief resumé of the satyagraha campaign in South Africa, its limitations and achievements, what had been gained in the settlement of 1914 and what still remained to be secured. His continued interest in the welfare of people there is also revealed in the letters to West, Miss Schlesin and Lazarus. Of all the problems of South Africa, the one over which he was most seriously exercised was the system of indenture, "an evil which cannot be mended but can only be ended". After the Anti-Indenture Resolution at the Lucknow Congress in December 1916, he intensified the attack on the system, demanding stoppage of emigration before May 31, 1917, in meeting after meeting in Ahmedabad, Bombay, Surat, Karachi, Calcutta. The Viceroy conceded the demand.

As regards internal politics, Gandhiji retained his faith in British statesmanship and believed that all that was needed to activate it was sufficient pressure of public opinion. If he expressed himself in no uncertain terms against terrorist methods, it was because of this faith in the British no less than on ethical grounds. He lent his support to the Congress-League scheme of reforms and helped to mobilize public opinion in its favour (pp. 528-9).

The struggle in Champaran was informed with this same faith in the sense of justice of the British. He was drawn into it more or less accidentally, and looked upon it more as a humanitarian mission than as a political campaign. All the same, he was prepared for active satyagraha if it was forced on him. He was served with an order to leave the District, but this he refused to obey. Making a statement in Court on April 18, 1917 (pp. 374-5), he defined for the first time in India the moral basis of disobedience to authority, "to submit without protest to the penalty of disobedience . . . not for want of respect for lawful authority, but in obedience of the higher law of our being—the voice of conscience". This first satyagraha on Indian soil was a complete success. In a statement to the Press on April 21, Gandhiji announced : "The proceedings are withdrawn under instructions from Government. Official assistance during the conduct of my inquiry has been promised and I feel grateful to Government . . . ." "Report on Condition of Ryots in Champaran" (pp. 385 90), in its painstakingly careful study of all the facts and scrupulously fair presentation of them, illustrates the true spirit of satyagraha; it is a document at once dignified and conciliatory, making the minimum demands but insisting on immediate action. He put the planters on their honour as Englishmen. "I have entered upon my mission in the hope that they as Englishmen born to enjoy the fullest personal liberty and freedom will not fail to rise to their status and will not begrudge the *raiyats* the same measure of liberty and freedom." (p. 390) He did not at first succeed with the planters, but he did succeed with the Government. An enquiry committee was appointed, with himself as one of the members. In the deliberations of the committee, Gandhiji had to fight every inch of the ground and do hard bargaining to secure the interests of the ryots. His conciliatory approach was rewarded and the committee's report was signed unanimously on October 3. Gandhiji had thus achieved his aim to "promote peace between the planters and the *raiyats* so as to secure to the *raiyats* the freedom and dignity that should belong to all mankind" (p. 424).

Gandhiji cultivated contacts with public figures, Tilak, Mrs. Besant, Lala Lajpatrai, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and members of the Servants of India Society in Poona, and gathered co-workers round him, Vinoba, Mashruwala, Mahadev Desai, Rajendra Prasad, Kripalani, Kalelkar, Jamnalal Bajaj, C. F. Andrews and others. This volume has its full share of private letters, to these as well as other persons, more relaxed and informal than his writings and public utterances. The letters to Miss

Esther Faering, which begin in this volume, proceed from a plane to which he turned again and again for refreshment and strength. He found and gave comfort in confiding: "My faith has saved me . . . Love must be patient and humble."

NOTE TO THE READER

In reproducing English material, every endeavour has been made to adhere strictly to the original. Obvious typographical errors have been corrected and words abbreviated in the text have generally been spelt out. Variant spellings of names and of some Indian words like *raiyat* have, however, been retained as in the original.

Matter in square brackets has been supplied by the Editors. Quoted passages, where these are in English, have been set up in small type and printed with an indent. Indirect reports of speeches and passages which are not by Gandhiji have also been set up in small type.

While translating from Gujarati or Hindi, efforts have been made to achieve fidelity and also readability in English. Where translations were available, these have been used with minimum necessary changes to bring them into conformity with the original.

The date of an item has been indicated at the top right-hand corner; if the original is undated, the inferred date is printed within square brackets, giving reasons where necessary. The date given at the end of an item alongside the source is that of publication.

In the source-line, the symbol S.N. stands for documents available in the Sabarmati Sangrahalaya, Ahmedabad; G.N. refers to those available in the Gandhi Smarak Nidhi and Sangrahalaya, New Delhi; C.W. denotes those secured by the Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi.

References to Volume I of this series are to the August 1958 edition. References to *An Autobiography or The Story of My Experiments with Truth* cite only the Part and Chapter in view of the varying pagination in different editions.

The Appendices provide background material relevant to the text. A list of sources and a chronology for the period covered by the volume are given at the end.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

For material in this volume, we are indebted to the Sabarmati Ashram Preservation and Memorial Trust and Sangrahalaya, the Navajivan Trust and the Gujarat Vidyapith Granthalaya, Ahmedabad; the Gandhi Smarak Nidhi and Sangrahalaya, New Delhi; National Archives of India, New Delhi; National Library, Calcutta; Rabindra Sadana, Viswabharati, Shantiniketan; the Servants of India Society, Poona; the office of the History of the Freedom Movement, Bombay; the District Deputy Collector, Porbunder and the Government of Bihar; Shri Chhaganlal Gandhi, Ahmedabad; Shri Narandas Gandhi, Rajkot; Smt. Sushilabehn Gandhi, Phoenix, Durban; Smt. Radhabehn Choudhri, Calcutta; Smt. Rajmohini Rudra, Allahabad; Shri V. G. Saraiya; Shri Ramanlal Saraiya; Shri Pramod Virchand Shah; Shri Revashankar Sodha; Shri C. K. Bhatt; Shri Valji Govindji Desai; Mr. H. S. L. Polak; Mr. A. H. West; the publishers of the books — *Amaranatha Jha: A Memorial Volume*, *Bapujini Shital Chhayaman*, *Bapuni Prasadi*, *Gandhijini Sadhana*, *Letters of Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri*, *Life of Vinoba*, *Mahadev Desai's Early Life*, *Mahatma: Life of Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi*, *Mahatma Gandhi*, *Mahatma Gandhi: His Life, Writings & Speeches*, *Mahatma Gandhini Vicharsrishti*, *Majhi Jivan Katha*, *My Dear Child*, *Panchaven Putrako Bapuke Ashirvad*, *Satyagraha in Champaran*, *Select Documents on Mahatma Gandhi's Movement in Champaran* and *Speeches and Writings of Mahatma Gandhi*; the publishers of the reports listed in the Sources; and the following newspapers and journals: *The Amrita Bazar Patrika*, *The Ashram*, *The Bengalee*, *The Bombay Chronicle*, *Buddhi Prakash*, *Gujarat Mitra ane Gujarat Darpan*, *Gujarati*, *The Hindu*, *Indian Opinion*, *The Indian Review*, *The Indian Social Reformer*, *Kathiawar Times*, *Kheda Vartaman*, *The Leader*, *The Madras Mail*, *The Mahratta*, *The Modern Review*, *New India*, *The Pioneer*, *Prajabandhu*, *Pratap*, *Samalochak*, *Satdharma Pracharak*, *Tattvabodhini Patrika*, *The Times of India* and *Vedic Magazine*.

For research and reference facilities, we owe thanks to the All-India Congress Committee Library, the Indian Council of World Affairs Library, the Research and Reference Division of the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, New Delhi, the Public Library, Allahabad, and Shri Pyarelal Nayyar; and, for assistance in photo-printing documents, to the Photo Division of the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, New Delhi.

CONTENTS

PREFACE v

NOTE TO THE READER ix

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS x

ILLUSTRATIONS xxiv

1 INTERVIEW TO "THE BOMBAY CHRONICLE" (9-1-1915) 1

2 INTERVIEW TO "THE TIMES OF INDIA" (9-1-1915) 2

3 SPEECH AT RECEPTION, GHATKOPAR (11-1-1915) 3

4 LETTER TO MAGANLAL GANDHI (11-1-1915) 4

5 SPEECH AT PUBLIC RECEPTION, BOMBAY (12-1-1915) 5

6 SPEECH AT NATIONAL UNION MEETING AT BOMBAY (13-1-1915) 7

7 SPEECH AT SERVANTS OF INDIA SOCIETY, BOMBAY (14-1-1915) 8

8 SPEECH AT GURJAR SABHA RECEPTION, BOMBAY (14-1-1915) 9

9 FRAGMENT OF LETTER (Before 15-1-1915) 10

10 SPEECH AT RAJKOT IN REPLY TO CITIZENS' ADDRESS (17-1-1915) 10

11 SPEECH AT RECEPTION BY RAJKOT MODH COMMUNITY (20-1-1915) 12

12 SPEECH AT RECEPTION AT DARBARGADH (22-1-1915) 13

13 SPEECH AT RECEPTION BY PORBUNDER MODH COMMUNITY (25-1-1915) 13

14 SPEECH AT PORBUNDER IN REPLY TO CITIZENS' ADDRESS (25-1-1915) 13

15 LETTER TO MAJOR HANCOCK (26-1-1915) 14

16 LETTER TO PRABHUDAS BHAGWANDAS (26-1-1915) 14

17 SPEECH AT GONDAL RASASHALA (27-1-1915) 15

18 SPEECH AT RECEPTION BY GONDAL CITIZENS (27-1-1915) 15

19 SPEECH AT RECEPTION BY AHMEDABAD CITIZENS (2-2-1915) 16

20 SPEECH AT MISSION SCHOOL, BOMBAY (7-2-1915) 17

21 LETTER TO C. F. ANDREWS (7-2-1915) 17

22 FRAGMENT OF LETTER TO MATHURADAS TRIKUMJI (7-2-1915) 17

23 LETTER TO MAHATMA MUNSHIRAM (8-2-1915) 18

24 LETTER TO MAGANLAL GANDHI (10-2-1915) 19

25 REPLIES TO QUESTIONS AT POONA MEETINGS (11/12-2-1915) 20

26 SPEECH AT POONA PUBLIC MEETING (13-2-1915) 22

27 SPEECH AT PRIZE DISTRIBUTION TO STUDENTS IN BOMBAY (14-2-1915) 22

28 SPEECH AT KAPOL HOSTEL, BOMBAY (15-2-1915) 23

29 SPEECH AT SANTINIKETAN RECEPTION (17-2-1915) 24
30 TELEGRAM TO H. N. KUNZRU (20-2-1915) 25
31 TELEGRAM TO KARSANDAS CHITALIA (20-2-1915) 25
32 CABLE TO TRANSVAAL B. I. ASSOCIATION (20-2-1915) 26
33 SPEECH AT SANTINIKETAN ON GOKHALE'S DEATH (20-2-1915) 26
34 LETTER TO CHIEF TRAFFIC MANAGER, E. I. RAILWAY (23-2-1915) 28
35 LETTER TO RATILAL M. SHETH (27-2-1915) 30
36 EXTRACT FROM LETTER TO MATHURADAS TRIKUMJI (28-2-1915) 31
37 LETTER TO D. B. SHUKLA (2-3-1915) 31
38 LETTER TO SIR WILLIAM WEDDERBURN (3-3-1915) 32
39 SPEECH AT GOKHALE CONDOLENCE MEETING, POONA (3-3-1915) 32
40 LETTER TO MAGANLAL GANDHI (4-3-1915) 33
41 SPEECH AT RECEPTION BY CALCUTTA MODH COMMUNITY (12-3-1915) 35
42 SPEECH AT CALCUTTA RECEPTION (13-3-1915) 35
43 LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI (14-3-1915) 36
44 LETTER TO MAGANLAL GANDHI (After 14-3-1915) 37
45 AMENDMENTS TO "OBJECTS" OF IMPERIAL INDIAN CITIZENSHIP ASSOCIATION (On or after 16-3-1915) 40
46 LETTER TO AGENTS OF B. I. S. N. COMPANY (19-3-1915) 41
47 INTERVIEW AT RANGOON (Before 22-3-1915) 42
48 LETTER TO JAMNADAS GANDHI (28-3-1915) 43
49 SPEECH AT STUDENTS' HALL, CALCUTTA (31-3-1915) 44
50 SPEECH AT GURUKUL, HARDWAR (8-4-1915) 46
51 SPEECH ON ARRIVAL AT MADRAS (17-4-1915) 47
52 LETTER TO LAZARUS (After 17-4-1915) 48
53 SPEECH AT GOKHALE CLUB, MADRAS (20-4-1915) 50
54 SPEECH AT PUBLIC RECEPTION, MADRAS (21-4-1915) 51
55 INTERVIEW TO "THE MADRAS MAIL" (22-4-1915) 54
56 SPEECH AT RECEPTION BY MAHAJAN SABHA AND CONGRESS COMMITTEE, MADRAS (23-4-1915) 56
57 INTERVIEW TO ASSOCIATED PRESS, MADRAS (23-4-1915) 57
58 SPEECH AT RECEPTION BY MUSLIM LEAGUE, MADRAS (24-4-1915) 58
59 SPEECH AT MADRAS LAW DINNER (24-4-1915) 59
60 SPEECH AT SOCIAL SERVICE LEAGUE, MADRAS (25-4-1915) 60
61 SPEECH AT RECEPTION BY ARYA VAISHYA MAHASABHA, MADRAS (25-4-1915) 62
62 LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI (25-4-1915) 62
63 SPEECH AT RECEPTION BY INDIAN CHRISTIANS, MADRAS (26-4-1915) 63

64 SPEECH AT Y. M. C. A., MADRAS (27-4-1915) . 64
65 SPEECH AT LAKSHMI MEMORIAL ARYA PATHSHALA, MADRAS (29-4-1915) 67
66 SPEECH AT RECEPTION BY GUJARATIS OF MADRAS (29-4-1915) 67
67 SPEECH AT RECEPTION AT TRANQUEBAR (30-4-1915) 68
68 SPEECH AT RECEPTION BY DEPRESSED CLASSES SOCIETY, TRANQUEBAR (30-4-1915) 68
69 SPEECH AT RECEPTION AT MAYAVARAM (1-5-1915) 69
70 LETTER TO A. H. WEST (4-5-1915) 72
71 LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI (4-5-1915) 73
72 SPEECH AT NELLORE (5-5-1915) 74
73 SPEECH AT STUDENTS' MEETING, NELLORE (6-5-1915) 75
74 FRAGMENT OF LETTER (6-5-1915) 76
75 STATEMENT AT INDIAN SOUTH AFRICAN LEAGUE MEETING, MADRAS (7-5-1915) 76
76 SPEECH AT BANGALORE (8-5-1915) 78
77 TALK WITH BANGALORE CITIZENS (8-5-1915) 79
78 SPEECH AT CIVIC RECEPTION, BANGALORE (8-5-1915) 81
79 LETTER TO G. A. NATESAN (10-5-1915) 83
80 THE ASHRAM : AN ESTIMATE OF EXPENDITURE (11-5-1915) 84
81 LETTER TO MAGANLAL GANDHI (13-5-1915) 87
82 LETTER TO V. S. SRINIVASA SASTRI (14-5-1915) 88
83 SPEECH AT LIMBDI (19-5-1915) 89
84 LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI (19-5-1915) 90
85 DRAFT CONSTITUTION FOR THE ASHRAM (Before 20-5-1915) 91
86 LETTER TO V. S. SRINIVASA SASTRI (20-5-1915) 98
87 LETTER TO UMIYASHANKER (21-5-1915) 99
88 LETTER TO G. A. NATESAN (28-5-1915) 99
89 LETTER TO MAGANLAL GANDHI (4-6-1915) 100
90 LETTER TO RANCHHODLAL PATWARI (5-6-1915) 101
91 LETTER TO KUNVARJI MEHTA (6-6-1915) 102
92 LETTER TO PURSHOTTAMDAS THAKURDAS (8-6-1915) 102
93 LETTER TO RANCHHODLAL PATWARI (9-6-1915) 103
94 LETTER TO VIRCHAND SHAH (On or about 10-6-1915) 103
95 LETTER TO RANCHHODLAL PATWARI (10-6-1915) 104
96 LETTER TO KOTWAL (13-6-1915) 106
97 LETTER TO MAHATMA MUNSHIRAM (14-6-1915) 106
98 LETTER TO J. B. PETIT (16-6-1915) 107
99 LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI (19-6-1915) 113
100 LETTER TO GENERAL TRAFFIC MANAGER, G. I. P. RAILWAY (28-6-1915) 114
101 FRAGMENT OF LETTER TO MANILAL GANDHI (After 7-7-1915) 115

102 SPEECH AT BOMBAY PROVINCIAL CONFERENCE, POONA (11-7-1915) 116
103 LETTER TO SUNDARAM (On or after 13-7-1915) 118
104 LETTER TO MANILAL GANDHI (15-7-1915) 118
105 LETTER TO V. S. SRINIVASA SASTRI (16-7-1915) 119
106 LETTER TO CHHOTALAL TEJPAL (22-7-1915) 119
107 FRAGMENT OF LETTER TO MATHURADAS TRIKUMJI (26-7-1915) 120
108 FRAGMENT OF LETTER TO MATHURADAS TRIKUMJI (26-7-1915) 120
109 LETTER TO B. G. TILAK (27-7-1915) 121
110 LETTER TO CHHOTALAL TEJPAL (31-7-1915) 121
111 LETTER TO V. S. SRINIVASA SASTRI (1-8-1915) 122
112 LETTER TO A. H. WEST (3-8-1915) 122
113 LETTER TO B. G. TILAK (17-8-1915) 124
114 LETTER TO CHHOTALAL TEJPAL (18-8-1915) 124
115 LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI (21-8-1915) 125
116 LETTER TO V. S. SRINIVASA SASTRI (23-8-1915) 125
117 LETTER TO MADHURIPRASAD (10-9-1915) 126
118 LETTER TO V. S. SRINIVASA SASTRI (14-9-1915) 126
119 LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI (16-9-1915) 127
120 LETTER TO V. S. SRINIVASA SASTRI (23-9-1915) 127
121 LETTER TO MAGANLAL GANDHI (Before 26-9-1915) 128
122 LETTER TO A. H. WEST (26-9-1915) 129
123 SPEECH ON INDENTURED INDIAN LABOUR AT BOMBAY (28-10-1915) 130
124 FRAGMENT OF LETTER TO MAGANLAL GANDHI (After 28-10-1915) 134
125 LETTER TO A. H. WEST (31-10-1915) 135
126 LETTER TO MAGANLAL GANDHI (3-11-1915) 137
127 LETTER TO A. H. WEST (5-11-1915) 138
128 LETTER TO KHUSHALCHAND GANDHI (8-11-1915) 139
129 LETTER TO MATHURADAS TRIKUMJI (10-11-1915) 139
130 LETTER TO MAGANLAL GANDHI (13-11-1915) 140
131 SPEECH AT PHEROZESHAH MEHTA CONDOLENCE MEETING AT AHMEDABAD (15-11-1915) 141
132 SPEECH AT RAJCHANDRA BIRTH ANNIVERSARY, AHMEDABAD (21-11-1915) 143
133 FRAGMENT OF LETTER (Before 26-11-1915) 144
134 SPEECH AT AHMEDABAD FUNCTION (28-11-1915) 144
135 INDENTURE OR SLAVERY? (December, 1915) 146
136 SPEECH AT VIRAMGAM (1-12-1915) 148
137 SPEECH AT GONDAL ON GOKHALE (4-12-1915) 148

138 SPEECH AT JETPUR ON GOKHALE MEMORIAL FUND (5-12-1915) 149
139 SPEECH AT BHAVNAGAR FOR GOKHALE MEMORIAL FUND (8-12-1915) 149
140 SPEECH AT RECEPTION BY BHAVNAGAR MODH COMMUNITY (9-12-1915) 150
141 SPEECH AT BAGASRA ON VIRAMGAM CUSTOMS CORDON (12-12-1915) 151
142 DRAFT LETTER FOR V. G. DESAI (Before 21-12-1915) 151
143 TELEGRAM TO V. G. DESAI (21-12-1915) 152
144 LETTER TO V. G. DESAI (21-12-1915) 152
145 SPEECH AT INDUSTRIAL CONFERENCE, BOMBAY (24-12-1915) 153
146 SPEECH ON INDIA AND THE COLONIES AT BOMBAY CONGRESS SESSION (28-12-1915) 153
147 FRAGMENT OF LETTER TO RATANSHI SODHA (1915) 156
148 DIARY FOR 1915 156
149 SPEECH AT SALEJ (1-1-1916) 186
150 SPEECH AT SURAT (2-1-1916) 186
151 SPEECH AT ARYA SAMAJ ANNUAL CELEBRATIONS, SURAT (2-1-1916) 186
152 SPEECH AT SURAT ON PLACE OF ENGLISH (3-1-1916) 191
153 SPEECH AT YOUTH ASSOCIATION, SURAT (3-1-1916) 192
154 SPEECH AT ARYA SAMAJ FUNCTION, SURAT (3-1-1916) 192
155 SPEECH AT SURAT RECEPTION (3-1-1916) 194
156 SPEECH AT MAHOMEDAN ASSOCIATION, SURAT (3-1-1916) 197
157 SPEECH AT KATHOR (4-1-1916) 198
158 SPEECH AT MOTA VARACHHA (4-1-1916) 198
159 SPEECH AT NAVSARI (5-1-1916) 199
160 LETTER TO V. S. SRINIVASA SASTRI (13-1-1916) 200
161 LETTER TO SONJA SCHLESIN (16-1-1916) 201
162 SPEECH AT BAVLA (17-1-1916) 201
163 MESSAGE OF GOKHALE'S LIFE (Before 4-2-1916) 202
164 LETTER TO KARSANDAS CHITALIA (4-2-1916) 208
165 SPEECH AT KASHI NAGARI PRACHARINI SABHA (5-2-1916) 209
166 SPEECH AT BENARES HINDU UNIVERSITY (6-2-1916) 210
167 EXTRACT FROM LETTER TO MAHARAJA OF DARBHANGA (7-2-1916) 216
168 INTERVIEW TO A. P. I. ON BENARES 'INCIDENT' (9-2-1916) 217
169 SPEECH ON SWADESHI AT MISSIONARY CONFERENCE, MADRAS (14-2-1916) 219
170 SPEECH ON 'ASHRAM VOWS' AT Y. M. C. A., MADRAS (16-2-1916) 225
171 SPEECH AT MADRAS SOCIAL SERVICE LEAGUE (16-2-1916) 235

172 REPLY TO MRS. BESANT (Before 17-2-1916) 239
173 LETTER TO "NEW INDIA" ON BENARES 'INCIDENT' (17-2-1916) 243
174 SPEECH ON VERNACULARS AND EDUCATION, MADRAS (17-2-1916) 243
175 SPEECH AT POONA ON GOKHALE ANNIVERSARY (19-2-1916) 244
176 SPEECH ON INDIAN WOMEN'S UNIVERSITY (23-2-1916) 245
177 LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL GANDHI (23-2-1916) 246
178 INDENTURED LABOUR (25-2-1916) 247
179 SPEECH AT RECEPTION IN HYDERABAD, SIND (26-2-1916) 250
180 SPEECH AT HYDERABAD, SIND (27-2-1916) 251
181 SPEECH AT HYDERABAD ON VACCINATION (28-2-1916) 252
182 SPEECH IN REPLY TO ADDRESS, KARACHI (29-2-1916) 253
183 SPEECH AT KARACHI ON GOKHALE (29-2-1916) 254
184 SPEECH AT KARACHI (29-2-1916) 255
185 SPEECH AT KARACHI RECEPTION (2-3-1916) 257
186 INTERVIEW TO PRESS AT KARACHI (2-3-1916) 257
187 SPEECH AT RECEPTION AT BADIN, SIND (3-3-1916) 258
188 LETTER TO MAGANLAL GANDHI (11-3-1916) 258
189 SPEECH AT CONFERENCE FOR ELEVATION OF UNTOUCHABLES, GURUKUL (18-3-1916) 259
190 SPEECH AT PRIZE DISTRIBUTION, GURUKUL (20-3-1916) 259
191 SPEECH AT GURUKUL ANNIVERSARY (20-3-1916) 260
192 SPEECH AT HARDWAR (23-3-1916) 265
193 LETTER TO J. B. PETIT (30-3-1916) 265
194 APPLICATION FOR MEMBERSHIP, GUJARAT VERNACULAR SOCIETY (14-4-1916) 267
195 SPEECH AT CONDOLENCE MEETING, AHMEDABAD (16-4-1916) 268
196 LETTER TO "PRAJABANDHU" (20-4-1916) 268
197 LETTER TO GANGADHARRAO DESHPANDE (Before 29-4-1916) 271
198 SPEECH AT BELGAUM (30-4-1916) 272
199 SPEECH AT BOMBAY PROVINCIAL CONFERENCE AT BELGAUM (1-5-1916) 272
200 LETTER TO STUDENTS OF BHAVNAGAR JAIN BOARDING HOUSE (13-5-1916) 274
201 LETTER TO KOTWAL (21-5-1916) 274
202 LETTER TO VIRCHAND SHAH (25-5-1916) 275
203 SPEECH AT CONFERENCE OF COMMUNITIES, AHMEDABAD (4-6-1916) 276
204 SPEECH ON CASTE SYSTEM, AHMEDABAD (5-6-1916) 277
205 LETTER TO NARHAR SHAMBHURAO BHAVE (After 7-6-1916) 279
206 LETTER TO A. H. WEST (15-6-1916) 279
207 SPEECH AGAINST PRESS ACT (24-6-1916) 280
208 LETTER TO C. F. ANDREWS (30-6-1916) 284

209 RAILWAY PASSENGERS (Before 26-7-1916) 284
210 SPEECH ON 'THE SECRET OF SATYAGRAHA IN SOUTH AFRICA' (27-7-1916) 287
211 LETTER TO H. S. L. POLAK (8-8-1916) 291
212 LETTER TO KUNVERJI MEHTA (8-8-1916) 291
213 LETTER TO J. B. PETIT (19-8-1916) 292
214 LETTER TO A. H. WEST (14-9-1916) 292
215 LETTER TO MRS. A. H. WEST (14-9-1916) 293
216 ON AHIMSA : REPLY TO LALA LAJPAT RAI (October, 1916) 294
217 THE PRESENT SYSTEM OF EDUCATION (October, 1916) 297
218 THE HINDU CASTE SYSTEM (October, 1916) 301
219 SPEECH AT BOMBAY PROVINCIAL CONFERENCE, AHMEDABAD (21-10-1916) 303
220 SPEECH ON DEFENCE OF INDIA ACT (22-10-1916) 305
221 RESOLUTION ON INDENTURE SYSTEM, AHMEDABAD (23-10-1916) 306
222 SPEECH ON VIRAMGAM CUSTOMS CORDON (23-10-1916) 306
223 LETTER TO AJIT PRASAD (1-11-1916) 307
224 SPEECH ON RAJCHANDRA JAYANTI, WADHWAN (9-11-1916) 307
225 LETTER TO A. H. WEST (12-12-1916) 308
226 SPEECH AT MUIR COLLEGE ECONOMIC SOCIETY, ALLAHABAD (22-12-1916) 310
227 SPEECH AT ALLAHABAD ON EDUCATION, ANCIENT AND MODERN (23-12-1916) 318
228 SPEECH AT LUCKNOW CONGRESS (28-12-1916) 320
229 SPEECH AT ALL-INDIA COMMON SCRIPT AND COMMON LANGUAGE CONFERENCE, LUCKNOW (29-12-1916) 321
230 PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS AT ALL-INDIA COMMON SCRIPT AND COMMON LANGUAGE CONFERENCE, LUCKNOW (29-12-1916) 323
231 INTERVIEW AT LUCKNOW (About 29/31-12-1916) 324
232 SPEECH AT MUSLIM LEAGUE CONFERENCE, LUCKNOW (31-12-1916) 325
233 FRAGMENT OF LETTER (1916) 326
234 LETTER TO V. G. SARAIYA (3-1-1917) 327
235 LETTER TO ESTHER FAERING (11-1-1917) 327
236 LETTER TO KALYANJI MEHTA (12-1-1917) 328
237 STATEMENT ON LIONEL CURTIS' LETTER (Before 14-1-1917) 328
238 LETTER TO ESTHER FAERING (15-1-1917) 329
239 LETTER TO S. HIGGINBOTTOM (16-1-1917) 330
240 LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI (17-1-1917) 330
241 LETTER TO KALYANJI MEHTA (18-1-1917) 331
242 NATIONAL GUJARATI SCHOOL (After 18-1-1917) 332
243 LETTER TO DR. H. S. DEVA (31-1-1917) 335

244 INTRODUCTION TO "VERNACULARS AS MEDIA OF INSTRUCTION" (1-2-1917) 336
245 SPEECH AT ANTI-INDENTURE MEETING, AHMEDABAD (4-2-1917) 338
246 STATEMENT ON ABOLITION OF INDENTURED LABOUR (After 7-2-1917) 339
247 SPEECH AT ANTI-INDENTURE MEETING, BOMBAY (9-2-1917) 342
248 SPEECH AT ANTI-INDENTURE MEETING, BOMBAY (11-2-1917) 343
249 STATEMENT TO THE PRESS ON GOKHALE ANNIVERSARY (17-2-1917) 343
250 LETTER TO V. A. SUNDARAM (17-2-1917) 344
251 FRAGMENT OF LETTER TO MAGANLAL GANDHI (Before 19-2-1917) 344
252 SPEECH ON GOKHALE ANNIVERSARY AT GODHRA (19-2-1917) 345
253 SPEECH AT AHMEDABAD ON SAROJINI NAIDU (23-2-1917) 346
254 SPEECH AT SURAT ON INDENTURE (26-2-1917) 347
255 TELEGRAM TO MAHARAJA OF KASIMBAZAR (On or after 26-2-1917) 351
256 TELEGRAM TO C. F. ANDREWS (On or after 26-2-1917) 352
257 SPEECH AT HOME RULE LEAGUE HEADQUARTERS, KARACHI (2-3-1917) 352
258 SPEECH AT PARSI THEATRE, KARACHI (2-3-1917) 353
259 SPEECH AT ANTI-INDENTURE MEETING AT KARACHI (2-3-1917) 354
260 SPEECH AT ANTI-INDENTURE MEETING, CALCUTTA (6-3-1917) 354
261 LETTER TO MANILAL GANDHI (Before 7-3-1917) 355
262 LETTER TO MANILAL GANDHI (7-3-1917) 356
263 FRAGMENT OF LETTER TO MATHURADAS TRIKAMJI (19-3-1917) 357
264 LETTER TO ESTHER FAERING (20-3-1917) 357
265 OUR SYSTEM OF EDUCATION (24-3-1917) 358
266 LETTER TO ESTHER FAERING (31-3-1917) 360
267 LETTER TO MAGANLAL GANDHI (10-4-1917) 360
268 REJOINDER TO RAMSAY MACDONALD (11-4-1917) 361
269 LETTER TO L. F. MORSHEAD (12-4-1917) 362
270 LETTER TO L. F. MORSHEAD (13-4-1917) 362
271 LETTER TO MAGANLAL GANDHI (15-4-1917) 363
272 LETTER TO MAGANLAL GANDHI (15-4-1917) 364
273 LETTER TO ESTHER FAERING (15-4-1917) 364
274 LETTER TO MAGANLAL GANDHI (16-4-1917) 365
275 LETTER TO MAGANLAL GANDHI (16-4-1917) 365
276 LETTER TO DISTRICT MAGISTRATE, CHAMPARAN (16-4-1917) 367
277 LETTER TO PRIVATE SECRETARY TO VICEROY (16-4-1917) 368
278 INSTRUCTIONS FOR WORKERS (16-4-1917) 369
279 LETTER TO ESTHER FAERING (17-4-1917) 371

280	LETTER TO H. S. L. POLAK (17-4-1917)	371
281	LETTER TO J. B. KRIPALANI (17-4-1917)	372
282	LETTER TO DISTRICT MAGISTRATE, CHAMPARAN (17-4-1917)	373
283	ACKNOWLEDGEMENT (17-4-1917)	374
284	LETTER TO DISTRICT MAGISTRATE, CHAMPARAN (17-4-1917)	374
285	STATEMENT BEFORE THE COURT (18-4-1917)	374
286	TELEGRAM TO ASHRAM, AHMEDABAD (18-4-1917)	376
287	LETTER TO S. K. RUDRA (18-4-1917)	376
288	LETTER TO W. B. HEYCOCK (20-4-1917)	377
289	TELEGRAM TO PRIVATE SECRETARY TO LT.-GOVERNOR OF BIHAR AND ORISSA, PURI (21-4-1917)	377
290	STATEMENT TO THE PRESS (21-4-1917)	377
291	LETTER TO W. B. HEYCOCK (22-4-1917)	378
292	LETTER TO MAHATMA MUNSHIRAM (26-4-1917)	378
293	LETTER TO W. H. LEWIS (28-4-1917)	379
294	LETTER TO DR. H. S. DEVA (29-4-1917)	380
295	LETTER TO W. B. HEYCOCK (2-5-1917)	381
296	LETTER TO ESTHER FAERING (2-5-1917)	381
297	LETTER TO KAKA KALELKAR (2-5-1917)	382
298	LETTER TO HARILAL DESAI (11-5-1917)	383
299	LETTER TO JAMNADAS GANDHI (12-5-1917)	383
300	LETTER TO ESTHER FAERING (13-5-1917)	384
301	REPORT ON CONDITION OF RYOTS IN CHAMPARAN (13-5-1917)	385
302	NOTES ON THE POSITION IN CHAMPARAN TO DATE (14-5-1917)	391
303	LETTER TO W. MAUDE (14-5-1917)	394
304	LETTER TO L. F. MORSHEAD (14-5-1917)	395
305	LETTER TO W. B. HEYCOCK (14-5-1917)	395
306	LETTER TO W. B. HEYCOCK (14-5-1917)	395
307	LETTER TO ASSOCIATED PRESS OF INDIA (On or after 14-5-1917)	396
308	LETTER TO J. P. EDWARD (17-5-1917)	397
309	LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL GANDHI (17-5-1917)	397
310	LATTER TO NARAHARI PARIKH (17-5-1917)	398
311	LETTER TO A. K. HOLTTUM (19-5-1917)	400
312	LETTER TO ESTHER FAERING (19-5-1917)	403
313	LETTER TO W. B. HEYCOCK (20-5-1917)	404
314	NOTES ON THE SITUATION IN CHAMPARAN—III (21-5-1917)	407
315	LETTER TO DR. H. S. DEVA (21-5-1917)	411
316	LETTER TO J. P. EDWARD (21-5-1917)	411
317	LETTER TO W. B. HEYCOCK (22-5-1917)	412
318	LETTER TO REVASHANKAR SODHA (22-5-1917)	413
319	LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL GANDHI (After 22-5-1917)	414
320	LETTER TO W. B. HEYCOCK (24-5-1917)	415
321	LETTER TO W. S. IRWIN (24-5-1917)	415

322 LETTER TO CHIEF SECRETARY, BIHAR AND ORISSA (25-5-1917) 416
323 LETTER TO W. B. HEYCOCK (25-5-1917) 417
324 LETTER TO W. B. HEYCOCK (26-5-1917) 418
325 LETTER TO ESTHER FAERING (26-5-1917) 418
326 SPREADING HINDI (28-5-1917) 419
327 STATEMENT TO THE PRESS ON CHAMPARAN COMMITTEE (29-5-1917) 421
328 LETTER TO W. B. HEYCOCK (30-5-1917) 421
329 LETTER TO W. S. IRWIN (30-5-1917) 422
330 LETTER TO CHIEF SECRETARY, BIHAR (30-5-1917) 423
331 NOTES ON THE SITUATION IN CHAMPARAN - V (30-5-1917) 426
332 LETTER TO SANKALCHAND SHAH (30-5-1917) 427
333 LETTER TO MAGANLAL GANDHI (May, 1917) 430
334 LETTER TO W. B. HEYCOCK (1-6-1917) 431
335 LETTER TO V. S. SRINIVASA SASTRI (1-6-1917) 431
336 LETTER TO MAGANLAL GANDHI (1-6-1917) 432
337 LETTER TO MAHARAJA BAHADUR SIR RAMESHWAR SINGH (4-6-1917) 435
338 INTERVIEW WITH LT.-GOVERNOR OF BIHAR (5-6-1917) 436
339 TELEGRAM TO CHIEF SECRETARY, BIHAR (7-6-1917) 439
340 TELEGRAM TO CHIEF SECRETARY, BIHAR (8-6-1917) 439
341 LETTER TO ESTHER FAERING (9-6-1917) 439
342 LETTER TO H. MCPHERSON (10-6-1917) 441
343 LETTER TO H. MCPHERSON (11-6-1917) 441
344 LETTER TO ESTHER FAERING (11-6-1917) 442
345 LETTER TO H. MCPHERSON (13-6-1917) 443
346 NOTE ON THE SITUATION IN CHAMPARAN—VI (17-6-1917) 444
347 LETTER TO ESTHER FAERING (17-6-1917) 446
348 TALK WITH TEACHERS OF THE NATIONAL SCHOOL (23-6-1917) 446
349 LETTER TO H. MCPHERSON (29-6-1917) 449
350 LETTER TO W. B. HEYCOCK (29-6-1917) 449
351 REPLY REGARDING DRESS TO "THE PIONEER" (30-6-1917) 450
352 LETTER TO ESTHER FAERING (30-6-1917) 451
353 LETTER TO FULCHAND SHAH (30-6-1917) 452
354 LETTER TO V. S. SRINIVASA SASTRI (30-6-1917) 453
355 LETTER TO J. B. PETIT (30-6-1917) 453
356 LETTER TO ESTHER FAERING (1-7-1917) 454
357 CIRCULAR LETTER FOR FUNDS FOR ASHRAM (1-7-1917) 455
358 LETTER TO MAGANLAL GANDHI (2-7-1917) 459
359 LETTER TO FULCHAND SHAH (3-7-1917) 460
360 CIRCULAR LETTER FOR FUNDS FOR ASHRAM (On or after 3-7-1917) 460

361 LETTER TO PRIVATE SECRETARY TO VICEROY (7-7-1917) 464
362 LETTER TO ESTHER FAERING (8-7-1917) 466
363 LETTER TO RAMNAVAMI PRASAD (About 8-7-1917) 466
364 LETTER TO FULCHAND SHAH (8-7-1917) 467
365 A FEW WORDS TO ORPHANAGES (Before 11-7-1917) 469
366 LETTER TO ESTHER FAERING (14-7-1917) 472
367 LETTER TO MAGANLAL GANDHI (15-7-1917) 473
368 SPEECH AT CHAMPARAN ENQUIRY COMMITTEE MEETING (19-7-1917) 474
369 QUESTIONS DURING EVIDENCE BEFORE CHAMPARAN ENQUIRY COMMITTEE (23-7-1917) 475
370 LETTER TO MAGANLAL GANDHI (24-7-1917) 475
371 LETTER TO SECRETARY, PASSENGERS' GRIEVANCES COMMITTEE, RANGOON (25-7-1917) 476
372 LETTER TO W. B. HEYCOCK (25-7-1917) 478
373 QUESTIONS DURING EVIDENCE BEFORE CHAMPARAN COMMITTEE (26-7-1917) 479
374 EXTRACTS FROM MINUTES OF CHAMPARAN COMMITTEE MEETING (27-7-1917) 481
375 LETTER TO JAMNALAL BAJAJ (28-7-1917) 482
376 CONFIDENTIAL NOTE TO CHAMPARAN COMMITTEE MEMBERS ON SHARAHBESHI (29-7-1917) 482
377 LETTER TO FULCHAND SHAH (1-8-1917) 484
378 LETTER TO ESTHER FAERING (3-8-1917) 485
379 LETTER TO POPATLAL (7-8-1917) 486
380 EXTRACTS FROM MINUTES OF CHAMPARAN COMMITTEE MEETING (8-8-1917) 486
381 LETTER TO MATHURADAS TRIKUMJI (9-8-1917) 487
382 EXTRACTS FROM MINUTES OF CHAMPARAN COMMITTEE MEETING (10-8-1917) 488
383 EXTRACTS FROM MINUTES OF CHAMPARAN COMMITTEE MEETING (11-8-1917) 491
384 EXTRACTS FROM MINUTES OF CHAMPARAN COMMITTEE MEETING (12-8-1917) 494
385 LETTER TO ESTHER FAERING (12-8-1917) 499
386 LETTER TO CHAIRMAN, CHAMPARAN COMMITTEE (13-8-1917) 500
387 MINUTES OF CHAMPARAN COMMITTEE MEETING (14-8-1917) 502
388 LETTER TO J. B. NORMAN (15-8-1917) 509
389 LETTER TO JAMNALAL BAJAJ (21-8-1917) 509
390 SPEECH AT MEETING OF BUSINESS MEN, AHMEDABAD (24-8-1917) 510
391 TALK WITH MAHADEV DESAI (31-8-1917) 510
392 INDIAN COLONIAL EMIGRATION (September, 1917) 512

393 LETTER TO MAGANLAL GANDHI (1-9-1917) 515
394 SPEECH AT BOMBAY PROVINCIAL CONGRESS COMMITTEE MEETING (2-9-1917) 516
395 LETTER TO SHANKARLAL ON 'IDEAS ABOUT SATYAGRAHA' (2-9-1917) 517
396 SATYAGRAHA—NOT PASSIVE RESISTANCE (About 2-9-1917) 520
397 LETTER TO ESTHER FAERING (5-9-1917) 526
398 LETTER TO ESTHER FAERING (6-9-1917) 526
399 LETTER TO BHAGWANJI VAKIL (9-9-1917) 527
400 LETTER TO KALYANJI MEHTA (11-9-1917) 528
401 PETITION TO E. S. MONTAGU (Before 13-9-1917) 528
402 INSTRUCTIONS TO VOLUNTEERS (Before 13-9-1917) 529
403 A SUGGESTION (Before 16-9-1917) 531
404 LETTER TO SATYANAND BOSE (Before 16-9-1917) 531
405 THE MORAL BASIS OF CO-OPERATION (17-9-1917) 532
406 LETTER TO MAGANLAL GANDHI (23-9-1917) 538
407 EXTRACTS FROM MINUTES OF CHAMPARAN COMMITTEE MEETING (24-9-1917) 539
408 MINUTES OF CHAMPARAN COMMITTEE MEETING (25-9-1917) 542
409 LETTER TO THE PRESS ON THIRD CLASS TRAVELLING ON INDIAN RAILWAYS (25-9-1917) 547
410 LETTER TO JAMNALAL BAJAJ (25-9-1917) 551
411 LETTER TO MAGANLAL GANDHI (On or after 25-9-1917) 552
412 MINUTES OF CHAMPARAN COMMITTEE MEETING (26-9-1917) 552
413 FOREWORD TO "WHAT INDIA WANTS : AUTONOMY WITHIN THE EMPIRE" (27-9-1917) 556
414 LETTER TO G. A. NATESAN (27-9-1917) 557
415 EXTRACTS FROM MINUTES OF CHAMPARAN COMMITTEE MEETING (28-9-1917) 558
416 LETTER TO V. S. SRINIVASA SASTRI (30-9-1917) 559
417 LETTER TO BHAGWANJI VAKIL (3-10-1917) 560
418 LETTER TO SIR EDWARD GAIT (4-10-1917) 560
419 FRAGMENT OF LETTER (4-10-1917) 561
420 LETTER TO ESTHER FAERING (4-10-1917) 562

APPENDICES

I ANNIE BESANT'S EXPLANATION REGARDING BENARES INCIDENT 563
II "AHIMSA PARAMO DHARMAH" : A TRUTH OR A FAD? 566
III ENCLOSURES TO GANDHIJI'S LETTER TO L. F. MORSHEAD 569
IV ORDER UNDER SECTION 144 CR. P. C. 570
V NOTE BY HON'BLE W. MAUDE ON INTERVIEW WITH GANDHIJI 571
VI STATEMENTS OF PEASANTS TAKEN BY GANDHIJI 573

VII GOVERNMENT NOTICE INVITING EVIDENCE BEFORE CHAMPARAN AGRARIAN ENQUIRY COMMITTEE 575
VIII CIRCULAR LETTER BY GUJARAT SABHA OFFICE 575
IX MINUTES OF CHAMPARAN COMMITTEE MEETING 576
X AGREEMENT SIGNED BETWEEN GANDHIJI AND LEADING PLANTERS 578
XI REPORT OF CHAMPARAN AGRARIAN ENQUIRY COMMITTEE 578
XII ORDER-IN-COUNCIL 601
XIII THE CHAMPARAN AGRARIAN BILL, 1917 601
SOURCES 605
CHRONOLOGY 607
INDEX OF TITLES 625
INDEX 629
ERRATA 646

ILLUSTRATIONS

ON ARRIVAL IN INDIA: 1915	*frontispiece*
WITH YAKUB HASAN AND G. A. NATESAN	*facing* p. 96
LETTER TO MAHATMA MUNSHIRAM, JUNE 14, 1915	97
FROM "DIARY FOR 1915"	160
WITH KASHMIRI CAP	161
WITH KATHIAWARI TURBAN	368
(INSTRUCTIONS FOR WORKERS IN CHAMPARAN, 1917)	369

1. INTERVIEW TO "THE BOMBAY CHRONICLE"

January 9, 1915

On January 9, 1915, the day of his arrival in Bombay from abroad, Gandhiji was interviewed by a representative of *The Bombay Chronicle*.

I need hardly say that having been out of India for practically [a] quarter of a century, and without interruption for over 13 years, both my wife and I were exceedingly glad to see again the dear old Motherland, and the kind and hearty reception which the public gave us has added to the joy, and overwhelmed us. I can only hope that by our future conduct we shall have deserved this welcome.

As the public know, I, in common with many of our countrymen, offered my services to the authorities in connection with the War. These services were accepted,[1] and I had hoped that I should be able to render personal service in one or other of the hospitals that had been placed at the disposal of the wounded Indian soldiers. Unfortunately, however, I was suffering from pleurisy, and the Commanding Officers in charge of the various sections would not listen to my going to any of the hospitals. Meanwhile, Mrs. Gandhi had a relapse of an old malady, and the Under-Secretary of State for India[2], on hearing this, immediately wrote to me saying that, after all, my work, so far as the organisation of the corps was concerned, was finished, and that as both of us were ill, we should at once return to India. Hence it is that we are here before our time.

I know that the public would like something with reference to the South African situation, and I can but repeat what I have said so often before, that every point on which passive resistance was directed has been completely gained, through the great assistance that was rendered by our noble Viceroy[3] and the generous public of India, led by the Hon. Mr. Gokhale[4]. I must confess that the Ministers there were very frank, and entered into the spirit of the struggle, and, as you are aware, General Smuts[5], speaking during

[1] *Vide* Vol. XII, pp. 527-8.

[2] Charles Roberts

[3] Lord Hardinge

[4] Gopal Krishna Gokhale (1866-1915), educationist and statesman; *vide* Vol. II, pp. 377-8.

[5] J. C. Smuts (1870-1950), South African general and statesman, later Prime Minister

the debate on the deportation of the leaders of the railway strike, distinguished passive resistance from the latter and justified our position. There is now a spirit of sympathy, and, I think a desire to consult Indian opinion before undertaking any special legislation affecting us in South Africa. I have, therefore, every hope for the future. Not that all the disabilities have been removed, but the bulk of them have, and by proper conduct on our part, and sympathetic administration on the part of the Government, there need be no fear of a repetition of the miseries so many of us have had to go through.

Questioned as to his future movements, Mr. Gandhi said he had come to India to settle here, and he would not go back to Africa unless circumstances rendered it necessary. He did not know what he would do here, but he would be at the service of Mr. Gokhale, whom he had for years recognised as his guide and leader, and his movements would be largely controlled and directed by him. Mr. Gandhi concluded:

For the present, as Mr. Gokhale has very properly pointed out,[1] I, having been out of India for so long, have no business to form any definite conclusions about matters essentially Indian, and that I should pass some time here as an observer and a student. This I have promised to do, and I hope to carry out my promise.

The Bombay Chronicle, 11-1-1915

2. *INTERVIEW TO "THE TIMES OF INDIA"*

January 9, 19 5

Questioned regarding the position of Indians in South Africa, he [Gandhiji] said that it was much better than it was before the settlement, all the points to which passive resistance was applied having been gained. He thought that on the whole the Indian community was satisfied with the "relieving legislation"[2] that had been passed. The future, he said, very largely depended upon the Indians themselves, as well as on the personnel of the Ministry.

One great thing which I think has been attained is that the Government have recognised that, in any legislation affecting the British Indians in South Africa, Indians should be consulted and their wishes respected as far as possible. This I think to be an advance in the right direction. This happy result has no doubt been arrived at owing to the valuable assistance afforded to our great and righteous cause by H. E. Lord Hardinge and the magnificent response

[1] *Vide* "Speech at Reception by Ahmedabad Citizens", 2-2-1915.

[2] Indian Relief Bill (1914); *vide* "Letter to Lazarus", after 17-4-1915.

made by the Motherland under the spirited guidance of my esteemed friend, the Hon. Mr. Gokhale.

Describing the present attitude of the Indian settlers in South Africa, Mr. Gandhi said there was no hesitation on the part of the whole community in offering their services to the local and Imperial Governments during the war. Though the occasion for the acceptance of the services had not arisen, the offer was much appreciated by the Governments. Mr. Gandhi added that on the whole the present Ministry[1] was not unsympathetic and, as it understood Indian questions, was probably better able to understand the Indian mind and therefore better calculated to advance Indian interests than any other Ministry. The material position of the Indians in the colony was not all that could be desired, but its improvement depended upon the future commercial outlook.

Mr. Gandhi said that he intended to devote his time to study Indian problems during the remainder of his life and he did not propose to return to the scene of his former activities unless some unforeseen call was made upon him.

The Times of India, 11-1-1915

3. *SPEECH AT RECEPTION, GHATKOPAR*

January 11, 1915

At a reception to Mr. and Mrs. M. K. Gandhi at Ghatkopar [Bombay] on Monday, Mr. Gandhi was presented with an address enclosed in a silver casket, with fetters made of gold, Rao Bahadur Vassanji Khimji presiding.

Mr. Gandhi, in acknowledging the gifts, described the silver casket and the fetters as somewhat unsuitable to a person who had neither a roof over his head nor locked doors to his house. Fetters, whether of gold or of iron, were the same to him, as they were fetters after all. A function like the one they held, he said, was most uncongenial to him, and the temptations it involved would tend to spoil a person like him whose only thought was to serve his Motherland, irrespective of praise or blame, with no expectation of any reward whatsoever.

The only idea behind his work was duty. He had only been able to do so far one anna of it and he had returned to his country after all these years to try his best to do what he could of the other 15 annas in the years that were left to him. He hoped for nothing and wished for nothing, beyond being able to fulfil the duty that lay before him. He entreated them all to accept whatever service he could give, and not to give him costly presents which he could not use, and which could be put to far better uses. He sincerely trusted that they would not misunderstand him; he was only expressing his innermost feelings.

The Bombay Chronicle, 15-1-1915

[1] With Louis Botha as Prime Minister

4. LETTER TO MAGANLAL GANDHI

Posh Vad 10[1], *1971, Monday* [*January 11, 1915*]

CHI. MAGANLAL[2],

I have your letter. I was filled with tears of joy when, nearing Bombay, I sighted the coast. I am still beside myself with joy. I don't like Bombay, though. It looks as if it were the scum of London. I see here all the shortcomings of London but find none of its amenities; this is also one of the benefits of living in India. It would seem that Lady India had resolved to exhibit nothing but the scum of London lest we should be thrown off our balance by the amenities. I feel suffocated by all this public honouring. I have not known a moment's peace. There is an endless stream of visitors. Neither they nor I gain anything.

My health is good, on the whole, and the same is true of Ba[3]. I am divided in my heart over three places, Rajkot, Porbunder and Bolpur. It will take more than a month before I am there[4]. You do well to stay on patiently there. A farmer should not go about from place to place. A farmer's son would be violating his dharma if he were to neglect sowing, that he might go and see his father. You have spread your fragrance there; it must be that some good deeds of yours and mine are now bearing their fruit. Mr. Andrews[5] writes much in praise of you. We are to meet before long, so I won't write much. This letter is meant for you all.

I think all of us should know the Hindi, Urdu, Tamil and Bengali scripts. It would be good if the children could be taught all these. I gave much thought to this matter while on board the ship.

[1] The original has *Posh Vad* 11, which appears to be a slip, for that day was a Tuesday.

[2] Son of Khushalchand Gandhi, Gandhiji's cousin. Maganlal had assisted Gandhiji for about a decade in his activities and experiments in South Africa; left Phoenix in August 1914 with a party of about 25 students and teachers for India, and with the party stayed at Tagore's Santiniketan.

[3] Kasturba Gandhi

[4] At Bolpur

[5] Charles Freer Andrews (1871-1940), British missionary who took great interest in Vishwabharati University founded by Tagore; his devoted services for many years in the cause of the Indian people won him the name 'Deenbandhu', "brother of the poor"; he was deeply attached to Gandhiji.

I have made considerable progress in the study of Bengali. I shall leave here on the 16th for Rajkot.[1] I shall return before February 5, to leave for Poona immediately and from there proceed to Bolpur. Let me know the shortest way to that place. Ask Mr. Andrews or Mr. Pearson[2] about it. I am glad that your difficulties about food are over. I have been living entirely on fruit, subsisting mostly on bananas, groundnuts and lime.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

Tell me if I should bring anything. I have not been able to bring any books from England. We may get them here, if you send me the names. Mr. Kallenbach[3] has not been able to come, since he did not get the permission.

From the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: C. W. 5660. Courtesy: Radhabehn Choudhri

5. *SPEECH AT PUBLIC RECEPTION, BOMBAY*

January 12, 1915

A public reception was accorded by the elite of Bombay to Gandhiji and Shrimati Kasturba Gandhi at Mount Petit, on January 12, 1915, over 600 distinguished citizens being present, including Europeans. The Hon. Sir Pherozeshah Mehta[4], who presided, warmly welcomed the guests of the evening.

Replying to the toast, Mr. Gandhi said that he did not know that the right word would come to him to express the feelings that had stirred within him that afternoon. He had felt that he would be more at home in his own Motherland than he used to be in South Africa among their own countrymen. But during the three days that they had passed in Bombay, they had felt—and he thought he was voicing the feelings of his wife, too—that they were much more at home among those indentured Indians, who were the truest heroes of India. They felt that they were indeed in strange company here in

[1] Actually Gandhiji left for Rajkot on January 15. *Vide* "Diary for 1915".

[2] William Winstanley Pearson, a Christian missionary and an active supporter of Indians; for some time teacher at Santiniketan

[3] Hermann Kallenbach, a German associate of Gandhiji in South Africa, who left South Africa for India with Gandhiji, was not allowed by the British Government to go to India because of the War and was held up in London.

[4] (1845-1915), one of the founders of the Indian National Congress, its President in 1890 and 1909; *vide* Vol. I, p. 384.

Bombay, and that reminded him of one thing said to him by a great Englishman, namely, that duty would be merited [*sic*] at the last.

In what he had done, he had done nothing beyond his duty and it remained to be seen how far he had succeeded in doing his duty. That was not a mere lip expression but he asked them to believe sincerely that these were his feelings. He felt all that his elders had done for him, all that his political leaders had done for him, all that Sir Pherozeshah Mehta had done for him and he could recall many an incident when he, i.e., Sir Pherozeshah Mehta, had cheered him up while he was a young briefless barrister in his disappointments. He had had the honour of receiving instruction, guidance, and advice from many other distinguished countrymen of his own, and would he not be ungrateful if he did not do what they told him to do? He had paid his respects to the Grand Old Man of India—Mr. Dadabhoy Naoroji[1]—that morning. His life was an inspiration to him and in that connection he dared not leave out one name, that of his guide—at least his political leader, the Hon. Mr. Gokhale. (Cheers.) His life was more than an inspiration to him. Mr. Gokhale had been to him more than a brother. He also must not omit to mention the deep debt that he owed to all his countrymen, let alone the memory of his revered parents, who taught him to respect them and through them the whole country. They were paying these regards to them, who were but poor creatures, while the real heroes were the indentured labourers. He wished to remind them of the indentured Indian that staggered him in jail. When he met that Indian, he did not know what inspired the latter to go to jail, and what inspired him to utter the words he did utter. He told the Indian that there was no occasion for him to go there and that he had never advised such of his countrymen as Harbat Singh[2] to go there. But that old Indian said that he could not restrain himself from going there when he saw his poor brothers and sisters go there for the honour of the country. How could he leave himself out, he asked, and added that he wanted to die there. They were alive and he was dead. That man was the hero and there were many of his type. If he had lived and come out to India, they would not have noticed him, perhaps he too would not have noticed him. All honour was due to the memory of Harbat Singh.

They had also honoured Mrs. Gandhi as the wife of the great Gandhi. He had no knowledge of the great Gandhi, but he could say that she could tell them more about the sufferings of women who rushed with babies to jail and who had now joined the majority than he could.

[1] (1825-1917), the first Indian to be elected member of the British Parliament in 1893; President of the Indian National Congress thrice, in 1886, 1893 and 1906; author of *Poverty and Un-British Rule in India*; *vide* Vol. X, p. 313.

[2] An old man of 75 from Uttar Pradesh; *vide* "Speech at Public Reception, Madras", 21-4-1915.

In conclusion, Mr. Gandhi appealed to them to accept the services of himself and his wife for, he said, they had come to render such service as God would enable them to do. They had not come to receive big entertainments like that because they did not think they were worthy of such presents. He felt that they would only spoil them if ever by such action a thought crossed their minds that they had done something to deserve such a big *tamasha* made in their honour. He, however, thanked them on behalf of his wife and himself most sincerely for the great honour done to them that afternoon and he hoped to receive the blessings of the whole country in their endeavour to serve the Motherland. Hitherto, he said, they had known nothing of his failures. All the news that they had received related to his successes. Here they would now see them in the naked light and would see their faults, and anticipating such faults and failures, he asked them to overlook them, and with that appeal, he said, they as humble servants would commence the service of their country. He again thanked them most sincerely for the very great honour done to himself and his wife.

The Bombay Chronicle, 13-1-1915

6. *SPEECH AT NATIONAL UNION MEETING AT BOMBAY*

January 13, 1915

At a meeting convened by the Bombay National Union at Hirabag [Bombay] on the 13th instant to welcome Mr. and Mrs. Gandhi, Mr. Tilak[1] was present, though no formal invitation was sent to him. The meeting was attended by about 250 persons. Mr. Tilak addressing the gathering said that they were only doing their duty in honouring Mr. and Mrs. Gandhi, as they had fought for the honour of India in a distant land. He said that India ought to produce more men and women of the self-sacrificing spirit of the honoured guests, and impressed upon the audience that this was the lesson they had to learn from the career of Mr. Gandhi.

Mr. Gandhi's speech was colourless and formal; he expressed the gratefulness of the Indians in South Africa to the mother country which contributed lavishly to the fund[2] for their relief during the late struggle. He said it was a pleasure to meet Mr. Tilak in Bombay as he fully intended to pay his respects to him when he visited Poona.

Mr. Baptista said that it did not matter whom Mr. Gandhi selected as his guru (this refers to a remark made by Mr. Gandhi that Mr. Gokhale was his

[1] "Lokamanya" Bal Gangadhar Tilak (1856-1920); Indian patriot, politician and scholar; *vide* Vol. II, p. 380.

[2] Passive Resistance Fund; *vide* "Letter to J. B. Petit", 16-6-1915.

guru), so long as he always held before him the ideals of honour and self-respect, as he had done throughout his life. Both he and Mr. Ali Muhammad Bhimji referred to the gallant conduct of the Indian troops in support of the cause of right in the present war.

Bombay Government Police Abstracts, 1915, p. 40, Para 60

7. SPEECH AT SERVANTS OF INDIA SOCIETY, BOMBAY

January 14, 1915

The premises of the Servants of India Society's[1] Home in Bombay were tastefully decorated for the entertainment that was given to Mr. & Mrs. Gandhi on the evening of 14th January by the members of the Bombay Branch of the Society and by some of those who were associated with it as its helpers, supporters and co-workers. . . .Among those present were Sir Bhalchandra Krishna, Sir Vithaldas Thakersey, Sir Jagmohandas, Shet Dani, Shet Hansraj Pragjee, Mrs. Ramabai Ranade, Lady Jagmohandas, Mrs. Sonabai Jayker, Mrs. Bahadurjee and others. On the arrival of Mr. and Mrs. Gandhi, Mr. Devadhar spoke on behalf of those that were assembled. . . .

Mr. Gandhi, then, in the course of a brief speech, said that he was proud to have seen so many men and women who helped the Servants of India Society, which would soon be the sphere of his work. He had accepted Mr. Gokhale as his political leader and guide and he considered those people fortunate who had the privilege of being associated with Mr. Gokhale in their work. He would go over the country for one year and, after studying things for himself, he would decide his line of work. In conclusion, he thanked all the ladies and gentlemen, on his behalf as well as on behalf of his wife, for the honour they did them.

Sir Bhalchandra garlanded Mr. Gandhi and Mrs. Ramabai garlanded Mrs. Gandhi. After the distribution of flowers, etc., the whole assembly partook [of] refreshments. . . .

Indian Opinion, 10-3-1915

[1] Founded by Gokhale in 1905 with headquarters in Poona, the members being life-workers in the service of the nation

8. *SPEECH AT GURJAR SABHA RECEPTION, BOMBAY*[1]

January 14, 1915

A garden party in honour of Gandhiji and Shrimati Kasturba Gandhi was given by members of the Gurjar Sabha, Bombay, on the grounds of Mangaldas House, on January 14, 1915. Messrs M. A. Jinnah[2], Chairman of the Sabha, who presided on the occasion, and K. M. Munshi[3] having spoken (in English) welcoming the guests, Gandhiji replied as follows:

Mr. Gandhi, who spoke in Gujarati, thanked Mr. Jinnah for presiding at this function and said that while he was in South Africa and anything was said about Gujaratis, it was understood to have a reference to the Hindu community only and Parsis and Mahomedans were not thought of. He was, therefore, glad to find a Mahomedan a member of the Gurjar Sabha and the chairman of that function.

With regard to their words of praise and welcome, he was at a loss to say anything. As he had said so often before, he and his wife had done nothing beyond their duty. He did not wish to repeat the same thing, but he desired to say that he considered all these good feelings and kind words as their blessings and he prayed to God that those blessings might enable him and his wife faithfully to serve their country. They first intended to study all the Indian questions and then enter upon the service of the country. He had looked upon the Hon. Mr. Gokhale as his guide and leader and he had full confidence in him and he was sure that Mr. Gokhale would not put him on the wrong track. He had visited His Excellency the Governor[4] that morning and while thanking him for the honour, he also mentioned the same thing that he was absolutely confident that under the guiding spirit of the Hon. Mr. Gokhale he would be adopting the right course.

Continuing, Mr. Gandhi said that the chairman had referred to the South African question. He had a good deal to say on this subject and he would explain the whole situation in the very near future to the Bombay public and through them to the whole of India. The compromise was satisfactory and he trusted that what had remained to be gained would be gained. The South Africans had now learnt that they could not utterly disregard the Indians or disrespect their feelings.

[1] A brief report of this also appeared in *Gujarati*, 17-1-1915.

[2] Mohammad Ali Jinnah (1876-1948), Muslim leader, founder and first Governor-General of Pakistan

[3] (1887-), lawyer, politician and author; founder and President of Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan; Governor of U.P., 1952-7

[4] Lord Willingdon

guru), so long as he always held before him the ideals of honour and self-respect, as he had done throughout his life. Both he and Mr. Ali Muhammad Bhimji referred to the gallant conduct of the Indian troops in support of the cause of right in the present war.

Bombay Government Police Abstracts, 1915, p. 40, Para 60

7. *SPEECH AT SERVANTS OF INDIA SOCIETY, BOMBAY*

January 14, 1915

The premises of the Servants of India Society's[1] Home in Bombay were tastefully decorated for the entertainment that was given to Mr. & Mrs. Gandhi on the evening of 14th January by the members of the Bombay Branch of the Society and by some of those who were associated with it as its helpers, supporters and co-workers. . . .Among those present were Sir Bhalchandra Krishna, Sir Vithaldas Thakersey, Sir Jagmohandas, Shet Dani, Shet Hansraj Pragjee, Mrs. Ramabai Ranade, Lady Jagmohandas, Mrs. Sonabai Jayker, Mrs. Bahadurjee and others. On the arrival of Mr. and Mrs. Gandhi, Mr. Devadhar spoke on behalf of those that were assembled. . . .

Mr. Gandhi, then, in the course of a brief speech, said that he was proud to have seen so many men and women who helped the Servants of India Society, which would soon be the sphere of his work. He had accepted Mr. Gokhale as his political leader and guide and he considered those people fortunate who had the privilege of being associated with Mr. Gokhale in their work. He would go over the country for one year and, after studying things for himself, he would decide his line of work. In conclusion, he thanked all the ladies and gentlemen, on his behalf as well as on behalf of his wife, for the honour they did them.

Sir Bhalchandra garlanded Mr. Gandhi and Mrs. Ramabai garlanded Mrs. Gandhi. After the distribution of flowers, etc., the whole assembly partook [of] refreshments. . . .

Indian Opinion, 10-3-1915

[1] Founded by Gokhale in 1905 with headquarters in Poona, the members being life-workers in the service of the nation

8. SPEECH AT GURJAR SABHA RECEPTION, BOMBAY[1]

January 14, 1915

A garden party in honour of Gandhiji and Shrimati Kasturba Gandhi was given by members of the Gurjar Sabha, Bombay, on the grounds of Mangaldas House, on January 14, 1915. Messrs M. A. Jinnah[2], Chairman of the Sabha, who presided on the occasion, and K. M. Munshi[3] having spoken (in English) welcoming the guests, Gandhiji replied as follows:

Mr. Gandhi, who spoke in Gujarati, thanked Mr. Jinnah for presiding at this function and said that while he was in South Africa and anything was said about Gujaratis, it was understood to have a reference to the Hindu community only and Parsis and Mahomedans were not thought of. He was, therefore, glad to find a Mahomedan a member of the Gurjar Sabha and the chairman of that function.

With regard to their words of praise and welcome, he was at a loss to say anything. As he had said so often before, he and his wife had done nothing beyond their duty. He did not wish to repeat the same thing, but he desired to say that he considered all these good feelings and kind words as their blessings and he prayed to God that those blessings might enable him and his wife faithfully to serve their country. They first intended to study all the Indian questions and then enter upon the service of the country. He had looked upon the Hon. Mr. Gokhale as his guide and leader and he had full confidence in him and he was sure that Mr. Gokhale would not put him on the wrong track. He had visited His Excellency the Governor[4] that morning and while thanking him for the honour, he also mentioned the same thing that he was absolutely confident that under the guiding spirit of the Hon. Mr. Gokhale he would be adopting the right course.

Continuing, Mr. Gandhi said that the chairman had referred to the South African question. He had a good deal to say on this subject and he would explain the whole situation in the very near future to the Bombay public and through them to the whole of India. The compromise was satisfactory and he trusted that what had remained to be gained would be gained. The South Africans had now learnt that they could not utterly disregard the Indians or disrespect their feelings.

[1] A brief report of this also appeared in *Gujarati*, 17-1-1915.

[2] Mohammad Ali Jinnah (1876-1948), Muslim leader, founder and first Governor-General of Pakistan

[3] (1887-), lawyer, politician and author; founder and President of Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan; Governor of U.P., 1952-7

[4] Lord Willingdon

With regard to the Hindu-Mahomedan question he had much to learn, but he would always keep before his eyes his twenty-one years' experience in South Africa and he still remembered that one sentence uttered by Sir Syed Ahmed[1], namely, that the Hindus and Mahomedans were the two eyes of Mother India and if one looked at one end and the other at the other, neither would be able to see anything and that if one was gone, the other would see to that extent only. Both the communities had to bear this in mind in the future.

In conclusion, he thanked them for the great honour done to him and his wife.

The Bombay Chronicle, 15-1-1915

9. FRAGMENT OF LETTER[2]

[Before *January 15, 1915*][3]

. . . You must have seen Radha[4]. You should urge her to write to me. Ask Raliatbehn[5] to have patience. We shall meet only when God wills it. She should not be quite so eager that we should meet. I am taken up with such difficult tasks. I indeed very much want to see her, but I have simply no time. Tell me all about conditions at home. Let me know how Fuli does. Give me all details now about the conditions in the home, who is in charge of shopping, and so on.

I met Harilal. He looks very handsome...

From the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: S.N. 6714

10. SPEECH AT RAJKOT IN REPLY TO CITIZENS' ADDRESS[6]

January 17, 1915

I have not been keeping very fit and, during the last thirty-six hours, my health has gone down very badly; but I have conserved my strength as much as possible in order to be able to visit my

[1] Sir Syed Ahmed Khan (1817-98), educationist and reformer; founder of the Mahomedan Anglo-Oriental College at Aligarh

[2] Only the seventh page of this letter is available.

[3] The letter appears to have been written immediately after Gandhiji's arrival in India and before Gandhiji left Bombay for Rajkot.

[4] Maganlal Gandhi's daughter

[5] Gandhiji's sister; also known as Gokibehn

[6] Bejonji Meherwanji Damri, the Dewan of Rajkot, presiding

native town, Rajkot. Coming here, I fully realize what a loss I have suffered in the death of Shri Kevalrambhai, whom I respected as an elder. This is a painful thought to me. I have been laid under an obligation by Shri Pandit who has won the affection [of the people] of this Province by his fine qualities and who has expressed good wishes for me. I regard it as my good fortune, moreover, that in the absence of Shri Kavelrambhai I have been presented this address by you, a friend of his. His Excellency the Governor told me that the spontaneous demonstration of popular feeling towards me suggested that I was likely to have a fruitful career. I have had today first-hand proof of the truth of this. The daughter of my friend, Mr. Shukla[1], was the first to put a *tilak* on me and garland me. I look upon this as a blessing. The honour I have been receiving in Rajkot is beyond all bounds. In India it has become a kind of custom to accord such excessive honour.

Hills, they say, look pleasing from a distance; you have only heard my praises. But we have done nothing in particular. We have come here only as novices ready to learn. Everyone must have observed that nowadays people work with a variety of motives. It is extremely difficult to know what is in the heart of any individual. We are now in India and you will find it easier to form a correct opinion about us from what we do. The world is full of selfish men, who work with some ulterior motive or other. But to work in this manner is like mixing poison in milk. We have much to learn from Kathiawar and, when we have gone through the training, you will have an opportunity of testing us. I must tell you, however, that you will then see our failures also; I ask of you that [even then] you should keep up, unimpaired, the love which you have shown today. Let the rest of the country forsake me, if it will, because of any failure of mine; if the people of Rajkot even then overlook my shortcomings with a generous heart, I shall believe that your expression of love today was really the result of genuine feeling. This love of yours will be put to the test at that time. As for our achievements in South Africa, I tell you that people of lower standing than ours did a thousand times better work than we. An old man of 75 and a young girl of 17 both died in jail.[2] I am a barrister and it is natural, therefore, that I should feel impelled to work. But innumerable men and women, poor souls, gave their lives in the service of the nation, suffering the

[1] A barrister practising at Rajkot; friend and fellow-student of Gandhiji

[2] Harbat Singh and Valiamma; *vide* "Speech at Public Reception, Madras", 21-4-1915.

hardships of jail life, merely because of their faith and as a matter of duty. What honour will you do to them? These persons, like truly heroic spirits, sacrificed their lives. Accepting, now, this honour you have done to us as a form of blessing, we dedicate our services to the country and declare here that we should be thought of as good children of Rajkot if we always show ourselves keen on doing our duty; but as unworthy ones if we are found to be remiss. I thank you all.

[From Gujarati]
Kathiawar Times, 17-1-1915

11. SPEECH AT RECEPTION BY RAJKOT MODH COMMUNITY

January 20, 1915

. . . In reply, Mr. Gandhi pointed out that men who entered public life had to make their hearts hard indeed. He had lost an elder brother[1] and had also had to bear other losses. Nevertheless, when attending parties, he had to agree to being entertained with songs, poems, etc., though he was in mourning. If he kept back his grief in order to receive such honour, it was because he received it as a symbol of the people's love. People should understand the real meaning of what little he had done and when he undertook something to serve the interests of the community or the people at large, he would demand their help as a matter of right because of their love for him.

If the people respond favourably at such a testing time, I shall believe that the love you have shown towards me on this occasion is sincere. If they refuse the help I ask for, I shall believe that you have only been following one another blindly, like so many sheep, and that it is just the same whether an address is written on a sheet of gold or silver, or merely on paper, none of them being of greater worth than dust. I must admit that, when I returned to India as a barrister, the Modh community elsewhere deserted me but that the Modh people here at Rajkot stood by me. I would be an ungrateful man to forget this and hence I regard the honour I have received today as a blessing.

[From Gujarati]
Kathiawar Times, 24-1-1915

[1] Laxmidas Gandhi, who passed away at Porbunder on March 9, 1914

12. *SPEECH AT RECEPTION AT DARBARGADH*[1]

January 22, 1915

Mr. Gandhi said that he was much gratified to see that Hindus and Mahomedans were united on the occasion and knowing that they had done so he had accepted the invitation to come down to Dhoraji. In the future he would undertake to bring about happier and closer relations between these two communities.

Kathiawar Times, 24-1-1915

13. *SPEECH AT RECEPTION BY PORBUNDER MODH COMMUNITY*

January 25, 1915

I am happy beyond words in accepting your blessings, here in this place of my birth and my childhood days. As for my services to the country, I ought to say that it is not for me alone to follow truth. All of us can follow it, if we choose, and, if we do, not I alone but all of us shall deserve honour and be able to play our part in some great task.

[From Gujarati]

Kathiawar Times, 31-1-1915

14. *SPEECH AT PORBUNDER IN REPLY TO CITIZENS' ADDRESS*

January 25, 1915

After visiting a few places, I shall come back here. So many herbs grow on the hills round here. There is much I can learn about them. I shall move about for a week in the company of my friend Mr. Jaikrishnabhai, the ex-Curator, and be in your midst afterwards.

[From Gujarati]

Kathiawar Times, 31-1-1915

[1] A place near Dhoraji in Saurashtra

15. LETTER TO MAJOR HANCOCK

RAJKOT,
January 26[1], *1915*

DEAR SIR,

I am sorry that during my stay in Porbunder I was not able to pay my respects to you. I shall try to seek that opportunity another time when I am again in Porbunder. Meanwhile I would like to thank you for the great kindness that the officials and the public of Porbunder showed to my wife and me during our stay there. I would also like to thank you, if I may, for your help during the passive resistance struggle in South Africa. The Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale told me of the kindly worded letter that accompanied the generous gift.

I am,
Yours faithfully,
M. K. GANDHI

MAJOR HANCOCK[2]

From a copy of the original: C.W. 5661. Courtesy: District Deputy Collector, Porbunder

16. LETTER TO PRABHUDAS BHAGWANDAS[3]

RAJKOT,
Maha Sud 11 [*January 26, 1915*]

I got your kind telegram at Gondal. I hope you received my reply telegram[4]. I am sorry I have not been able to accept the people's invitation but I hope that you will all forgive me, seeing that I am helpless. I am in such poor health that, if I did not have to call on my widowed sisters-in-law at Rajkot and Porbunder, I would probably not have come to Kathiawar just at present. On my way to these two places, I passed Gondal and other towns where I was obliged to stop. In thinking of visits to Bhavnagar and

[1] According to the Diary for 1915, however, Gandhiji left for Rajkot on the 27th.

[2] Administrator of Porbunder State during the Rana's minority; later, Political Agent to the Viceroy in Western India States Agency

[3] Chief of the business community of Bhavnagar

[4] Not available

other cities, I am afraid for my health and my time is also over. I can now hope to see you all only when I come to this side again after two or three months.

Please accept the respectful greetings of

MOHANDAS KARAMCHAND GANDHI

[From Gujarati]

Kathiawar Times, 31-1-1915

17. SPEECH AT GONDAL RASASHALA[1]

January 27, 1915

The eminent *vaid*[2] is a good scholar of Sanskrit and Ayurveda and the *rasashala*[3] he has established has been serving the people through Ayurveda. The literature published by the Pharmacy is very useful to the people. I used to read some of it in South Africa. I was very much flattered by the compliments a scholar like him paid me in the address which he has read. I shall cherish them for ever. I think highly of Ayurveda. It is one of the ancient sciences of India, which ensures the health of the millions in her thousands of villages. I advise every citizen to live his life in accordance with the principles of Ayurveda. The Pharmacy, the dispensary and the *vaidraj*, all have my blessings that they may be enabled to render the best possible service to Ayurveda.

[From Gujarati]

Report of Rasashala Aushadhashram, Gondal, 1948

18. SPEECH AT RECEPTION BY GONDAL CITIZENS

January 27, 1915

Shri Gandhi . . . referred to the obligation which His Highness the Thakore Saheb had laid him under, and, being himself unworthy of the epithets applied to him, to his search for someone in India who would be worthy of them, to his struggle over the years, and the struggle that he wished to carry on, to be so worthy, and said that he had tendered all this praise as an offering

[1] Gandhiji paid a visit to Rasashala Aushadhashram, a celebrated Ayurvedic pharmacy at Gondal, in Saurashtra, and addressed a large gathering of citizens including the Dewan of the State, Ranchhoddas Patwari.

[2] Jivaram Kalidas Shastri, who presented the address on behalf of the Rasashala

[3] Pharmacy

to Lord Krishna. Giving his blanket to Keshavji Sheth, he asked the Sheth to spend the hundred rupees[1] in the service of the country or for some pious purpose. Pointing out, in conclusion, that it was *brahmacharya* that led to all the virtues and ensured success in one's tasks, he said that it was yet to be seen whether the sentiments expressed at the moment would remain the same when the time for testing came.[2]

[From Gujarati]
Gujarati, 7-2-1915

19. *SPEECH AT RECEPTION BY AHMEDABAD CITIZENS*[3]

February 2, 1915

Ahmedabad is the capital of Gujarat and the place where I took my [matriculation] examination[4]. The reason why I have especial regard for Ahmedabad is that one of my fellow-workers and fellow-sufferers in the satyagraha campaigns was Mr. Surendrarai Medh, a resident of this place. This place has made an important contribution to the satyagraha struggle. Today I have come on a pilgrimage to it.[5]

We have done no more than our duty. I have come to India to learn. My revered guru, Mr. Gokhale, gave me a piece of advice: One who had been out of India for 25 years should express no opinion about affairs here before he had studied things carefully. Accordingly, I keep my ears open and my mouth shut.

[From Gujarati]
Kathiawar Times, 7-2-1915; also *Gujarati*, 14-2-1915

[1] The price offered by Shri Sheth for the blanket, which had been put to auction

[2] The English report in the *Bombay Chronicle*, 1-2-1915, adds: "He [Gandhiji] said the essential qualities a servant of the country should possess were simplicity of life, truthfulness and *brahmacharya*, and it was his ambition to establish somewhere in the vicinity of Kathiawar [Saurashtra] an institution where the rising generation of the country could be trained in those ideals."

[3] Sir Chinubhai Madhavlal, Baronet, presiding

[4] In 1887

[5] The last two sentences are from *Gujarati*, 14-2-1915.

20. SPEECH AT MISSION SCHOOL, BOMBAY[1]

February 7, 1915

This function today has given me greater pleasure than any grand reception ever did. I will try to avail myself of every opportunity of meeting you and keeping in touch with you.

[From Gujarati]

Gujarati, 14-2-1915

21. LETTER TO C. F. ANDREWS

BOMBAY,
February 7, 1915

MY DEAR CHARLIE,

I have hardly any time left to me to attend to correspondence. I have a moment left whilst I am waiting for Mr. Setalvad[2] to come. I shan't be long before I am with you. We go to Poona tonight. I may leave for Bolpur on the 18th or even earlier. Hope to drop you a wire as soon as the date is fixed. With love,

Yours ever
MOHAN

From the original in Gandhiji's hand: C.W. 5663. Courtesy: Radhabehn Choudhri

22. FRAGMENT OF LETTER TO MATHURADAS TRIKUMJI[3]

February 7, 1915

Truthfulness, *brahmacharya*, non-violence, non-stealing and non-hoarding, these five rules of life are obligatory on all aspirants. Everyone should be an aspirant. A man's character, therefore,

[1] Gandhiji visited, without any formal invitation, a Mission School for the children of *Antyajas*, i.e., low-caste Hindus, whom he later described as Harijans, God's folk.

[2] Dr. Sir Chimanlal Harilal Setalvad, a leading member of the Bombay bar; Vice-Chancellor of Bombay University

[3] Son of Anandbehn, Gandhiji's sister

is to be built on the foundation of these disciplines. Beyond doubt, they are to be observed by everyone in the world. Though a business man, one must never utter or practise untruth; though married, one must remain celibate; though keeping oneself alive, one can practise non-violence. It is difficult to be of the world and yet not to steal (to observe the rule of non-stealing) and not to hoard wealth or any other thing. One must, nevertheless, keep that as an ideal to be attained and have some limit in these respects; when the mind has begun to turn away from these things, one may even embrace the supreme renunciation.

Everyone who observes these vows will be able to find a way out of all perplexities.

[From Gujarati]

Bapuni Prasadi

23. *LETTER TO MAHATMA MUNSHIRAM*

SERVANTS OF INDIA SOCIETY,
POONA CITY,
Magha Krishna Paksha 8 [February 8, 1915][1]

MAHATMAJI[2],

I had your wire; my reply telegram[3] must have reached you. I had written[4] to Mr. Andrews asking him to thank you for the trouble you took looking after my children and for the affection you showered on them. But, as I am anxious to pay my humble respects to you, I deem it my duty to go there without waiting for an invitation. I hope to wait on you on my way back from Bolpur.[5]

Yours respectfully,
MOHANDAS GANDHI

From a photostat of the Hindi original in Gandhiji's hand: G.N. 2205

[1] From the reference to the addressee's looking after Gandhiji's children (Phœnix teachers and boys), the letter appears to have been written in 1915. In 1915, *Magha Krishna Paksha* 8 corresponded to February 7, but Gandhiji went to Poona from Bombay only on the 8th.

[2] Mahatma Munshiram (1856-1926), later known as Swami Shraddhanand; nationalist leader; was active in the Arya Samaj; one of the early pioneers of national education, he founded the Gurukul at Kangri.

[3] Not available

[4] Letter not available

[5] Gandhiji left for Bolpur on February 15. He could, however, reach Kangri only on April 6.

24. LETTER TO MAGANLAL GANDHI

[POONA,]
Maha Vad 11 [*February 10, 1915*][1]

CHI. MAGANLAL,

I am writing this letter from the [Servants of India] Society's premises in Poona. I have talked to Chi. Jamnadas[2] about the clothes you have sent for. I saw Maganbhai's[3] father. We had a long talk. He was even pacified somewhat; for the present, however, he will not send his son. We shall have to wait for three months.

I think Chi. Narandas's[4] son will be with me. I have not even considered whether it will be possible to accommodate all. If it is not possible, we shall come away from there earlier. There will be some delay, of course, since nothing will be decided in a hurry. Meanwhile, I have decided to bring along those who live with us, that they may not be left to fend for themselves.

I am not bringing the *sitar*[5] and *tabla*[6], as I am told by Prof. Barve that they will be available there, that is, in Calcutta, of good quality and cheap in price.

Most probably, we shall leave on Monday, that is, on the 15th. We have decided to take the route you have suggested. I don't write much, since we are to meet soon. I shall reach Bombay on Sunday. If, therefore, you wish to send any telegram, send it there.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

I shall be accompanied by Ba, Harilal[7], Jamnadas, Kaku, Ranchhod, Shanti, Chhotalal—Chhabildas's. These at any rate, and I, are coming. There may be one or two more.

From the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: C.W. 5644. Courtesy: Radhabehn Choudhri

[1] From Gandhiji's tour itinerary mentioned in the letter, it appears to have been written in 1915.

[2] Addressee's younger brother

[3] Patel, a teacher in the Phœnix school, who came to India with the addressee

[4] Addressee's younger brother

[5] A stringed musical instrument

[6] A percussion instrument

[7] Gandhiji's eldest son

25. REPLIES TO QUESTIONS AT POONA MEETINGS

February 11/12, 1915

Mr. Gandhi came to Poona on Monday morning . . . was garlanded at several places during his drive through the city to the buildings of the Servants of India Society, where he put up. On Thursday evening the Deccan Sabha met him in a friendly gathering. The next evening he was treated to a friendly party by the Sarvajanik Sabha in its hall. Mr. Gandhi's conversation at both these conversazione parties was most enjoyable and edifying. To see the living embodiment of simple life and high thoughts was an education in itself. His unassuming demeanour and free and hearty talk were revelations of the pure and burning spirit within. He was asked several questions to which he gave straightforward replies.

Asked about his future plans he replied that he had not yet settled anything and that it was not certain that he would join the Servants of India Society.

Respecting South Africa he was asked why it was that some people there still complained that the question was not yet finally and satisfactorily determined and in what sense he thought it finally settled. Mr. Gandhi replied by pointing out the difference between grievances for which people were ready to sacrifice property and life—in fact, become passive resisters—and grievances which were not felt so acutely. There was a settlement as far as the former kind of grievances were concerned, though there remained others such as those relating to locations and racial distinctions on tramways and railways, towards the removal of which attempts still must be made. But these latter, though serious, were not felt so acutely as to justify the initiation or continuation of the Passive Resistance Movement.

Asked wherefrom exactly the pressure came upon the Union Govt.,—what exactly was the difficulty which in a way forced that Govt. to yield, he replied that it was the favourable European public opinion in the colony which made it possible for the Passive Resistance Movement to succeed. He recognised the value of the representations of the Indian Government and the Imperial Government, but he thought all these would not have availed much, had the passive resisters not the advantage of the sympathy of the general European public towards their cause. The passive resisters, weak, indigent and unarmed as they were, could not have marched in the way they did in a foreign and alien country had not the tacit sympathy of the general population been on their side. In their march they emptied tanks of water belonging to the Europeans with impunity and even without much remonstrance, and that was saying much in a country where water was very deficient. Some of the white settlers even helped the marching party with food. One of the passive resisters was tempted to steal a

blanket but he was not prosecuted by the European owner but generously forgiven. That showed the attitude of the general public of white settlers. The Bantoos, that is, the original settlers, were not at all hostile, but favourable, if anything, to the Indian cause. The opposition came mainly from some Boers and the trading and industrial classes of the European white population. The planters and the traders—those were the strong opponents of Indian claims. The traders did not stand competition with the Indian merchants and hawkers. The planters opposed the Indians but they could not do without Indian labour.

Asked whether the traders and planters wanted to send Indians bag and baggage back to India, Mr. Gandhi said that the planters wanted Indians very badly—but only as indentured labourers. The plantations would be waste lands without Indians. Indigenous labour was not so steady and skilful as the Indian. In fact it was the Indians who were largely contributing to the industrial prosperity of the colony. And Mr. Gandhi clinched his point by remarking that he had always said to the planters to boycott Indians, if they really did not want them. That was in their hands and Indians could not have legally complained about it. But the Indians were useful labourers and traders and they could not be spared—that was why they were not boycotted.

Asked whether there were any temples for Hindus and mausoleums of the Mahomedans, he said there were some but they were more or less apologies of temples and mausoleums. He knew the priests there, and he was obviously sad when he had to speak of their character.

Asked how people from different provinces managed to speak with each other, he proudly referred to Hindi. As to social customs, he said that there was inter-dining among the different sections of the Hindus, but not intermarriage.

To the question, whether the Indians there would be absorbed by the population of their country of adoption, he had to give an emphatic "No"—thanks to the Indian civilization. It was obvious from his manner of speech that the "so-called western civilization" was not very highly thought of by him and that he felt a pride in speaking of the Hindu civilization.

The Mahratta 14-2-1915

26. SPEECH AT POONA PUBLIC MEETING

February 13, 1915

On Saturday Mr. Gandhi visited the Anath-Balikashram of Prof. Karve[1], the Fergusson College and the Anandashram, at all of which places he was warmly welcomed. In the evening there was a public meeting held in the Kirloskar Theatre. The speakers were Sirdar Nowroji Padamji, the President, Sir R. G. Bhandarker[2] and Mr. Wadia.

Mr. Gandhi made an appropriate reply in which he referred to Poona as a place of learning, culture and noted for the spirit of self-sacrifice of its citizens—a city which, whether he made his future 'home' or not, would be considered by him and his wife as a sacred place of pilgrimage. He had, he said, rendered very little service to the country, but what little he rendered had raised such high expectations about him that he feared, they perhaps would be disappointed and he prayed that in case he disappointed the people's hopes about himself, he would be judged in a spirit of generosity and forgiveness. He closed his speech remarking that his guide and teacher[3] had asked him to endeavour to close his lips and keep open his ears for some time. He finished off his nice little speech with expressing thanks for the honour done to him and hoping to be judged generously if he slipped in future.

The Mahratta, 14-2-1915

27. SPEECH AT PRIZE DISTRIBUTION TO STUDENTS IN BOMBAY[4]

February 14, 1915

It seems India is now under the deadly sway of the Iron Age. I have been moving about in this country for a month and seen on what an enormous scale fraud is prevalent here. I had firmly

[1] D. K. Karve (1858-1962); social reformer; "Bharat Ratna"; founder of the Indian Women's University; *vide* "Speech on Indian Women's University", 23-2-1916.

[2] (1837-1925), Orientalist and author; Vice-Chancellor of Bombay University; leader of Hindu social and religious reform movements; *vide* Vol. II, p. 376.

[3] G. K. Gokhale; *vide* "Speech at Reception by Ahmedabad Citizens", 2-2-1915.

[4] At the function of the Sanatan Dharma Nitishikshan Pravartak Samiti, founded by Manmohandas Shroff; Gandhiji presided.

resolved that for twelve months I would go round everywhere, keeping my ears open and hear everything, but address no meeting and express no opinion on any subject. But I must advise you, students, to read these prize-books carefully, to reflect over their real import and, keeping in mind all the profound truths set out in them, follow the path enjoined by religion. Whether you are a girl or a boy, you will grow up one day and have to carry a heavy burden of worldly duties; give some thought, therefore, to the future. Truth is revealed not only in our scriptures but in the scriptures of other religions as well.[1]

It is the duty of students to assimilate whatever they have learnt. They should have religious and moral instruction, as much of it as they can usefully apply. They need education in such measure that it would not become too much of a useless burden on them. I should like to address a few words exclusively to students. Men and women students, you will benefit from what you have learnt only to the extent that you have assimilated it. That should be the object of this institution too. You should ponder over the element of truth in whatever books of religion you read. If you cling to truth, success is yours. I would advise you, from my experience, to profit well from your education. That will be to your advantage and to your country's as well.[2]

[From Gujarati]

Kathiawar Times, 17-2-1915 and *Gujarati*, 21-2-1915

28. SPEECH AT KAPOL HOSTEL, BOMBAY[3]

[February 15, 1915]

I am not in the least surprised that you have collected Rs. 70,000 for the Hostel, as the Kapol community is quite wealthy and it is the duty of its richer members to provide for the education of its poorer members and help them to employment. I thank you for your kind words. I would not, normally, have found it possible to pay this visit to the Hostel, but Dr. Jivraj Mehta[4] had

[1] From *Kathiawar Times*

[2] From *Gujarati*

[3] On the occasion of Gandhiji's and Kasturba's visit to the Hostel. Sheth Tribhuvandas Varjivandas presided.

[4] (1887–), Minister of Finance, Bombay Government, 1950-60. He later became the first Chief Minister of Gujarat on the bifurcation of the old Bombay State in May, 1960. Appointed High Commissioner in London in December, 1963.

lived here and had had an illustrious career and I was, therefore, keen on seeing the place. Of him, I will say in brief that, young and patriotic that he is, I am confident he will prove himself useful to the country in the years to come. I am indebted to the Kapol community because Jagmohandas Shamaldas gave me a substantial loan. When I returned as a barrister, I was afraid he might ask for an instalment but Mr. Mulji Barbhaiya came to my help. In conclusion, I would ask the students to speak in their mother tongue instead of using a hotchpotch of English and Gujarati in their speech. Finally, I should urge everyone here to work for success, to cultivate character and to serve both one's family and country.

[From Gujarati]
Gujarati, 21-2-1915

29. *SPEECH AT SANTINIKETAN RECEPTION*[1]

February 17, 1915

The delight I feel today I have never experienced before. Though Rabindranath[2], the Gurudev, is not present here, yet we feel his presence in our hearts. I am particularly happy to find that you have arranged for this reception in Indian style. We were received with much pomp in Bombay, but there was nothing in it to make us happy. For there, purely western ways were imitated. We shall proceed to our goal in our own eastern ways and not by imitating the West, for we are of the East. We shall grow up in the beautiful manners and customs of India, and true to her spirit, make friends with nations having different ideals. Indeed, through her oriental culture, India will establish friendly relations with the eastern and western worlds. Today I feel a close kinship with this Ashram in Bengal. I am no stranger to you. I liked also the distant land of Africa because the Indians there have not given up their Indian habits and customs.

Gandhiji ended his speech by offering his thanks to the audience.

From a Bengali report in *Tattvabodhini Patrika*, February, 1915

[1] Presented by the inmates

[2] Rabindranath Tagore (1861-1941); poet and artist, won Nobel Prize for Literature in 1913; founder of Santiniketan, now a University

30. TELEGRAM TO H. N. KUNZRU

[BOLPUR,
February 20, 1915]

EXPRESS

KUNZRU[1]
SERVINDIA
ALLAHABAD

MR GOKHALE PASSED AWAY[2]. PROCEEDING POONA TONIGHT'S MAIL. MEET ME CHHEOKI. BETTER IF YOU JOIN ME.

GANDHI

From the draft in Gandhiji's hand: C.W. 5672. Courtesy: Radhabehn Choudhri

31. TELEGRAM TO KARSANDAS CHITALIA

[BOLPUR,
February 20, 1915]

DEFERRED

CHITALIA[3]
SERVINDIA
BOMBAY

HEARD TERRIBLE NEWS. REACHING POONA MONDAY EVENING. TELL REVASHANKER[4] SEND LETTERS POONA.

GANDHI

From the draft in Gandhiji's hand: C.W. 5666. Courtesy: Radhabehn Choudhri

[1] Hriday Nath Kunzru (1887–), President of Servants of India Society; Liberal politician and parliamentarian

[2] On February 19

[3] Associated with Bhagini Samaj, Bombay, and Servants of India Society

[4] Revashanker Jagjivan Zaveri, a friend of Gandhiji and brother of Dr. Pranjivan Mehta

32. CABLE TO TRANSVAAL B. I. ASSOCIATION

BOLPUR,
[*February 20, 1915*]

DEFERRED
GANDHI
JOHANNESBURG

GOKHALE DEAD. SUGGEST UNIVERSAL MOURNING. WE HALF FASTING.

GANDHI, POONA

From the draft in Gandhiji's hand: C.W. 5665. Courtesy: Radhabehn Choudhri

33. SPEECH AT SANTINIKETAN ON GOKHALE'S DEATH

February 20, 1915

My one desire tonight is that my heart may reach your hearts and that there should be a real at-one-ment between us.

You have all learnt something about Tulsidas's *Ramayana*. The most stirring part is that about the companionship of the good. We should seek the company of those who have suffered and served and died. One such was Mr. Gokhale. He is dead, but his work is not dead, for his spirit lives.

The masses came to know of Gokhale's efficiency in work. All know Gokhale's life of action. But few know of his religious life. Truth was the spring of all his actions.[1]

This was behind all his works, even his politics. This was the reason he founded the Servants of India Society, the ideal of which was to spiritualise the political as well as the social life of the nation.

It was fearlessness which ruled all the actions of his life. But as he was fearless he was also thorough. One of his favourite *shlokas*[2] from the shastras says: Real wisdom is not to begin a thing but to see the thing through to the end. This characteristic of thoroughness may be seen from this incident. He once had to speak to a large audience and he spent three days in order to prepare a short speech for this meeting and he asked me to write out a speech

[1] This paragraph is from *Tattvabodhini Patrika*.
[2] Verses

for him. I wrote out the speech. He took it and smiled his heavenly smile, discussed it with me and said, "Give me something better, rewrite it." For three days he worried over it. When the speech was given, it thrilled the whole audience. He delivered his speeches without notes, but he did so, because he was so thorough, that one might say he wrote his speeches with his own blood. As he was thorough and fearless, so he was gentle. He was human from top to toe in all his dealings. He was sometimes impatient, but he would ask forgiveness, coming forward with his smile, whether to a servant or a great man, saying, "I know you will forgive me, won't you?"

He had a great struggle during the latter days of his life, a struggle with his conscience. He had to decide whether he should continue to take part in a struggle at the expense of his health. His conscience ruled every action of his life. He did not wear it on his sleeve, he wore it in his heart. Therefore he is living still, and may we all have the strength to carry out his last wish. His last words to those members of the Servants of India Society who were with him were : "I do not want any memorial or any statue. I want only that men should love their country and serve it with their lives." This is a message for the whole of India and not only for them. It was through service that he learnt to know his own nature and to know his country. His love for India was truthful and therefore he wanted nothing for India which he did not want for humanity also. It was not blind love, for his eyes were open to her faults and failings. If we can love India in the same way that he did, we have done well in coming to Santiniketan to learn how to live our lives for India's sake. Copy the zeal which he showed in all he took up, the love that was the law of his life, the truthfulness which guided every action and the thoroughness which was characteristic of all his work.

Remember that our shastras teach us that these simple virtues are the stepping stones to the higher state of life, without which all our worship and works are useless.

I was in quest of a really truthful hero in India and I found him in Gokhale. His love and reverence for India were truly genuine. For serving his country, he completely eschewed all happiness and self-interest. Even while lying on his sick-bed, his mind was occupied in thinking about the welfare of India. A few days ago, when at night he was under the grip of a painful ailment, he called for some of us and began talking about the bright future of India, as envisaged by him. Doctors repeatedly advised him to retire from work but he would not listen to them. He said, "None but death can separate

me from work." And death at last brought peaceful rest to him. May God bless his soul![1]

From *The Ashram*, handwritten monthly magazine of Shantiniketan, June & July, 1915; also a Bengali report in *Tattvabodhini Patrika*, February, 1915

34. LETTER TO CHIEF TRAFFIC MANAGER, E. I. RAILWAY

SERVANTS OF INDIA SOCIETY,
POONA CITY,
[February 23, 1915][2]

THE TRAFFIC MANAGER
EAST INDIAN RAILWAY
CALCUTTA

SIR,

Mrs. Gandhi, two friends and I travelled on the 21st instant by the 3 up mail from Burdwan to Kalyan en route for Poona. We were holders of 3rd class tickets Nos. 7186 to 7189. Upon the train steaming in, I found that the 3rd class compartment was uncomfortably crowded containing far more passengers than the number specified on the label. However, we tried to get in. The station clerk who was standing by prevented us from doing so. I suggested that we would stand in the carriage as it was necessary for us to reach Poona at the earliest possible moment. The clerk would not listen to me. I then suggested that we should travel in an intermediate compartment until we could find accommodation in the 3rd class carriage. This suggestion was accepted. We got into an intermediate carriage. The station clerk duly reported the matter to the guard who insisted that we must pay the difference between the 3rd class and intermediate fares as far as Jubbulpore or we should not travel by mail train at all and go by the passenger train which was to follow. I protested but my protest was of no avail. I had therefore no alternative but to consent under protest to pay the difference which was taken from me at Assansol. The excess fare ticket number was 274577. I paid Rs. 19-12-0. I asked the ticket master to note on the ticket that I paid the excess fare under protest. He disregarded my request. As I had no desire to travel in an intermediate compartment, I and my party were looking for

[1] This paragraph is from *Tattvabodhini Patrika*.
[2] From the reply of the addressee

an opportunity of transferring to 3rd class compartment which we did at Mughalsarai. Here I asked the ticket collector to mark on the excess fare ticket that I had changed to the 3rd class compartment but he declined to do so.

I submit that, in the circumstances above mentioned, my party should have been found seats in the 3rd class compartment, failing that, permitted to travel intermediate without extra fare until the pressure had been removed; in any case it was unfair to insist on excess fare being paid as far as Jubbulpore and that as my party actually transferred to the 3rd class compartment at Mughalsarai, there is no warrant for the retention of the excess fare between Mughalsarai and Jubbulpore.

I trust that the Railway Administration will direct a refund of the full excess fare.

I have thought it to be my duty to bring this matter to your notice, as much for the sake of the recovery of the excess fare paid (having operated upon public funds for my travels) as for the principle that 3rd class passengers are entitled to proper treatment. I observed that they were roughly handled by several officials who were rude and impatient. I have no doubt that the Administration do not desire to see 3rd class passengers in any way roughly handled by inconsiderate officials.[1]

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your obedient servant,

From the draft in Gandhiji's hand: C.W. 5667. Courtesy: Radhabehn Choudhri

[1] In his reply dated March 27, the Acting Divisional Traffic Manager defended the action of the railway staff, but wrote: "As the difference in fares was correctly realized according to rules, and there is no record at Moghulsarai of your having travelled from that point to Jubbulpur 3rd Class, under ordinary circumstances refunds are not granted, but I am prepared to accept your statement and will send by Postal Money Order the difference in fares between Moghulsarai and Jubbulpur."

35. LETTER TO RATILAL M. SHETH

SERVANTS OF INDIA SOCIETY,
POONA,
Phagan Sud 13 [February 27, 1915][1]

BHAISHRI RATILAL,

I have your letter. My health is improving.

I am indeed very happy that you think of using the looms. I would advise alteration in Indian looms, only after they have been patiently handled and such alteration is found necessary. An intelligent man may suggest improvements, but only after he has learnt to operate a hundred per cent Indian loom and produce cloth on it. There will be some propriety in that. Yarn, too, it seems to me, should be spun on our own spinning wheels. That way, I see, lies the prosperity of the country, of its poor, that is. More about this when we meet.

The man who knows in his heart of hearts that this mortal frame is liable to perish any moment will be ever ready to meet death. That he might be so, the householder will limit his external activities and expand the inner and live accordingly. Following this rule, though a householder you can limit the scope of sense-pleasures. You can introduce even into your business some degree of holiness. Before deciding on any course of action, you can ask yourself whether it is essential. That way, you will also discover very easily what will be most conducive to your highest good. All this can be explained more clearly only in a personal discussion.

Let me know what kind of cloth you keep.

Remember this about what I may write or say, that I too am a novice like you. Possibly, I have more experience. You are welcome to profit by that experience.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS

From the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: C.W. 4648. Courtesy: Narandas Gandhi

[1] Gandhiji was in Poona on this date.

36. EXTRACT FROM LETTER TO MATHURADAS TRIKUMJI

POONA,
Phagan Sud 14, February 28, 1915

I got your letter here. It seems to me that for the present, you must do nothing but prepare for the future. I think it will be a good thing if you start studying Hindi and Marathi as languages. It will be better still to learn hand-weaving at the same time. If you haven't formed the habit of going out for a walk every day, you should. At least four hours should be spent in body labour.

We shall think of some other book after you have completed *Yogadarshan*[1].

I shall be there most probably on Thursday and start for Bolpur again the same day.

[From Gujarati]

Bapuni Prasadi

37. LETTER TO D. B. SHUKLA

Phagan Vad 1 [March 2, 1915][2]

BHAISHRI,

I have your letter. May I thank you for sending Rs. 1500?

My health is fairly good. There is still pain in my ribs but Dr. Dev said that there was no pleurisy now.

I am left without shelter through revered Gokhale's death. I am thinking of leaving here on Thursday and returning to Bolpur.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS

REVERED BHAISHRI DALPATRAM BHAVANJI SHUKLA
BARRISTER
CIVIL STATION
RAJKOT

From the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: G.N. 2326

[1] Aphorisms on Yoga by Patanjali

[2] From the post mark

38. LETTER TO SIR WILLIAM WEDDERBURN

March 3, 1915

DEAR SIR WILLIAM[1],

The national calamity that has befallen us has prevented me from replying earlier to your letter.

Many caskets of the kind sent to you have been brought to India. But the Cape Town one was, as it were, destined to go to England. It was the last one received in South Africa just on the day of embarkation for Southampton. Then we stayed in London and the thought of leaving the casket in England was developed during the time. Mr. Roberts, Mr. Kallenbach and I agreed that the best institution where it could be housed was your own house. It will only be a small personal tribute to one whom I have been taught to love and regard as one of India's best friends. The depositing of the casket with you may serve as an effort in binding the two nations together.

May I therefore ask you kindly to keep it yourself. I am sure that had Mr. Gokhale read your letter he would have joined me in my request.

With respects,

I remain,
Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From the typewritten office copy: S.N. 21645C

39. SPEECH AT GOKHALE CONDOLENCE MEETING, POONA

March 3, 1915

At a crowded meeting of the citizens of Poona held at the Kirloskar Theatre on March 3, 1915, under the presidentship of the Governor of Bombay, to condole the recent death of Mr. G. K. Gokhale, the following resolution proposed by Gandhiji was passed:

That the citizens of Poona in public meeting assembled place on record the great loss the whole country, and especially Poona, has sustained in the untimely death of the Hon. Mr. G. K. Gokhale who was the leader of the whole

[1] (1838-1918), President, Indian National Congress at Bombay, 1889 and at Allahabad, 1910; *vide* Vol. I, p. 386.

country and who by his devotion and self-sacrifice has left a great example to his countrymen of selfless public work. That this meeting deeply sympathises with Mr. Gokhale's daughters and other relatives in their grief and requests the President to communicate this Resolution to them.[1]

Mr. Gandhi proposing the resolution paid an eloquent tribute to the memory of the deceased statesman. The speaker said it would look a presumption on his part if he were to add to the glowing tribute which H.E. Lord Willingdon had paid to the memory of the deceased patriot. One thing he would like to mention and that was the deep-seated religious feelings of the man from which sprang a thoroughness which was one of his chief characteristics. He also possessed a conscience. Shortly before his death, Mr. Gokhale was called upon to decide whether he should attend a certain conference. After much deliberation, he decided to do so in the interests of his country, though at a grave risk to his life.[2]

The Bombay Chronicle, 4-3-1915 and *The Amrita Bazar Patrika*, 5-3-1915

40. LETTER TO MAGANLAL GANDHI

[BOMBAY,]
Phagan Vad 3, Thursday [March 4, 1915][3]

CHI. MAGANLAL,

I am writing this letter from Bombay. Very likely I shall have to stop here, too, for a day. I got three letters from you at Poona, at the same time. We want to run our institution for the whole of India and so we will beg from the entire country. From Ahmedabad, however, we want the land and the required buildings. That will be the foundation.

We will do without machinery as far as possible. We need not concern ourselves whether this will lead to the stopping of the mills. It will be no bad thing even if the millowners stop erecting additional mills. And if indeed they do not, we will still keep to the path which we think will make for our happiness.

You have not understood the [true] significance of *brahmacharya*. Will you be unhappy if Keshu[4] were to attain *moksha*[5] today? If

[1] From the report in *The Bombay Chronicle*

[2] From the report in *The Amrita Bazar Patrika*

[3] From the reference to the founding of an institution in Ahmedabad, the letter appears to have been written in 1915. Again, Gandhiji was in Bombay on this date, and, before that, he was in Poona between February 22 and March 3.

[4] Addressee's son

[5] Deliverance from phenomenal existence

yes, how profound is your condition of *moha*[1]! To believe that procreation by good persons is conducive to the happiness of the world seems to argue great conceit and ignorance. Good men have no desire for worldly pursuits. They desire withdrawal from them, that is, *moksha.* Those who keep them company [on the path] are their children. Not to admit even this bespeaks a state of utter ignorance. All this does not mean that Keshu will never marry. His inclination will be determined by the influences under which he grows up. Your duty is to place the highest ideal before him. It will not matter if he falls short of it. The children of one who so falls will be able to do good to the world. But please ponder deeply over the difference between this position and the other, namely, that the man who violates *brahmacharya* for the purpose of procreation is likely to have good progeny. Ponder deeply over this fine distinction between the two conditions. In one of them, we deliberately commit sin. In the other, though knowing better, we fall through weakness. In this latter, there is scope for rising yet. In the former, one has set one's face against rising. Rising is looked upon rather as falling. If, in spite of our giving the right education to Keshu, he does marry, there will be no harm. If he does not, he will acquire a light that will shine over all the world, such is the strength he will gain. Parents should desire the best for their children. The latter will then acquire what they are capable of. There is no error in my thinking. Be sure of that. I want you to understand my thoughts very carefully. Do not take weakness to be strength. Do not regard *moha* as knowledge. Think over this very carefully. Preserve this letter and send it to Maganbhai[2] at Shantiniketan.

I have wired[3] to Raojibhai to come here. If you think it proper to show this letter to anyone there, you may.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

If it should become necessary for me to go there, I think it will be better that I go after I have finished my work at Bolpur, etc.

From the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: C.W. 110. Courtesy: Radhabehn Choudhri

[1] Delusion resulting from attachment to worldly objects
[2] Patel
[3] This telegram is not available.

41. *SPEECH AT RECEPTION BY CALCUTTA MODH COMMUNITY*

March 12, 1915

By Mr. Gokhale's untimely death, I have lost a friend, philosopher and guide, in whose footsteps I followed in serving the motherland. From his deathbed, he exhorted his friends that we Indians should render sincere service to the motherland.

[From Gujarati]

Kheda Vartaman, 24-3-1915

42. *SPEECH AT CALCUTTA RECEPTION*[1]

March 13, 1915

MR. CHAIRMAN AND FRIENDS,

I do not know in what terms to return my thanks to you for giving me such a hearty welcome. You, sir (President), have blessed me and have entrusted a charge to me also. I hope I shall have deserved your blessing and I shall have power enough and willingness enough to carry out the charge that you have entrusted. Calcutta revives hallowed memories. It was in 1902 that I recognised, as I had not recognised before, in Mr. Gokhale my political master. It was at his feet that I learnt all that I felt I should learn. It was at his place that I came to know Dr. P. C. Roy[2]. I wondered if I should be able to see his face during my visit and I am thankful that I have been able to do so. You have said much which I know I do not deserve. If I can steal a corner of your heart, what do you propose to do to Harbat Singh, who went to jail in South Africa against the wishes of his friends and against my wish also?

Harbat Singh, Mr. Gandhi went on to say, died in prison. How could he describe the deed of Baliama[3] than whom a sweeter woman was not born? She was a girl of 17. What would they give to Harbat and Baliama? If anybody deserved anything, it was they who deserved a corner of their heart but

[1] On the grounds of the palace of the Maharaja of Cassimbazar, with Babu Motilal Ghosh in the chair

[2] Dr. (Sir) P. C. Ray (1861-1944), scientist and patriot

[3] Valliamma, who died a martyr in South Africa; *vide* "Speech at Public Reception, Madras", 21-4-1915.

not heroes like himself who were imported from England. Whatever he was able to do or say, he learnt in England. Harbat was uneducated, he did not know a word of English but he was the worthiest of all. It was Baliama and not his wife who should be exalted.

Proceeding, Mr. Gandhi said it was the life of Mr. Gokhale which inspired him and would do so throughout the work that lay before him. Mr. Gandhi was described as one who did not break the law.[1] That, Mr. Gandhi said, had only a restricted meaning. They had been described in South Africa as law-breakers. Mr. Gandhi said he broke the law and invited the penalty under the law which his conscience could not accept.

Babu Hemendra Nath Sen proposed a vote of thanks to the chair.

Before the close of the meeting, Moulvi Leakut Hossein called for shouts of "Bande Mataram" which were lustily responded to and the "Bande Mataram" song was sung in chorus.

The Amrita Bazar Patrika, 15-3-1915

43. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

ON WAY TO RANGOON,
Phagan Vad 14 [March 14, 1915][2]

CHI. NARANDAS,

We are having a very bitter experience of the deck, which is but common. Those going are Ba, Ramdas[3] and myself. We hope to return to Shantiniketan by the end of this month.

I see that there has been a misunderstanding between Harilal and me. He has parted from me completely. He will receive no monetary help from me. [I] gave him Rs. 45/- and he parted at Calcutta. There was no bitterness. Let him take any books or clothes of mine he may want. Hand over the key to him. He may take out anything he likes and then return the key. You must have heard that the key supposed to have been lost was found. It was

[1] Surendranath Banerjea in his tribute at the meeting had said: "Mr. Gandhi's name would find its place in the enduring pages of history. Mr. Gandhi would not break laws, he would submit to laws but triumph over laws. There was a lesson to the Bengal anarchists which they well might lay to heart, which they might follow. Mr. Gandhi triumphed over the law by moral force."

[2] Gandhiji was on his way to Rangoon on this date.

[3] Third son of Gandhiji

with Revashankerbhai. Get it from him, if you have not got it already.

Blessings from
MOHANDAS

From the Gujarati original in pencil in Gandhiji's hand: C.W. 5668. Courtesy: Narandas Gandhi

44. *LETTER TO MAGANLAL GANDHI*

[After *March 14, 1915*][1]

BHAISHRI 5 M-[2],

You are right in what you think about non-violence. Its essentials are *daya*[3], *akrodha*[4], *aman*[5], etc. Satyagraha is based on non-violence. We saw this clearly in Calcutta and came to the conclusion that we should include it among our vows. The thought led to the further conclusion that we must observe all the *yamas*[6] and that, if we do so by way of vows, we perceive the inner significance of non-violence. In my talks with hundreds of men here I place the various *yamas* above everything else.

सियरामप्रेमपीयूषपूरन होत जनमु न भरतको ।
मुनिमनअगम यमनियमसमदम विषमव्रत आचरत को ।।[7]

I remembered this verse in Calcutta on this occasion and pondered deeply over it. I am absolutely clear in my mind that

[1] From the references to Calcutta and Tagore, the letter appears to have been written after Gandhiji's first visit to Shantiniketan and Calcutta after his arrival in India. Gandhiji left Calcutta on March 14, 1915. In *Gandhijini Sadhana* it is stated that this was written after February, 1915; however, in *Mahatma Gandhijina Patro*, this letter is published as from Madras with the date *Vaishakh Sud* 11, which corresponds to April 25, 1915.

[2] This superscription in a letter addressed to Maganlal Gandhi is unusual. It is reproduced as in *Mahatma Gandhijina Patro*.

[3] Compassion

[4] Freedom from anger

[5] Freedom from the desire to be respected

[6] Any great moral or religious duty or observance. The *yamas* are usually said to be ten, but their names are given differently by different writers. Generally they include truthfulness, non-violence, compassion, celibacy, etc.

[7] "If Bharata had not been born, imbued with the ambrosia of love for Sita and Rama, then who would have practised such self-control and strict observance, continence, restraint and rigorous vows as scarce enter the imagination of sages?" *Ayodhya Kanda* (Second book) of Tulsidas's *Ramayana* (Hill's translation).

India's deliverance and ours will be achieved through the observance of these vows.

In observing the vow of non-hoarding, the main thing to be borne in mind is not to store up anything which we do not require. For agriculture, we may keep bullocks, if we use them, and the equipment required for them. Where there is a recurring danger of famine, we shall no doubt store food-grains. But we shall always ask ourselves whether bullocks and food-grains are in fact needed. We are to observe all the *yamas* in thought as well, so that we shall grow more secure in them from day to day and come to think of fresh things to renounce. Renunciation has no limit to it. The more we renounce, the more shall we grow in the knowledge of the *atman*[1]. If the mind continues to move towards renunciation of the desire for hoarding and if in practice we give up hoarding as far as it is physically possible to do, we shall have kept the vow of non-hoarding.

The same is true about non-stealing. Non-hoarding refers to stocking of things not needed. Non-stealing refers to the use of such things. If I need only one shirt to cover myself with but use two, I am guilty of stealing one from another. For, a shirt which could have been of use to someone else does not belong to me. If five bananas are enough to keep me going, my eating a sixth one is a form of theft. Suppose we have a stock of 50 limes, thinking that among us all we would need them. I need only two, but take three because there are so many. This is theft.

Such unnecessary consumption is also a violation of the vow of non-violence. If, with the ideal of non-stealing in view, we reduce our consumption of things, we would grow more generous. If we do so, actuated by the ideal of non-violence, we would grow more compassionate. In assuring, as it were, every animal or living thing that it need have no fear on our account, we entertain compassion —love—for it. A man who entertains such love will not find any living being inimical to him, not even in thought. That is the most emphatic conclusion of the shastras and my experience as well.

The principle underlying all these vows is truth. By deceiving oneself, one may refuse to recognize an act of stealing or hoarding as such. Hence, by taking careful thought we can ensure at every step that truth prevails. Whenever we are in doubt whether a particular thing should be stored or not, the simple rule is not to store it. There is no violation of truth in renunciation. When in

[1] The Self

doubt about the wisdom of speaking, it is the duty of a man who has taken the vow of truth not to speak.

I want all of you to take only such vows as each one feels inclined to, of his own free will. I always feel that vows are necessary. But anyone may take them only when he himself feels the need and take only such as he wants to.

Ramchandra may have been a man of great prowess, performed innumerable feats and killed hundreds of thousands of monsters, but no one would think of him today if he had not had such devoted men as Lakshmana and Bharata to follow him. The point is, if Ramchandra had had no more than extraordinary strength as a fighter, his greatness would have been forgotten after a while. There have been many brave warriors who killed monsters as he did. There has been none among them whose fame and greatness are sung in every home. Ramchandra possessed power of some other kind which he could induce into Lakshmana and Bharata and in virtue of which the latter became great men of austerities. Singing in praise of their austerities, Tulsidasji asked who else, if Bharata had not been born and practised austerities unattainable even by great sages, would have turned an ignorant man like him to Rama? This is as much as to say that Lakshmana and Bharata were the guardians of Rama's fame, that is, of his teaching. Moreover, austerities are not everything. For, if Lakshmana went without food or sleep for 14 years, so did Indrajit[1]. But the latter did not know the true significance of austerities which Lakshmana had learnt from Rama; on the contrary, he possessed a nature which inclined him to misuse the power earned through austerities and so came to be known merely as a monster and suffered defeat at the hands of Lakshmana, the man of self-mastery, a lover of God and seeker of deliverance. In the same way, however great the ideal of Gurudev[2], if there is no one to implement that ideal, it will remain hidden in the profound darkness of the ages. Conversely, if there are any to put it into practice, it will spread its light multiplied many times over. The steps which one has to climb in order to practise an ideal constitute *tapas*. One should realise, therefore, how very necessary it is to bring *tapas*—discipline—into the life of children.

[From Gujarati]

Gandhijini Sadhana; also *Mahatma Gandhijina Patro*

[1] Meghanad, son of Ravana, who had earned the name of Indrajit by his victory over Indra, chief of the gods

[2] Rabindranath Tagore

45. AMENDMENTS TO "OBJECTS" OF IMPERIAL INDIAN CITIZENSHIP ASSOCIATION[1]

[On or after *March 16, 1915*]

The following clauses are suggested in place of 1 to 4 under the head 'objects'[2].

To ascertain the condition of Indian settlers not excluding indentured labourers outside India and to agitate for the removal of their disabilities and grievances.

To secure for such settlers equal status with all the other settlers in the respective parts of the world.

To investigate the conditions of transport under which immigrants travel to their destination and secure an amelioration of such conditions where they may be found to be defective.

To secure with all the other British subjects equality of treatment alike as to terms of admission and as to residence for all British Indian emigrants to any part of the world including British self-governing Colonies.

To maintain a bureau of information for the benefit of emigrants.

To establish and maintain a library containing colonial and foreign laws and journals and all other special books of interest to emigrants.

From a photostat of a draft in Gandhiji's hand: S.N. 6305

[1] Amendments suggested in reply to Jahangir Bomanjee Petit's letter of March 16, 1915, forwarding a draft copy of the rules and regulations of the Imperial Indian Citizenship Association for Gandhiji's perusal and suggestions

[2] "Objects" 1 to 4 were as follows:

(1) To protect and safeguard the civic interest of Indians in general in any part of the world outside India, including the self-governing British Colonies;

(2) To work for, insist upon and obtain for Indians in all British foreign possessions in particular, absolutely equal treatment in all respects with all other British citizens;

(3) To establish and maintain by all possible constitutional means the right of Indians to emigrate into and settle in any part of the British Empire, including self-governing Colonies, on the same terms as other members of the Empire;

(4) To maintain by all legitimate and constitutional means the inherent right and privileges of Indians within the Empire as British citizens.

46. LETTER TO AGENTS OF B. I. S. N. COMPANY

[RANGOON,]
March 19, 1915

THE AGENTS
BRITISH INDIA STEAM NAVIGATION COMPANY

GENTLEMEN,

With Mrs. Gandhi and five others, I was a deck passenger from Calcutta to Rangoon per s.s. *Lunka* which arrived here yesterday[1]. I have been in the habit of travelling as a deck passenger now for some time. I was surprised to find that the arrangements for deck passengers on s.s. *Lunka* were the worst I have yet seen. The deck was uncomfortably crowded. There was hardly enough sitting accommodation for the number of passengers taken. My party could not all fully stretch ourselves during night although several passengers were anxious to make us comfortable. I saw many lying anyhow and anywhere thoroughly cramped. The latrines were in a dangerously filthy state. The floor space between the seats and the doors was used as urinals. There seemed to be no outlet for the urine. There was therefore always a pool of urine in front of you. The walls of the latrines I found to be extremely dirty and sticky. The doors were without bolts. The only bathing room I saw was used by the passengers for urinary purposes. There was no check against passengers spitting anywhere. The deck used by them was never washed.

I am sure that a great company like yours do not wish to treat their deck passengers in the manner described above. May I ask you please to forward this letter to the proper quarters for attention?

I am likely to return to Calcutta next week and may I hope that my party and I, in common with the other passengers, will be able to have the ordinary sanitary comforts which a human being should have?

I remain,
Yours faithfully,

From a photostat of the original draft in Gandhiji's hand: S.N. 6167

[1] On the 17th, both according to the "Diary for 1915" and the Company's letter of the 20th, acknowledging this letter and promising an inquiry into the complaint about the state of latrines (S.N. 6168)

47. INTERVIEW AT RANGOON

[Before *March 22, 1915*]

A correspondent from Rangoon writes under the date March 22:

When I asked Mr. Gandhi to grant me an interview on behalf of a local paper, he simply would not hear of it. He said he had returned from S. Africa only recently. He had not given to the problems of India the amount of study they required. Therefore he could not be expected to speak on Indian affairs with any semblance of authority. He was at present engaged in studying our problems on the late lamented Mr. G. K. Gokhale's advice. When his studies were over, then he would be "out for interviews", but not till then. But I assured him that I had no intention of asking him his opinions about topical matters. I said I represented a Tamil paper, that I was myself a member of the Tamil community and that I merely intended to ask him what he thought of the Tamil community with whom he must have largely come into contact in South Africa. On hearing this he seemed greatly relieved and without the slightest pause, like a man who had already formed his final opinions on this subject, he delivered a glowing eulogy on the Tamil people.

He started by saying he could quote chapter and verse for the good work performed by them in South Africa. They were of the greatest help to him during the passive resistance struggle. All the Indian communities were of very great help to him, but especially the Tamil community. It was considered a shame among them for one man not to have gone to jail at least once for the common cause. That was not true of any other community, but that was entirely true of the Tamil. When he first met them, he learnt to admire them. Ever afterwards he had found them better and better. He said:

I consider I have more in common with the Tamil community than with any other.

I asked him whether he had any ulterior purpose in visiting Burma. . . . His answer was simple. He said:

My work lies in India.

The Hindu, 30-3-1915

48. LETTER TO JAMNADAS GANDHI

Chaitra Sud 12 [*March 28, 1915*][1]

CHI. JAMNADAS,

I have your letter. About the diet, you will be able to speak of your experience only after some time. With patience, you will see the results. It happens that one needs glasses for the eyes, whether to buy them or not, we shall consider by and by.

I too am surprised how the pillars came down all of a sudden. If they were the ones which bore the invaluable inscriptions, the thing is very much to be regretted. What you did was quite right. You had them brought down after getting your doubts cleared, and that was but proper. Show me this place.[2]

We shall know more then. I don't think tamarind induces weakness. An excessive quantity of food must have been taken.

Fiction means an imagined story. It is beyond doubt that the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata* have less of history and more of imagination. They are both sacred books; tens of millions of people look upon them as more than history, and rightly. Maybe there was no brother of Rama exactly like Bharata, but there have been such Bharatas at any rate in India and that is why Tulsidas could conceive one. It is to the Bharata depicted in the *Ramayana* that Bharatvarsha[3] pays homage.

We need not make ourselves unhappy in the least if, because of our offering satyagraha, Phœnix should turn desolate and go to waste. In settled conditions, we should take to agriculture. When conditions are unsettled, we may beg or labour, or starve. We should have unshakable faith that nothing that is done is ever done in vain. This is a law which has no exception. If circumstances arise again, we may resume agriculture. If not, we need not worry. Agriculture is not the end but only a means. The end is, from the lower point of view, service of the people and, from the higher point of view, *moksha*. One of the means for achieving both is agriculture. When it hinders us from attaining the end, we should abandon it.

The freedom that the Poet takes is wrong. We should, however, bear with a man like him, in the hope that one day he will give

[1] Gandhiji left Rangoon on March 26, 1915.
[2] It has not been possible to ascertain the exact significance of this paragraph.
[3] India

up indulgence of the senses. For him, our company is all to the good. We should make things as easy for him as we can. We need not apply to others the rule we apply to the Poet. That is, we need not have the same rule for all in such matters. Even the Poet may not cross the bounds, however.

It is because of the respected Gokhale that we keep using the name "'Phœnix' Institution". He gave this name to our institution in order that everyone, himself included, may recognize the meaning immediately. Most of the aims of Phœnix are the aims of our institution here. He understood the aims of Phœnix and so gave that name. We need not keep it for ever. We will look for another name after we have settled down somewhere.

I shall preserve the dresses and hand them over to you. But they will be useless when I have worn them out. You will have, therefore, to make your selection right now. They were good experiences I had in Rangoon.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a copy of the Gujarati original: C.W. 5684. Courtesy: Narandas Gandhi

49. SPEECH AT STUDENTS' HALL, CALCUTTA[1]

March 31, 1915

On Wednesday evening under the presidency of the Hon'ble Mr. Lyons[2] and before a stupendously large gathering at the Students' Hall, College Square, Mr. Gandhi delivered an address, embodying advice as to the duties of young men in view of the anarchical crimes committed by some misguided youths in this country.

Though it was the command of his guru, the late Mr. Gokhale, that Mr. Gandhi, during his stay here keep his ears open but his mouth shut, he could not resist the temptation of addressing the meeting. It was the opinion of the speaker as well as his departed guru that politics should not be a sealed book to the student community; for he saw no reason why students should not study and take part in politics. He went the length of saying that politics should not be divorced from religion. They would agree with him as well as

[1] This was published under the caption "Mr. Gandhi's Advice to Young Bengal", reprinted under the caption, "On Anarchical Crimes" in *Speeches and Writings of Mahatma Gandhi*, Natesan.

[2] P. C. Lyons

their teachers, professors and the worthy chairman that literary education was of no value, if it was not able to build up a sound character. Could it be said that the students or the public men in this country were entirely fearless? This question engaged the speaker's serious attention although he was in exile. He understood what political dacoity or political assassination was. He had given the subject his most prayerful and careful attention and he had come to the conclusion that some of the students of his country were fired no doubt with zeal in their minds and with love for their motherland, but they did not know how they should love her best. He believed that some of them resorted to nefarious means, because they did not work in the fear of God, but in the fear of man. He was there to tell them that if he was for sedition, he must speak out sedition and think loudly and take the consequences. If he did so, it would clear the atmosphere of any taint of hypocrisy. If the students, who were the hopes of India, nay perhaps of the Empire, did not work in the fear of God, but in the fear of man, in the fear of the authorities—the Government whether it was represented by the British or an indigenous body —the results would prove disastrous to the country. They should always keep their minds open regardless of what the consequence would be. The youths who resorted to dacoities and assassinations were misguided youths with whom they should have absolutely no connection. They should consider these persons as enemies to themselves and to their country. But he did not for a moment suggest that they should hate those people. The speaker was not a believer in Government; he would not have any Government. He believed that that Government is the best that governs the least. But whatever his personal views were, he must say that misguided zeal that resorted to dacoities and assassinations could not be productive of any good. These dacoities and assassinations were absolutely a foreign growth in India. They could not take root here and could not be a permanent institution here. History proved that assassination had done no good. The religion of this country, the Hindu religion, was abstention from *himsa*, that was to say, taking animal life. That was, he believed, the guiding principle of all religions. The Hindu religion said that even the evil-doer should not be hated. It said that nobody had any right to kill even the evil-doer. These assassinations were a western institution and the speaker warned his hearers against these western methods and western evils. What had they done in the western world? If the youths imitated them and believed that they could do the slightest good to India, they were totally mistaken. He would not discuss what Government was best for India, whether the British Government or the Government that existed before, though he believed that there was a great deal of room for improvement in the British Government.

But he would advise his young friends to be fearless, sincere and be guided by the principles of religion. If they had a programme for the country, let them place it openly before the public. The speaker concluded the address with an appeal to the young men present to be religious and be guided by a spirit

of religion and morality. If they were prepared to die, the speaker was prepared to die with them. He should[1] be ready to accept their guidance. But if they wanted to terrorise the country, he should rise against them.

The President, in the course of an eloquent speech, eulogised the address of the evening and suggested that the young men should band themselves for the purpose of uprooting the anarchical evil from this country. He offered a vote of thanks to Mr. Gandhi.

Mr. Gandhi made a suitable reply and invited correspondence from the student community to which he promised to give a prompt reply.

The Amrita Bazar Patrika, 1-4-1915. Courtesy: National Library, Calcutta

50. SPEECH AT GURUKUL, HARDWAR

April 8, 1915

An address of welcome was presented to Mr. Gandhi by the Brahmacharis of Gurukul Kangri on 8th April when Mr. and Mrs. Gandhi visited Hardwar in connection with the Kumbhi. Professor Mahish Charan Sinha with his band of Brahmacharis went to receive him. Brahmachari Budhaduri read the address. . . .

Mr. Gandhi replied:

I feel indebted to Mahatmaji for his love. I came to Hardwar only to pay my respects to Mahatma Munshiram, as Mr. Andrews has pointed out his name as one of the three great men whom I ought to see in India.

He thanked the Brahmacharis for the help they sent to their Indian brothers in Africa and felt specially grateful to the Brahmacharis and the Mahatma for the love and affection they extended towards his Phœnix boys while visiting Gurukul and felt that his pilgrimage to Gurukul was satisfactory. He said:

I am proud that Mahatmaji has called me his brother in a letter. Please pray that I may deserve his fraternity. I have come after 28 years to my country. I can give no advice. I have come to seek guidance and am ready to bow down to anyone who is devoted to the service of the Motherland and I am ready to lay down my life in the service of my country and I shall no more go abroad. One of my brothers is gone.[2] I want guidance. I hope the Mahatmaji will take his place and be a brother to me now.

To the Brahmacharis, he said:

Whatever your aim is, is the aim of all of us. May God fulfil our mission.

[1] *The Bengalee*, 1-4-1915, has "would".
[2] Laxmidas Gandhi

Mahatma Munshiram, while welcoming him, said that he was glad to hear that he would live in India and would not go abroad like others to serve India from outside. He hoped that Mr. Gandhi would be the beacon light of India.

The Hindu, 12-4-1915

51. SPEECH ON ARRIVAL AT MADRAS

April 17, 1915

Mr. and Mrs. M. K. Gandhi arrived in Madras last Saturday evening from Hardwar by the Delhi Express. . . . A little disappointment was in store for the people, however. When the train arrived, they searched all the first and second class compartments, but in vain, and they were inclined to think that Mr. Gandhi and Mrs. Gandhi had not come. But a guard told them that Mr. and Mrs. Gandhi had come by that train and they were in a compartment at the end of the train. A long search discovered Mr. and Mrs. Gandhi sitting in a third class compartment. Mr. Gandhi looked thin and emaciated, a loose shirt soiled by four days of continuous travel covered his body and a pair of trousers similar in appearance covered his legs. There was a rush to that compartment and the crowd was such that about a dozen policemen who had been there found themselves powerless to manage the crowd and had to leave it to shift as best it could. . . .Shouts of "Long live Mr. and Mrs. Gandhi", "Long live our hero" and "Bande Mataram" rang from the crowd. Mr. Gandhi bowed to them in acknowledgement and was conducted to the carriage. The students who had gathered in large numbers unyoked the horse and volunteered to drag the carriage. The carriage was taken, dragged by the students, to the premises of Messrs Natesan & Co., Sunkurama Chetty Street, Mr. Gandhi being cheered all along the way, Mr. and Mrs. Gandhi standing in the carriage and with hands cooped [*sic*] acknowledging the greetings.

On arrival at Messrs Natesan & Co., where he will be stopping during his stay in Madras, Mr. Gandhi stood up in the carriage and in a loud and clear voice said that he was exceedingly thankful to them for the expression of their love to him. He was fagged on account of the four days' continuous journey and wished to be allowed to say good night. He would, however, be free to see them during his stay here between three and five o'clock on all days and discuss questions affecting their common good.

Mr. and Mrs. Gandhi expect to stay in Madras for a fortnight. Mr. Gandhi desires to visit the places in the South wherefrom the bulk of South African Indian settlers have been drawn in order to meet such of the passive resisters as have settled in India.

The Hindu, 19-4-1915

52. LETTER TO LAZARUS

MADRAS,
[After *April 17, 1915*][1]

MY DEAR LAZARUS,

I have your letter. The Indian Relief Bill[2] ought to serve, as it was designed to serve, as a sound basis on which we can erect a sound structure. I gave ample warning[3] on my leaving South Africa that it might be differently interpreted by the Government. In every such case we have our own remedy—legal and moral. We may or we may not take up the legal remedy. The moral is, and should be, always at our disposal, and that is passive resistance. If the spirit of the settlement is not carried out and hardships are inflicted by the administration, our final remedy must be passive resistance. I hope none of you considered that we would never have to resort to passive resistance. All that one could hope for was that the Government had altered their spirit and that they would not lightly invite a revival of the struggle. But this last and sovereign remedy is always at our disposal to be used whenever necessary. Of course virtue lies in knowing when it should be used. Generally speaking, if there is a departure from the fundamental principles which were laid down at the time of the settlement, there is sufficient cause for offering passive resistance. You must understand the main purpose of the Relief [Bill]. Let me reiterate the chief points. First, the removal of the £3 tax : second, the re-instatement of the status of Indian wives: third, repeal of the Asiatic Act. These three things have been obtained, I think, practically for all time. Just administration of existing laws is a point covered by the correspondence[4] which was published immediately after the passage of the Bill, and it is there that naturally there was an uncertainty. Our meaning of just administration may be totally different from that of the Government, and to keep the Government up to the level of our views, there must be continuous watching.

[1] Gandhiji arrived in Madras on April 17, 1915; this was his first visit to the place after returning from South Africa.

[2] *Vide* Vol. XII, Appendix XXV.

[3] and [4] *Vide* Vol. XII.

With regard to Christopher, I note what you would want me to do. I shall try to do what I can. I have not yet settled down. I have just arrived in Madras in the course of my wanderings, but as soon as I settle down I shall see what can be done. I take it that, if there is a scholarship forthcoming, he will study in India.

As to your suggestion about *Indian Opinion*, its sphere is narrow for want of workers. In spite of desperate efforts we have not been able, as you are aware, to get a sufficiently large number of selfless workers. I still feel that it cannot be worked upon any other lines. Immediately we introduce the system of payment according to ability, it will lose all its usefulness. Anyhow, that is not the Phœnix ideal. You have to raise at least a few colonial-born young men who would devote themselves to public cause without thought of reward, and you can make *Indian Opinion* a greater power than it is and you can then make it cater for colonial-born Indians in the special sense you suggest.

That a sound body carries a sound mind is after all a truism, but it is to be interpreted with many qualifications. Take the celebrated Sandow. His is, as you would consider, one of the soundest bodies. I am not sure that he necessarily carries a sound mind with it. To me a sound body means one which bends itself to the spirit and is always a ready instrument at its service. Such bodies are not made, in my opinion, on the football field. They are made on cornfields and farms. I would urge you to think this over and you will find innumerable illustrations to prove my statement. Our colonial-born Indians are carried away with this football and cricket mania. These games may have their place under certain circumstances. But I feel sure that for us, who are just now so fallen, they have no room. Why do we not take the simple fact into consideration that the vast majority of mankind who are vigorous in body and mind are simple agriculturists, that they are strangers to these games, and they are the salt of the earth? Without them your and my existence would be an impossibility, whereas you and I are totally unnecessary for their well-being.

The health of both Mrs. Gandhi and myself is good. It would have been better had we not been touring so ceaselessly as we have done. But the holy atmosphere of India has done all that we had expected. It is because there is something peculiar about the Indian atmosphere that I suggest so strongly to the colonial-born friends that they should consider it as a matter of duty to visit India, and to visit as Indians wanting to live the purely Indian life, and not half-European and half-Indian.

I think I have now covered all the points you have raised. Be good to the people of Phœnix, have patience with them. They are doing their best, they are giving their all, they mean to render services to the motherland. Help them to do so, criticise them by all means, but let your criticism be tempered with love of the settlement. Please remember me to the old folks. I should not forget you or Brian from whom I have received so much love. Whenever you are prepared to give me your boys on my terms, I shall be ready to take them over. The sooner you come to a decision, the better. Else it may be too late for them.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S.N. 6120

53. SPEECH AT GOKHALE CLUB, MADRAS

April 20, 1915

Yesterday evening, Mr. Gandhi spent about an hour and a quarter in a conversation in the home of the Servants of India Society with the members of the Gokhale Club, an association of young men started some six months ago for the study of public questions under the guidance of experienced elders.

Mr. Gandhi described his "Phœnix" settlement scheme[1] as one meant for the training of people for the service of the motherland. Special attention would be paid in the settlement to the formation of character and several vernaculars would be taught in it. In his opinion, the observance of *brahmacharya* was essential for all national service and would be a necessary condition for admission into the settlement. Everyone there would be taught and required to do some manual work, preferably in connection with agriculture. The settlement would be open to persons of both sexes, married and unmarried. Asked if he would recommend *brahmacharya* and poverty as ideals to be followed by the whole country, he said he would do so without the least hesitation; only he would recognise it as a religious impossibility for a whole nation to follow them. For conduct in life he would recommend two principles above all—love of truth and *ahimsa*, the latter including abstention from giving any pain to the body or to the mind and extending to all forms of life. As to the application of passive resistance to politics, he warned his hearers that it was a very difficult weapon to use and should not be resorted to except as a last resource and in defence of the dearest interests like national honour. He was against the use of all machinery and would use only hand-made articles.

[1] *Vide* "Interview to *The Madras Mail*", 22-4-1915.

When the meeting dispersed, everyone present felt chastened by his inspiring words.

The Hindu, 21-4-1915

54. SPEECH AT PUBLIC RECEPTION, MADRAS[1]

April 21, 1915

Mr. Gandhi rose amidst deafening cheers and said:

MR. CHAIRMAN AND FRIENDS,

On behalf of my wife and myself, I am deeply grateful for the great honour that you here and Madras, and, may I say, this Presidency have done to us and the affection that has been lavished upon us in this great and enlightened—not benighted—Presidency. ("Hear, hear.") If there is anything that we have deserved, as has been stated in this beautiful address, I can only say I lay it at the feet of my Master under whose inspiration I have been working all this time under exile in South Africa. In so far as the sentiments expressed in this address are merely prophetic, Sir, I accept them as a blessing and as a prayer from you and from this great meeting, that both my wife and I myself may possess the power, the inclination, and the life to dedicate whatever we may develop in this sacred land of ours to the service of the motherland. (Cheers.) It is no wonder that we have come to Madras. As my friend, Mr. Natesan, will perhaps tell you, we have been overdue and we have neglected Madras. But we have done nothing of the kind. We knew that we had a corner in your hearts and we knew that you will not misjudge us if we did not hasten to Madras before going to other Presidencies and to other towns. It was in 1896 that I found in Mr. Gokhale my *rajya guru* (Cheers.) and it was in the same year that I found in Madras, as I did not find in any other place, that deep abiding sense of religion. I appeared in 1896 before you as a stranger pleading a forlorn cause.[2] I then discovered that Madras, or this Presidency, had that instinctive power to distinguish between a right cause and a wrong cause, and it was here that you appreciated in its fullest measure the gravity of the situation that I was then endeavouring to place before my countrymen

[1] The address, presented by the Indian South African League, was read by G. A. Natesan. Sir Subrahmania Aiyar presided. Among those present were Mrs. Besant, Justice Tyabji, Srinivasa Sastri and others.

[2] *Vide* Vol. II, pp. 94-121.

throughout India. ("Hear, hear.") And the impressions that I took with me to South Africa in 1896 have been more than amply verified throughout my experience in South Africa. The drafters of this beautiful address have, I venture to say, exaggerated the importance of the little work that I was able to do in South Africa out of all proportion. (Cries of "No, no".) As I have said on so many platforms, India has been still suffering under the hypnotic influence produced upon it by that great saintly politician, Mr. Gokhale. (Cheers.) He issued in my favour a certificate which you have taken at its surface value, and it is that certificate which has placed me in a most embarrassing position, because I do not know that I shall be able to answer the expectations that have been raised about myself, and about my wife in the work that lies before us in the future on behalf of this country. But, Sir, if one-tenth of the language that has been used in this address is deserved by us, what language do you propose to use for those who have lost their lives, and therefore finished their work on behalf of your suffering countrymen in South Africa? What language do you propose to use for Nagappen[1] and Narayansamy[2], lads of seventeen or eighteen years, who braved in simple faith all the trials, all the sufferings, and all the indignities for the sake of the honour of the motherland? (Cheers.) What language do you propose to use with reference to Valliamma, that sweet girl of seventeen years who was discharged from Maritzburg prison, skin and bone, suffering from fever to which she succumbed after about a month's time? (Cries of "Shame".) It was the Madrassees who of all the Indians were singled out by the great Divinity that rules over us for this great work. Do you know that in the great city of Johannesburg, it is found among the Madrassees that any Madrassee is considered dishonoured if he has not passed through the jails once or twice during this terrible crisis that your countrymen in South Africa went through during these eight long years?[3] You have said that I inspired these great men and women, but I cannot accept that proposition. It was they, the simple-minded folk, who worked away in faith, never expecting the slightest reward, who inspired me, who kept me to the proper level, and who compelled me by their great sacrifice, by their great faith, by their great trust in the great God to do the work that I was

[1] Who died a martyr on July 6, 1909; *vide* Vol. IX, p. 299.

[2] Who died a martyr on October 16, 1910; *vide* Vol. X, p. 335 & 337-8.

[3] 1906 to 1914

able to do. (Cheers.) It is my misfortune that I and my wife have been obliged to work in the limelight, and you have magnified out of all proportion (Cries of "No, no".) this little work we have been able to do. Believe me, my dear friends, that if you consider, whether in India or in South Africa, it is possible for us, poor mortals, the same individuals, the same stuff of which you are made, if you consider that it is possible for us to do anything whatsoever without your assistance, and without your doing the same thing that we would be prepared to do, you are lost, and we are also lost, and our service will be in vain. I do not for one moment believe that the inspiration was given by us. The inspiration was given by them to us, and we were able to be interpreters between the powers who called themselves the governors and those men for whom redress was so necessary. We were simply links between those two parties and nothing more. It was my duty, having received the education that was given to me by my parents, to interpret what was going on in our midst to those simple folk, and they rose to the occasion. They realised the importance of birth in India, they realised the might of religious force, and it was they who inspired us, and let them who have finished their work, and who have died for you and me, let them inspire you and us. We are still living, and who knows whether the devil will not possess us tomorrow and we shall not forsake the post of duty before any new danger that may face us? But these three have gone for ever. An old man of 75 from the United Provinces, Harbat Singh, has also joined the majority and died in jail in South Africa, and he deserved the crown that you would seek to impose upon us. These young men deserve all the adjectives that you have so affectionately, but blindly lavished upon us. It was not only the Hindus who struggled, but there were Mahomedans, Parsis and Christians, and almost every part of India was represented in the struggle. They realised the common danger, and they realised also what their destiny was as Indians, and it was they, and they alone, who matched the soul-force against the physical forces. (Loud applause.)

The meeting then terminated with a vote of thanks to the Chair.

The Hindu, 21-4-1915

55. INTERVIEW TO "THE MADRAS MAIL"[1]

April 22, 1915

Yesterday, a representative of this journal had a long and interesting talk with Mr. M. K. Gandhi, about various topics of current interest, of which the following is a summary:

Will you kindly tell me, Mr. Gandhi, what is to be your programme of work, now that your labours in South Africa have ended in a satisfactory solution of the Indian situation in that country?

For this year, of which three months have already gone, I am under instructions from Mr. Gokhale to tour round the country, study the people and institutions, and form my own conclusions before I commence any active work. And during this period of probation, I am also to refrain from speaking on controversial topics on public platforms. At the end of the year, I shall know definitely what the questions are to which I shall be able to devote my attention. There is one thing, however, which it was agreed upon between Mr. Gokhale and myself that I should continue to do, and that was the conduct of what he called the Phœnix institution. It was so called by Mr. Gokhale because he saw the experiment I am about to explain to you in working order partly on the Tolstoy Farm, belonging to Mr. Kallenbach, and partly at Phœnix, a wayside station on the north coast of Natal. The experiment consists in training young men, and also women and children, for long service to the Motherland. It is a feature of the institution that everyone should perform some form of manual labour, and as agricultural labour is the best form of manual labour, everyone is expected to work for a certain period of the day on the soil. It is proposed also to introduce hand weaving. All who are in the institution will also study the chief vernaculars of the country, in order that they may be able to come into contact with the masses in different parts of India without any difficulty. For mutual intercourse, vernaculars alone will be used, the use of English being confined as far as possible to communications with British people, or those who may not understand any of the chief Indian languages. The vow of *brahmacharya* and poverty will be strictly observed at the institution. I feel that if the experiment proves a success, and there is a large response from young men, it

[1] This appeared under the caption, "Mr. M. K. Gandhi—His Future Work in India".

will automatically solve many of the important problems that now puzzle or worry us.

Can you tell me something of the proposed methods of work of the institution and the nature of the service to India?

It is not possible for me to say what form the service will take. It will largely depend upon the results of my observations during the period of probation. At the same time, it is easy to see that an important part of the service is really included in the training itself that I have mapped out. It ought to be easy for anyone to realize the various directions in which work may be done in this respect; but I do not propose to discuss with the public what branches of public activity are going to occupy my attention and that of my co-workers, if only because of my promise to Mr. Gokhale that I would refrain from committing myself to any definite programme until I had previously studied problems in the manner mentioned. The obligation not to do this rests all the more heavily on me in that, I have lost my helmsman, and I am thrown entirely upon my own resources. I, therefore, want to act with the greatest caution, and, as far as is humanly possible, to keep an open mind upon all the burning questions of the day.

Was this period of probation imposed on you by Mr. Gokhale because you had been away from India for so very many years?

Yes, that was his great argument; because I was away from India for nearly 28 years and all my ideas were formed outside India, and, therefore, a corrective in the shape of personal contact with present-day conditions was, in his opinion, absolutely necessary.

Have you noticed any perceptible change in the condition of affairs in India since you last visited this country?

So far as I have been able to observe and so far as I am competent to compare things to-day with things as I observed them in 1902, during my brief visit to India, I notice that there is greater eagerness amongst the younger generation to be of service to the Motherland, and that there is also great willingness to undertake work which may require a measure of self-sacrifice.

Our representative then referred to the Indian question in South Africa, political agitation in India and various other topics, and gathered that Mr. Gandhi does not lay so much store by agitation for obtaining concessions from the Government as by working for the moral, material and economic regeneration of his countrymen, for he is of the opinion that once people make themselves fit by their character and capacity, the grant of privileges will follow as a matter of course—in fact, there will be no need for people to ask for

concessions, and what is granted will be no concessions, for people will have grown into them. Mr. Gandhi implicitly believes that no agitation for political concessions will do any service to the country without reform coming from within, at the same time. Mr. Gandhi prefers to be judged by his conduct rather than by the words he utters, words spoken under the limitations of an interview not being, in his opinion, capable of expressing all that the person interviewed might like to say on the subjects discussed.

The Madras Mail, 23-4-1915

56. SPEECH AT RECEPTION BY MAHAJAN SABHA AND CONGRESS COMMITTEE, MADRAS

April 23, 1915

The members of the Madras Mahajan Sabha and the Madras Provincial Congress Committee were "At Home" to Mr. and Mrs. Gandhi last evening at "Humayun Munzil", the residence of the Hon. Nawab Syed Mahammad, President of the former Association.

NAWAB SAHEB AND FRIENDS,

On behalf of my wife and myself, I thank both these venerable associations most sincerely for having organized this function, and the address[1] couched in such beautiful language. I do not think that you expect any speech from me. I feel that one thing is true about us that distance lends enchantment to the view. We have now come to work before the public gaze. I have now to trade with whatever capital I have brought from South Africa. I am already exhausting that capital. When we have begun to work before you, you will see us in our nakedness; and I request you to exercise then that generous spirit for which our great Motherland is famed. I expect you to excuse any faults in us, and to take what we give in the best spirit in which we offer it. (Applause.)

New India, 24-4-1915

[1] Not reproduced here

57. INTERVIEW TO ASSOCIATED PRESS, MADRAS

April 23, 1915

A representative of the Associated Press interviewed Mr. Gandhi in course of which the latter referred to the splendid loyalty of British Indians in South Africa who stood on the outbreak of war by the Union Government as representing the Imperial Government. General Botha in an appreciative letter promised to make use of their services, should the occasion arise.

Asked if any further improvement in the status of Indians was probable after the war, he said that it largely depended upon the attitude of the Imperial Government and many other considerations.

Referring to the continuation of his work in South Africa, he said that so far as legal assistance was concerned, Mr. Polak himself was practising as an attorney and was eminently fit to advise. There were many able Indian passive resisters, he continued, who were looking after the situation, so that the problems as they rose would be fully looked after by local friends of India assisted by Mr. Polak. The *Indian Opinion* voicing the passive resisters' views was managed and controlled by Mr. West[1] and Mr. C. Gandhi[2].

Questioned as to his future work in India, he said he was touring round the country as was advised by Mr. Gokhale for study, preliminary to forming a definite plan of work in the service of the country. He said:

Meanwhile I shall also be continuing the institution which was being conducted in South Africa and which has for its object the training of young men for life-long national service. As is well known, I have already charge of several young men and boys who have followed me from South Africa and have been either passive resisters or are sons of passive resisters.

The Bengalee, 24-4-1915

[1] A. H. West, Manager of the International Printing Press, Phœnix, which published *Indian Opinion*

[2] Chhaganlal Gandhi

58. SPEECH AT RECEPTION BY MUSLIM LEAGUE, MADRAS

April 24, 1915

On Saturday evening, the Muslim League was At Home to Mr. and Mrs. Gandhi at Lawley Hall, Mount Road. . . . The refreshments being over, Mr. Yakub Hasan[1] made a short speech . . . . He promised on behalf of the Mussalman community co-operation in any work he might undertake for the benefit of India.

Mr. Gandhi made a short reply in which he thanked them on behalf of his wife and himself for their kindness to them. A promise had been made to him and it was an unconditional promise to co-operate with him in anything he might undertake on behalf of this country. It was one thing to promise and another thing to fulfil. He gave them fair warning that he was most exacting to demand the discharge of obligations, especially when so voluntarily given and it might give them an uncomfortable hour when he called upon them to discharge their obligations. In this connection, he remembered two instances of the valuable services rendered by the Mussalmans in South Africa. One was that of Ahmed Mohamed Kachadia[2] who was a merchant. He had not known a more stubborn man than Kachadia. He went to jail several times for the sake of the country and his European creditors forced insolvency upon him for political reasons, but he was able to pay them 20s. in the £. The other instance was that of Abdul Sahiba Muezzin. His services were as valuable as any rendered by anybody else and he also forsook everything and was reduced to poverty on behalf of the mother-country. He and his family were now in the Phœnix settlement in Natal. He again reminded them of the promise they had made.

On Sunday afternoon at 2.30 p.m., the ladies of the Abeda Aikya Ananda Samajum gave an At Home at their premises in Ramaswamy Street, Manady, where an address was also presented.

The Hindu, 26-4-1915

[1] Secretary, Indian South Africa League

[2] Ahmed Muhammad Cachalia, Chairman, Transvaal British Indian Association; *vide* Vol. XI, p. 14 *fn.*

59. SPEECH AT MADRAS LAW DINNER

April 24, 1915

Under the auspices of the Madras Bar Association, the Annual Madras Law Dinner, the third of its kind, came off on Saturday evening last in the open air under bright moonlight on the extensive grounds adjoining the Moore Pavilion, People's Park, Madras. The Hon'ble Mr. F. H. M. Corbet, Advocate-General, was in the chair. . . . Mr. Gandhi, who is now in Madras, and who, as a Barrister, had been invited to the Dinner, was honoured with a seat on the left of the Hon'ble the Advocate-General. . . . The Chairman asked Mr. Gandhi to propose the toast of "The British Empire". . . .In proposing the toast of "The British Empire", Mr. Gandhi said:

MR. CHAIRMAN, MR. LORD CHIEF JUSTICE, MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN,

When the learned Advocate-General came to me and asked me to propose this toast, I must confess that I was taken aback a little. I don't think he noticed it himself, but I make that confession to you. I felt that I was invited to be present here as at one time I belonged to the profession to which you or most of you belong and as I happen to be in Madras, but that I would be allowed to remain a silent spectator of what was going on here. But when he mentioned the thing I did not hesitate to say, "Yes, I shall be pleased to speak to this toast." During my three months' touring in India as also in South Africa, I have been often questioned how I, a determined opponent of modern civilization and an avowed patriot, could reconcile myself to loyalty to the British Empire of which India was such a large part, how it was possible for me to find it consistent that India and England could work together for mutual benefit. It gives me the greatest pleasure this evening at this very great and important gathering to re-declare my loyalty to this British Empire and my loyalty is based upon very selfish grounds. As a passive resister I discovered that I could not have that free scope which I had under the British Empire. I know that a passive resister has to make good his claim to passive resistance, no matter under what circumstances he finds himself, and I discovered that the British Empire had certain ideals with which I have fallen in love, ("Hear, hear.") and one of those ideals is that every subject of the British Empire has the freest scope possible for his energies and efforts and whatever he thinks is due to his conscience. I think that this is true of the British Empire as it is not true of any other Governments that we see. ("Hear, hear.") I feel as you have perhaps

known that I am no lover of any Government and I have more than once said that Government is best which governs least, and I have found that it is possible for me to be governed least under the British Empire. Hence my loyalty to the British Empire. (Loud applause.) And may I before I sit down and ask you to drink to the prosperity of the British Empire remind you of one singular incident that happened during this campaign in far-off South Africa. General Beyers, the trusted Commander of one of the Forces of the British Empire, rose against that Empire in open rebellion. It was only possible for him under that Empire and that Empire alone not to have himself shot on sight. General Smuts wrote to him in a memorable letter that he himself was at one time a rebel. He wrote to General Beyers that it was only under the British Empire that it was possible for him to save his life. Hence my loyalty to the British Empire. (Loud applause.)

The toast was very enthusiastically honoured.

The Hindu, 26-4-1915

60. SPEECH AT SOCIAL SERVICE LEAGUE, MADRAS

April 25, 1915

The members of the Social Service League met Mr. Gandhi in the Ranade Hall, on Sunday (25-4-1915) last at 3.30 p.m. Among those present were Mr. S. Sreenivasa Aiyangar, Rao Bahadur T. Vijayaraghavachariar, the Hon'ble Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, Mr. V. T. Krishnamachariar, Mr. G. A. Natesan and others.

Mr. Gandhi, who was introduced to the meeting by Mr. T. Vijayaraghavachariar, said that he had already heard something of the work which the League had been doing. He began by saying that all social work must be undertaken in a spirit of utter humility and self-sacrifice and instanced Mr. Gokhale who had said that to all true public workers, work was its own reward. Absence of recognition or appreciation should not in the least deter a social worker from carrying on his work strenuously and with whole-hearted attention. Whatsoever a social worker attempted to do, he must not cease his labours till he had carried it out to a successful conclusion. He was against half-hearted social service and said that such work had better not be done at all. Asked what he would advise the members of the League to do who were only able to devote a limited time each week, Mr. Gandhi said that they should devote at least the few hours they could spare with concentrated attention. He said that if they had the right sort of men undertaking social work, success could certainly be hoped for.

He was unable within the time at his disposal to enter into the question of moral and religious instruction for the depressed classes, while he fully believed that it was a most important point, a true understanding of which would enable them to get to the heart of the people among whom they worked.

Asked about the policy of mingling Panchama boys with caste boys in night schools, he said that there was nothing bad in it at least in the night schools, where the time of teaching was so short, and that neither the Panchama boys nor the caste boys would be prejudicially affected in any way. As to elementary education generally and the policy of extending that education indefinitely, he said that there was no doubt that it did a great deal of good and was an eminently desirable thing, though it was not indispensable for the sanitary betterment of the masses. Even people without a knowledge of the 3 R's were capable of understanding hygienic principles and capable of co-operating in any proper scheme of improvement that might be devised for them. He said that there was a great and crying need for active work in that direction. . . .[1] work or put into their head the notion that manual labour was degrading and said that he saw nothing wrong in a cobbler who had taken the M.A. degree following that profession throughout his life. Regarding intemperance, Mr. Gandhi said that it was an evil which it was extremely difficult to remedy and that it could be successfully overcome only by a great religious worker. He gave a practical instance of this from the experience of a social worker in Poona.

Mr. Gandhi in closing the conversation said that for social service what was required was not money but men, men of the right sort with right sentiments, with an abiding love and charity and full of faith in their work. If they did have such men, money would come, even unasked. Much social work could be done without any money. It was very difficult for an educated man to understand and appreciate exactly the feelings that prompted the masses unless he retraced his steps; and it was impossible for any man however wealthy to do any social work if he was inspired thereto not by the work itself, but by any feeling of personal ambition. It was easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle than for such a man to do any effective social service.

With a vote of thanks to Mr. Gandhi, the meeting terminated at 4.30 p.m.

The Hindu, 27-4-1915

[1] A few words are missing here in the source which has been damaged.

61. SPEECH AT RECEPTION BY ARYA VAISHYA MAHASABHA, MADRAS[1]

April 25, 1915

Mr. Gandhi in his reply thanked them for the honour shown to his wife and himself and said that the credit for their success in South Africa should be given to other people who have settled in South Africa. He said it was not the time for him to detail all they were doing in South Africa. The Indians in South Africa were petty agriculturists, hawkers and petty traders. The cause of the trouble was the stubborn competition which our people offered to the Europeans domiciled in South Africa. There were many other things also which accounted for the struggle but the chief reason was the competition. Although a settlement had been arrived at for the time being, he said, they might assume that some kind of irritation remained and would remain so long as that competition remained. He said our people there were not men with scholarship or university men, but he told them that they were men that would enable India to be raised in the scale of nations.

The Hindu, 26-4-1915

62. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

GEORGE TOWN,
MADRAS,
Vaishakh Sud 11 [*April 25, 1915*][2]

CHI. NARANDAS,

I have your letter. I shall leave here for that side on the 7th.

Maganlal and the rest are at Kangri Gurukul, Hardwar. Everybody has settled down to studies, each in his right place.

You are right in your guess about Harilal's letter. One will not easily find a parallel to what Harilal has done. When a son writes in that manner, there is bound to be bitterness between father and son, though in our case there was not even a possibility of anything of the kind. Harilal has written to say that he has recovered his calm and that he is sorry he wrote that letter. The

[1] At Vasantha Mantapam, Govindappa Naick Street at 6 p.m., Mr. Salla Guruswamy Chetty delivered a short welcome address.

[2] Gandhiji arrived in Madras on April 17 from Hardwar and Delhi. There were two *Vaishakhs* in this year.

letter was all error, and I know that, with experience, he will understand things better.

The Bolpur weather itself is very hot in summer and Ramdas got ill in consequence. The food there is less hot than elsewhere. The people here keep saying harsh things nowadays about the heat. Speaking for myself, I don't feel it at all.

I have not told you about the two vows I have taken,[1] never to eat after sunset in this country and not to have more than five articles of food on any day. The second vow is rather stiff and may sometimes cause difficulty. It was worth taking, though, and the mind feels freer as a result of it. We both keep good health. Revashankerbhai's elder brother, who has joined me so that he might overcome his anger, also lives on fruit. There is no one with me from among our company. I shall spend about four days in Bombay and then leave for Ahmedabad.

Blessings from
MOHANDAS

From the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: C.W. 5669. Courtesy: Narandas Gandhi

63. *SPEECH AT RECEPTION BY INDIAN CHRISTIANS, MADRAS*

April 26, 1915

The Rev. T. and Mrs. Subramaniam, of the Wesleyan Mission, Peter's Road, Royapettah, received at their house yesterday, a number of European missionaries and Indian Christians, representing the clergy and the laity, to meet Mr. and Mrs. Gandhi . . . Mr. M. D. Devadoss, Barrister-at-Law, and Mr. V. Chakkarai Chetty, on behalf of the Indian Christian community of Madras, spoke a few words of welcome. . . .

Mr. Gandhi, in reply, said that while in South Africa he had the hearty co-operation and sympathy of Canon Booth[2] and other missionaries as well as of all the Indian Christians there. He thanked the host and the hostess for the entertainment, and the guests dispersed.

The Madras Mail, 27-4-1915

[1] On April 9 at Hardwar; *vide* "Diary for 1915".

[2] Dr. Booth, Head of St. Aidan's Mission, Durban; he supervised the small charitable hospital founded by Indians. In 1899, during the Boer War, he helped to train the Indian Ambulance Corps.

64. *SPEECH AT Y. M. C. A., MADRAS*[1]

April 27, 1915

MR. CHAIRMAN AND DEAR FRIENDS,

Madras has wellnigh exhausted the English vocabulary in using adjectives of virtue with reference to my wife and myself and, if I may be called upon to give an opinion as to where I have been smothered with kindness, love and attention, I would have to say : it is Madras. (Applause.) But, as I have said so often, I believe it of Madras. So it is no wonder to me that you are lavishing all these kindnesses with unparalleled generosity, and now the worthy President of the Servants of India Society—under which Society I am going through a period of probation—has, if I may say so, capped it all. Am I worthy of these things? My answer from the innermost recesses of my heart is an emphatic "No". But I have come to India to become worthy of every adjective that you may use, and all my life will certainly be dedicated to prove worthy of them, if I am to be a worthy servant.

And so it is that you have sung that beautiful national song[2], on hearing which all of us sprang to our feet. The poet[3] has lavished all the adjectives that he possibly could to describe Mother India. He describes Mother India as sweet-smelling, sweet-speaking, fragrant, all-powerful, all-good, truthful, a land flowing with milk and honey, and having ripe fields, fruits and grains, and inhabited by a race of men of whom we have only a picture in the great Golden Age. He pictures to us a land which shall embrace in its possession the whole of the world, the whole of humanity by the might or right not of physical power but of soul-power. Can we sing that hymn? I ask myself, "Can I, by any right, spring to my feet when I listen to that song?" The poet no doubt gave us a picture for our realisation the words of which simply remain prophetic, and it is for you, the hope of India, to realise every word that the poet has said in describing this Motherland of ours. To-day I feel that these adjectives are very largely misplaced in his description of the Motherland, and it is for you and for me to make good the claim that the poet has advanced on behalf of his Motherland.

[1] In reply to the Madras students' address, V. S. Srinivasa Sastri presiding

[2] The proceedings had begun with the "Vande Mataram" song, all standing.

[3] Bankim Chandra Chatterji

THE REAL EDUCATION

You—the students of Madras as well as students all over India—are you receiving an education which will make you worthy to realise that ideal and which will draw the best out of you, or is it an education which has become a factory for making Government employees or clerks in commercial offices? Is the goal of the education that you are receiving that of mere employment whether in the Government departments or other departments? If that be the goal of your education, if that is the goal that you have set before yourselves, I feel and I fear that the vision which the poet pictured for himself is far from being realised. As you have heard me say perhaps, or as you have read, I am and I have been a determined opponent of modern civilization. I want you to turn your eyes today upon what is going on in Europe and if you have come to the conclusion that Europe is today groaning under the heels of the modern civilization, then you and your elders will have to think twice before you can emulate that civilization in our Motherland. But I have been told : "How can we help it, seeing that our rulers bring that culture to our Motherland?" Do not make any mistake about it at all. I do not for one moment believe that it is for any rulers to bring that culture to you unless you are prepared to accept it, and if it be that the rulers bring that culture before us, I think that we have forces within ourselves to enable us to reject that culture without having to reject the rulers themselves. (Applause.) I have said on many a platform that the British race is with us. I decline to go into the reasons why that race is with us, but I do believe that it is possible for India if she would but live up to the tradition of the sages of whom you have heard from our worthy President, to transmit a message through this great race, a message not of physical might, but a message of love. And then, it will be your privilege to conquer the conquerors not by shedding blood but by sheer force of spiritual predominance. When I consider what is going on today in India, I think it is necessary for us to say what our opinion is in connection with the political assassinations and political dacoities. I feel that these are purely a foreign importation which cannot take root in this land. But you the student world have to beware, lest mentally or morally you give one thought of approval to this kind of terrorism. I, as a passive resister, will give you another thing very substantial for it. Terrorise yourself; search within; by all means resist tyranny wherever you find it; by all means resist encroachment upon your liberty, but not by shedding the blood of the tyrant. That is not what is taught by our religion. Our religion is based upon *ahimsa*, which in its

active form is nothing but love, love not only to your neighbours, not only to your friends but love even to those who may be your enemies.

One word more in connection with the same thing. I think that if we were to practise truth, to practise *ahimsa*, we must immediately see that we also practise fearlessness. If our rulers are doing what in our opinion is wrong, and if we feel it our duty to let them hear our advice even though it may be considered sedition, I urge you to speak sedition—but at your peril. You must be prepared to suffer the consequences. And when you are ready to suffer the consequences and not hit below the belt, then I think you will have made good your right to have your advice heard even by the Government.

Rights and Duties

I ally myself with the British Government, because I believe that it is possible for me to claim equal partnership with every subject of the British Empire. I today claim that equal partnership. I do not belong to a subject race. I do not call myself a member of a subject race. But there is this thing: it is not for the British governors to give you; it is for you to take the thing. I want and I can take the thing. That I want only by discharging my obligations. Max Muller[1] has told us—we need not go to Max Muller to interpret our own religion but he says, our religion consists of the four letters "D-u-t-y" and not the five letters "R-i-g-h-t". And if you believe that all that we want can grow from better discharge of our duty, then think always of your duty and fighting along those lines, you will have no fear of any man, you will fear only God. That is the message that my master—if I may say so, your master, too—Mr. Gokhale has given to us. What is that message then? It is in the constitution of the Servants of India Society and that is the message by which I wish to be guided in my life. The message is to spiritualize the political life and the political institutions of the country. We must immediately set about realising its practice. The students cannot be away from politics. Politics is as essential to them as religion. Politics cannot be divorced from religion. Politics divorced from religion becomes debasing. Modern culture and modern civilization are such politics.[2] My views may not be acceptable to you, I know. All the same I can only give you what is stirring me to my very depths. On the authority of my experiences in South Africa, I claim that your

[1] (1823-1900), German orientalist

[2] These two sentences are from *The Hindu*, 28-4-1915.

countrymen who had not that modern culture but who had that strength of the *Rishis*[1] of old, who have inherited the *tapascharya*[2] performed by the *Rishis*, without having known a single word of English literature and without knowing anything whatsoever of the present modern culture, they are able to rise to their full height. And what has been possible for the uneducated and illiterate countrymen of ours in South Africa is ten times possible for you and for me today in this sacred land of ours. May that be your privilege and may that be my privilege! (Applause.)

Speeches and Writings of Mahatma Gandhi

65. SPEECH AT LAKSHMI MEMORIAL ARYA PATHSHALA, MADRAS[3]

April 29, 1915

Mr. Gandhi, in reply, said that he and Mrs. Gandhi were exceedingly obliged to Mr. N. Swaminatha Aiyer[4], for having shown them the institution at work, and congratulated the school on having such a generous patron as Mr. C. Ramanujam Chettiar.

New India, 30-4-1915

66. SPEECH AT RECEPTION BY GUJARATIS OF MADRAS

April 29, 1915

"Govinda Vilas", Patter's Road, Royapettah, the residence of Mr. Lodd Govindas, was the scene of a very large and representative gathering yesterday evening of the leading Indian citizens of Madras who responded to the invitation of the Gujarati community to attend an At Home in honour of Mr. and Mrs. Gandhi. . . .A group photograph with Mr. Gandhi in the centre was taken. Mr. Lodd Govindas in a short speech said that the Gujarati community was indeed proud of possessing a great man like Mr. Gandhi among them. . . . Dewan Bahadur Govindas Chathurbujadoss read an address of welcome in Gujarati.

Mr. Gandhi, in replying in Gujarati, drew the attention of the Gujarati community in Madras to that important fact that their well-being was the

[1] Sages

[2] Penance

[3] At Thambu Chetty Street

[4] Sub-Inspector of Schools, Georgetown Range

same as that of other communities in Madras and consequently impressed on them the necessity for working in unison with others. He was grateful to the Madras public for having taken such a large number of Gujarati people into the town and this Presidency.

Mr. Lodd Govindas, on behalf of the members of the Gujarati community, as well as the Gujarati-speaking people of Madras, presented, with great pleasure, a money purse to Mr. Gandhi.

Mr. Gandhi, in thankfully accepting it, said that he never received any kind of present from anybody, and the money would therefore be dedicated to public use.

New India, 30-4-1915

67. SPEECH AT RECEPTION AT TRANQUEBAR

April 30, 1915

Yesterday the public of Tranquebar[1] and suburbs accorded a grand and enthusiastic reception to Mr. and Mrs. Gandhi. Over 2,000 people representing numerous classes, particularly passive resisters, had assembled. . . .Mr. K. C. Subramaniam, Barrister, read the welcome address. . . .

The distinguished guest replied in appropriate terms exhorting his fellow-workers to take to passive resistance whenever and wherever needed for adopting constitutional agitation [*sic*].

His speech was heard with rapt attention and it was translated on the spot.

The Hon'ble Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri was next called upon to speak. He exhorted the audience to work for their country's cause.

The Hindu, 1-5-1915

68. SPEECH AT RECEPTION BY DEPRESSED CLASSES SOCIETY, TRANQUEBAR

April 30, 1915

The South Indian Depressed Classes Society presented a separate welcome address.

Mr. Gandhi in reply observed that that section of his countrymen needed larger attention and patriotic, earnest and practical work until the existing shameful differences disappeared and the so-called depressed got elevated and got equal privileges.

The Hindu, 1-5-1915

[1] In Madras State

69. *SPEECH AT RECEPTION AT MAYAVARAM*[1]

May 1, 1915

MR. CHAIRMAN AND FRIENDS,

I am exceedingly thankful to the people of Mayavaram for presenting this beautiful address to me on the occasion of our simply passing through your town or village whatever it may be called, on our way to places where I had hoped to see two widows of men who were shot during the struggle that went on for eight years in South Africa. I was able to see only one and I was not able to see the other whom I hope to see before I leave this great Presidency. It is therefore a matter of greater pleasure to me that you would not allow us to pass unnoticed even though it were simply a passing tour through Mayavaram. But if we have appreciated or if we have received this great and warm welcome from you, may I, for the first time after my return to the sacred land, commence to make a return for the great love that has been shown to us and with your permission I shall try to do so this evening.

It was quite by accident that I had the great pleasure of receiving an address from my Panchama brethren, and there they said that they were without convenience for drinking water, they were without convenience for living supplies and they could not buy or hold land. It was difficult for them even to approach courts. Probably, the last is due to their fear, but a fear certainly not due to themselves and who is then responsible for this state of things? Do we propose to perpetuate this state of things? Is it a part of Hinduism? I do not know. I have now to learn what Hinduism really is. In so far as I have been able to study Hinduism outside India, I have felt that it is no part of real Hinduism to have in its hold a mass of people whom I would call "untouchables". If it was proved to me that this is an essential part of Hinduism, I for one would declare myself an open rebel against Hinduism itself. ("Hear, hear.") But I am still not convinced and I hope that up to the end of my life, I shall remain unconvinced that it is an essential part of Hinduism. But who is responsible for this class of untouchables? I have been told that wherever there are Brahmins, it is they who are enjoying supremacy as a matter of right, but today are they enjoying that supremacy? If they are, then the sin will

[1] In reply to a welcome address by Municipal Chairman at the meeting in the Victoria Town Hall, with Rao Bahadur V. K. Ramanujachariar in the chair

fall upon their shoulders and that is the return I am here to declare and that is the return I shall have to make for the kindness you are showing to me; often my love to my friends, relations and even to my dear wife takes devious ways. So my return here for your kindness is to suggest a few words which you were probably not prepared to listen to and it does seem to me that it is high time for Brahmins to regain their natural prerogative. I recall to my mind the beautiful verse in the *Bhagavad Gita*[1]. I shall not excite the audience by reciting the verse, but give you simply a paraphrase. "The true Brahmin is he who is equi-minded towards a Pundit and a Pariah."

Are the Brahmins in Mayavaram equi-minded towards the Pariah and will they tell me if they are so equi-minded and, if so, will they tell me if others will not follow? Even if they say that they are prepared to do so but others will not follow, I shall have to disbelieve them until I have revised my notions of Hinduism. If the Brahmins themselves consider they are holding a high position by penance and austerity, then they have themselves much to learn, then they will be the people who have cursed and ruined the land.

My friend the Chairman has asked me the question whether it is true that I am at war with my leaders. I say that I am not at war with my leaders. I seemed to be at war with my leaders because many things I have heard seem to be inconsistent with my notions of self-respect and with self-respect to my motherland. I feel that they are probably not discharging the sacred trust they have taken upon their shoulders; but I am not sure I am studying or endeavouring to take wisdom from them, but I failed to take that wisdom. It may be that I am incompetent and unfit to follow them. So, I shall revise my ideas. Still I am in a position to say that I seem to be at war with my leaders. Whatever they do or whatever they say does not somehow or other appeal to me. The major part of what they say does not seem to be appealing to me. I find here words of welcome in the English language. I find in the Congress programme a Resolution on *Swadeshi*. If you hold that you are *Swadeshi* and yet print these in English, then I am not *Swadeshi*. To me it seems that it is inconsistent. I have nothing to say against the English language. But I do say that, if you kill the vernaculars and raise the English language on the tomb of the vernaculars ("Hear, hear."), then you are not favouring *Swadeshi* in the right sense of the term. If you feel that I do not know Tamil, you should

[1] Ch. V, *v*. 18

pardon me, you should excuse me and teach me and ask me to learn Tamil and by having your welcome in that beautiful language, if you translate it to me, then I should think you are performing some part of the programme. Then only I should think I am being taught *Swadeshi*. I asked when we were passing through Mayavaram whether there had been any handlooms here and whether there were handloom weavers here. I was told that there were 50 handlooms in Mayavaram. What were they engaged in? They were simply engaged chiefly in preparing *sarees* for our women. Then, is *Swadeshi* to be confined only to the women? Is it to be only in their keeping? I do not find that our friends, the male population, also have their stuff prepared for them in these by these weavers and through their handlooms. (A voice : There are a thousand handlooms here.) There are, I understand, one thousand handlooms; so much the worse for the leaders! (Loud applause.) If these one thousand handlooms are kept chiefly in attending to the wants of our women, double this supply of our handlooms and you will have all your wants supplied by your own weavers and there will be no poverty in the land. I ask you and ask our friend the President how far he is indebted to foreign goods for his outfit and if he can tell me that he has tried his utmost and still has failed to outfit himself, or rather to fit himself out with *Swadeshi* clothing and therefore he has got this stuff, I shall sit at his feet and learn a lesson. What I have been able to learn today is that it is entirely possible for me, not with any extra cost to fit myself with *Swadeshi* clothing. How am I to learn, through those who move or who are supposed to be movers in the Congress, the secret of the Resolution? I sit at the feet of my leaders, I sit at the feet of Mayavaram people and let them reveal the mystery, give me the secret of the meaning, teach me how I should behave myself and tell me whether it is a part of *Swadeshi*, whether it is a part of the national movement that I should drive off those who are without dwellings, who cry for water and that I should reject the advances of those who cry for food. These are the questions which I ask my friends here. Since I am saying something against you, I doubt whether I shall still enjoy or retain the affection of the student population and whether I shall still retain the blessings of my leaders. I ask you to have a large heart and give me a little corner in it. I shall try to steal into that corner. If you would be kind enough to teach me the wisdom, I shall learn the wisdom in all humility and in all earnestness. I am praying for it and I am asking for it. If you cannot teach me, I again declare myself at war with my leaders. (Loud cheers.)

The Hindu, 3-5-1915

70. *LETTER TO A. H. WEST*

May 4, 1915

MY DEAR WEST,

I will take your letter as it comes. It is no use your qualifying as a lawyer. It is possible you may get some guilty ones discharged on technicalities and you may get the innocent also saved from imprisonment. But when you consider what a small percentage of the population passes through the courts, you at once see that it is no part of humanitarian work to take up law. All that you can do, without getting the title of a lawyer you are doing. More you do not need. If you have leisure, read up your laws by all means as Mr. Gokhale did, though he never was a lawyer.

I am nearing the end of my first tour. I hope then to write more regularly and to write for *Indian Opinion* also. I am going through very varied experiences. India continues to satisfy my aspirations. I see much to dishearten me and I see much to encourage me.

We are both keeping fairly good health. If we can settle down somewhere, we should do better. More than this, I have not the time to say just now.

So with love from us both,

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

[PS.]

I have seen Selvan's widow and I succeeded in getting from her the youngest boy. She will get a monthly allowance of Rs. 5. I invited her also to join me but she wouldn't.

From a photostat of the original in Gandhiji's hand: C.W. 4418. Courtesy: A. H. West

71. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

Vaishakh Vad 5 [May 4, 1915][1]

CHI. NARANDAS,

I shall arrive there on the 10th or perhaps the 9th. So far as I know, Chi. Jamnadas had joined the institution, but there may have been a misunderstanding on my part. Jamnadas thinks that he had taken no vow. One who does not take any vow cannot be a member, though such a one can stay as a student. Even a student must observe the vows while he lives in the institution. A member must observe them all his life. Jamnadas wants to remain outside the institution and observe its rules. It seems Harilal's letter has had some effect on his mind. He is hurt by the former's allegations.

Groundnuts and dates have done most of us no harm. By not eating more than five articles on any day, we advance in the observance of the vow of non-violence, as, on that particular day at least, we spare all vegetable life excepting the articles in question. The vow concerning [the control of] the palate will also be better observed because one would not have more than five things to enjoy for their taste. The vow of non-stealing will be conformed to because, in drawing nourishment from five articles, one would not be over-eating and there would be greater economy besides. I shall have to think much now before eating the groundnut sweet. As it would contain three articles, I could have only two in addition. Cardamom and similar things would also count as separate articles. This is a difficult vow to have taken but I am getting used to it. The mind, the dog that it still is, runs about like one seeking to extract the utmost relish from the five articles. More you may ask me when we meet. I shall be in Bombay for as short a time as possible. The mind has only one thought, settling the affairs at Ahmedabad.

Inform Madhavji[2] about the date of my arrival there.

Blessings from
MOHANDAS

From the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: C.W. 5670. Courtesy: Narandas Gandhi

[1] This appears to have been written in 1915 after Gandhiji took at Hardwar a vow to take only five articles of food in a day on April 9; *vide* "Diary for 1915".

[2] Kasturba's brother

72. SPEECH AT NELLORE[1]

May 5, 1915

MR. CHAIRMAN AND FRIENDS,

I do not propose to inflict a speech upon you. I am extremely zealous of individual liberty about which we heard this morning from the eloquent lips of Mrs. Besant[2] and from Mr. Sastriar, with his matchless, merciless, severe and cold logic. I was so zealous of your liberty that I had concocted a plot, but, unfortunately it failed. I was not able to draw in our worthy Chairman of the Reception Committee and the present president of this Conference. I wanted to suggest to them that for the Congresses and for the future Conferences, they might lead the way by not reading their addresses but by simply distributing their addresses for us to read.

It is an accident that this resolution[3] follows on two resolutions one with reference to my noble master Mr. Gokhale, and the other to the noble Viceroy to whom fitting tribute has been made, and I am here to acknowledge the indebtedness that your countrymen in South Africa owe to the Viceroy.

Sir, if my wife and I are worthy of anything that has been said on this platform and on many a platform, I have repeated, and I am here to repeat, that the inspiration that we derived was from an Indian source and that was from the late Mr. Gokhale. His life, his message, his words, his methods, have been to me a guiding star, and they will still remain an important guide; and we can best revere his memory by translating some part of his life into our

[1] At the 21st Madras Provincial Conference

[2] Annie Besant (1847-1933), President of the Theosophical Society in 1907; also founder of Central Hindu College at Benares; President, Indian National Congress, 1917. She had said: "In the successful issue of the struggle in South Africa is a presage of the successful termination of the struggle for liberty on the Indian soil. We thank him not only for what he did, but also in that what he did will strengthen the Indian nation in the future. Mr. Gandhi's great help to us is that of inspiration—an inspiration to self-sacrifice, an inspiration to the following of a great ideal, the recognition of the fact that there is no dishonour in anything that is endured for the sake of right and justice, and that a prison is no dishonour when the soul within it is free, and when prison is accepted as the price of that liberty."

[3] The resolution moved by G. A. Natesan which expressed "grateful appreciation of the enormous sacrifices. . . ." of Gandhiji and Kasturba

own. My life is dedicated to that, and I appeal to you, my countrymen, not to spoil us, not to isolate us in the service, not to overrate what we have done in South Africa. Let me make this humble appeal. Let what is done in South Africa be buried there. Our countrymen in South Africa know well of what has been done there. It is impossible to stand here upon any reputation we may have built in South Africa. You will spoil us for two reasons. We may lose our heads and so be lost to the country. The other is that you may raise enormous expectations about us and disappointment may at last be the result.

Indian Opinion, 7-7-1915

73. *SPEECH AT STUDENTS' MEETING, NELLORE*

May 6, 1915

The address having been read and presented to Mr. Gandhi, he then thanked the students for taking such a lively part in the Conference[1] and serving as volunteers. He said that unless what had been said on the platform was translated into action and interest kept up, these Conferences were of no use. A great deal was said about the encouragement of industries on the platform, but when he went into that part of the public hall, where clothes made of fly shuttle weaving and brought from Narayanavanam, Chittoor District, were exhibited and enquired of the owner how much worth of clothes he had brought, and how much of it he had sold, he found that out of Rs. 1,000 worth of clothes, he had sold only Rs. 50 or Rs. 60 worth. The clothes were good enough, and in spite of it even the educated could not be induced to put their hands into their pockets and purchase some if only to mark their appreciation of the Swadeshi enterprise. When such was the state of encouragement offered to local indigenous industries, there was no hope of advancement. He exhorted the students to set a practical example, and not rest contented with merely making speeches.

New India, 7-5-1915

[1] Madras Provincial Conference; *vide* the preceding item.

74. FRAGMENT OF LETTER[1]

[NELLORE,
May 6, 1915]

I think it is all to one's good to observe these vows. I believe in making a supreme effort for rising above this earthly existence. It seems to me that service of the nation will include such an effort. Our aims are right. I think our faith in them is unshakable. It becomes stronger through experience. I should like you to follow the same reasoning. I don't want any of you to submit to my wishes and take things on trust. Nor will I force my views [on you]. You may all take the vows when they appeal to you.

There will be some gentlemen from Madras with me. I see that the number will go up. I am bringing along Selvan's son.[2] You know him. He is the little one who used to be naughty in Phœnix.

I am writing this from Nellore. I am attending a conference[3] here. I shall leave tomorrow morning.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: C.W. 5671. Courtesy: Radhabehn Choudhri

75. STATEMENT AT INDIAN SOUTH AFRICAN LEAGUE MEETING, MADRAS[4]

May 7, 1915

Mr. Gandhi, in the course of a brief statement, said that the passive resistance struggle started with the Asiatic struggle in the Transvaal in 1906. As it went on stage after stage, it owing to the exigencies of the case and as a matter of course expanded and embraced the following further points, viz., (1) the removal of racial disability in the immigration legislation of the Union of South Africa; (2) the restoration of the status of Indian wives whether married

[1] The first four pages of the letter are missing. The available portion is also torn at places.

[2] *Vide* "Letter to A. H. West", 4-5-1915.

[3] Madras Provincial Conference

[4] At the premises of Messrs G. A. Natesan and Co.

in accordance with Hindu or Mahomedan religious rites as it originally existed before what was known in South Africa as the Searle judgment[1]; (3) repeal of the annual £3 tax which was payable by every ex-indentured Indian, his wife and his children—male and female—males after reaching 16 years, females after reaching 12 if they decided to settle in the province of Natal as free men; (4) just administration of existing laws specially affecting British Indians with regard to vested rights. All these points were completely gained under the settlement of last year, and they have been embodied so far as legislation was necessary in what was known as the Indians' Relief Act[2] and otherwise in the correspondence that took place between General Smuts and himself immediately after the passing of the Act referred to. Such being the case and as the Indian South African League was formed solely for the purpose of assisting the struggle, it could well dissolve itself. Mr. Gandhi referred also to the administration of the funds that were sent to him from India and other parts of the Empire. He said that at every stage of the struggle a complete statement of income and expenditure was published. The first was sent to Mr. Gokhale accompanied with a public letter[3]. The second statement was rendered to Mr. Ratan Tata[4] also accompanied with a public letter. The third was ready and was to have been published after consultation with Mr. Gokhale and the general committee at Bombay. Such was Mr. Gokhale's desire. He (the speaker) was now waiting to see Mr. Nut, Mr. Petit, the secretary of the committee, and then publish the statement.[5] Mr. Gandhi added there were nearly 30 passive resisters including their families in India who were to be supported. These included the widows and children of two men who were shot in the course of the struggle. He therefore suggested that the small balance which was still with the Indian South African League might well be devoted to their assistance.[6] Mr. Gandhi desired to take the opportunity to express the thanks of the South African Indians for the great and valuable assistance it had rendered to them during the most critical times of the struggle. He was not going to mention any names but he felt it his duty to convey in person, as the interpreter of the wishes of many Transvaal deportees who were in Madras in 1909, their heartfelt thanks to Mr. Natesan for the devotion which he displayed in looking after their interest during their exile in India. He was glad [he was] able to

[1] The judgment delivered by Justice Searle of the Cape Supreme Court on March 14, 1913 which declared as invalid all marriages not solemnized with Christian rites and not duly registered

[2] *Vide* Vol. XII, Appendix XXV.

[3] *Vide* Vol. X, pp. 229-33.

[4] Sir Ratan Tata (1871-1918), Parsi philanthropist who sent large sums of money for the satyagrahis in South Africa; *vide* Vol. XI, pp. 248-53.

[5] *Vide* "Letter to J. B. Petit", 16-6-1915.

[6] The League passed a resolution, dissolving itself and placing the balance at his disposal.

convey in person his grateful thanks to the chairman and the members of the League for the moral and material support they had rendered to their cause.

The Leader, 24-6-1915

76. *SPEECH AT BANGALORE*[1]

May 8, 1915

MY DEAR COUNTRYMEN,

Before I perform this ceremony to which you have called me, I wish to say this to you that you have given me a great opportunity or rather a privilege on this great occasion. I saw in the recitation[2], the beautiful recitation that was given to me, that God is with them whose garment was dusty and tattered. My thoughts immediately went to the end of my garment; I examined and found that it is not dusty and it is not tattered; it is fairly spotless and clean. God is not in me. There are other conditions attached; but in these conditions too I may fail; and you, my dear countrymen, may also fail; and if we do tend this well, we should not dishonour the memory of one whose portrait you have asked me to unveil this morning. I have declared myself his disciple in the political field and I have[3] him as my *Rajya Guru*; and this I claim on behalf of the Indian people. It was in 1896 that I made this declaration, and I do not regret having made the choice.

Mr. Gokhale taught me that the dream of every Indian, who claims to love his country, should be to act in the political field, should be not to glorify in language, but to spiritualise the political life of the country, and the political institutions of the country. He inspired my life and is still inspiring [it]; and in that I wish to purify myself and spiritualise myself. I have dedicated myself to that ideal. I may fail, and to what extent I may fail, I call myself to that extent an unworthy disciple of my master.

What is the meaning of spiritualising the political life of the country? What is the meaning of spiritualising myself? That

[1] While unveiling the portrait of G. K. Gokhale in Government High School at the instance of the Social Service League

[2] From Tagore's *Gitanjali*, of the poem "Leave this chanting and singing and telling of beads", which has: "He is with them in sun and in shower and his garment is covered with dust. . . . What harm is there if thy clothes become tattered and stained?"

[3] "love" in *Speeches and Writings of Mahatma Gandhi*, Natesan

question has come before me often and often and to you it may seem one thing, to me it may seem another thing; it may mean different things to the different members of the Servants of India Society itself. It shows much difficulty and it shows the difficulties of all those who want to love their country, who want to serve their country and who want to honour their country. I think political life must be an echo of private life and that there cannot be any divorce between the two.

I was by the side of that saintly politician to the end of his life and I found no ego in him. I ask you, members of the Social Service League, if there is no ego in you. If he wanted to shine,—he wanted to shine in the political field of his country,—he did so not in order that he might gain public applause, but in order that his country might gain. He developed every particular faculty in him, not in order to win the praise of the world for himself, but in order that his country might gain. He did not seek public applause, but they [*sic*] were showered upon him, they were thrust upon him; he wanted that his country might gain and that was his great inspiration.

There are many things for which India is blamed, very rightly, and if you should add one more to our failure, the blame will descend not only on you but also on me for having participated in today's functions. But I have great faith in my countrymen.

You ask me to unveil this portrait today, and I will do so in all sincerity and sincerity should be the end of your life. (Loud and continued applause.)

The Indian Review, May 1915

77. *TALK WITH BANGALORE CITIZENS*

May 8, 1915

Mr. Gandhi was met today at his temporary residence in Seshadri Road, Bangalore, by a few citizens who engaged him in conversation.

Questioned as to India's poverty, Mr. Gandhi said India was becoming poorer and poorer, on account of disappearance of the handloom industries owing to violent competition and export of raw materials.

He said:

We have lost much of our self-respect on account of being too much Europeanised. We think and speak in English. Thereby, we impoverish our vernaculars, and estrange the feelings of the masses. A knowledge of English is not very essential to the service of our Motherland.

Turning to caste, he said:

Caste is the great power and secret of Hinduism.

GANDHI'S HOME

Asked where he would stay, Mr. Gandhi replied:

Great pressure is brought down on me to settle in Bengal; but I have a great capital in the store of my knowledge in Gujarat and I get letters from there.

WANTED A LIBRARY

Vernacular literature is important. I want to have a library of all books. I invite friends for financial aid to form libraries and to locate them.

MODERN CIVILIZATION A CURSE

Modern civilization is a curse in Europe as also in India. War is the direct result of modern civilization. Every one of the powers was making preparations for war.

GREAT MORAL FORCE

Passive resistance is a great moral force meant for the weak, also for the strong. Soul-force depends on itself. Ideals must work in practice, otherwise they are not potential. Modern civilization is brute force.

It is one thing to know the ideal and another thing to practise it. That will ensure greater discipline, which means greater service, and greater service means greater gain to Government. Passive resistance is a high aggressive thing. The attribute of soul is restlessness; there is room for every phase of thought.

THREE EVILS

Money, land and woman are the sources of evil and evil has to be counteracted. I need not possess land, nor a woman, nor money, to satisfy my luxuries. I do not want to be unhinged because others are unhinged. If ideals are practised, there will be less room for mischievous activities. Public life has to be moulded.

SADHUS IN INDIA

Every current has to change its course. There are one and a half million *sadhus*[1] and if every *sadhu* did his duty, India could achieve much. Jagatguru Sankaracharya does not deserve that appellation because he has no more force in him.

[1] Wandering recluses

Indian Ideals

Malicious material activity is no good. It finds out means to multiply one's luxuries. Intense, gross modern activity should not be imposed in Indian institutions, which have to be remodelled on ideals taken from Hinduism. Virtue as understood in India is not understood in foreign lands. Dasharatha[1] is considered a fool in foreign lands, for his having kept his promise to his wife[2]. India says a promise is a promise. That is a good deal. Material activity is mischievous. Truth shall conquer in the end.

Emigrants

Emigration does no good to the country from which people emigrate. Emigrants do not return better moral men. The whole thing is against Hinduism. Temples do not flourish. There are no opportunities for ceremonial functions. Priests do not come, and at times, they are merely men of straw. Immigrants play much mischief and corrupt society. It is not enterprise. They may earn more money easily in those parts, which means they do not want to toil and remain straight in the methods of earning. Immigrants are not happier and have more material wants.

Theosophical Society

Questioned about the Theosophical Society, Mr. Gandhi said:

There is a good deal of good in the Theosophical Society, irrespective of individuals. It has stimulated ideals and thought.

New India, 10-5-1915

78. *SPEECH AT CIVIC RECEPTION, BANGALORE*[3]

May 8, 1915

MR. CHAIRMAN AND MY FRIENDS,

I think it is simply impertinent to tell you that I thank you most sincerely on behalf of my wife and on my own behalf for the signal honour you have shown me. Words fail me, and one thought oppresses me all the more. Am I, are we, worthy of the honour? Are we worthy of the oriental generosity of this love? The Chair-

[1] Father of Rama

[2] Kaikeyi, who wanted Rama to be sent into exile and her own son Bharat to become the crown prince

[3] At Albert Victory Conservatory at Lal Bagh

man[1] has furnished this ground for the love, and quoted Mr. Gokhale. Let me not bask in that reputation. See me please in the nakedness of my working, and in my limitations, you will then know me. I have to tread on most delicate ground, and my path is destined to be through jungles and temples. The glamour produced by the saintly politician has vanished, and let us be judged eye to eye. So many have assembled here to do honour. This morning[2], you did greater honour. Greater honour was shown by the Reception Committee in arranging for the conversation[3], in order to open my heart to you and to understand the innermost thoughts in you by quiet conversation between my countrymen and myself.[4]

I did not want to be dragged in the carriage. There is a meaning in that. Let us not spoil our public men by dragging them. Let them work silently. We should not encourage the thought that one has to work because one will be honoured similarly. Let public men feel that they will be stoned, they will be neglected and let them still love the country, for service is its own reward. A charge has been brought against us that we as a nation are too demonstrative and lack business-like methods. We plead guilty to the charge. Are we to copy modern activities or are we to copy the ancient civilization which has survived so many shocks? You and I have to act on the political platform from a spiritual side and if this is done, we should then conquer the conquerors. The day will dawn then when we can consider an Englishman as a fellow-citizen. (Cheers.) That day will shortly come; but it may be difficult to conceive when. I have had signal opportunities of associating myself with Englishmen of character, devotion, nobility and influence. I can assure you that the present wave of activity is passing away and a new civilization is coming shortly which will be a nobler one. India is a great dependency and Mysore is a great Native State. It must be possible for you to transmit this message to British governors, and to British statesmen; the message is : "Establish a *Ram Rajya* in Mysore and have as your minister a Vashishta who will command obedience." (Prolonged cheers.) My

[1] Dewan Bahadur Puttana Chetty, Hon. President of the City Municipal Council, who read the address of welcome

[2] Gandhiji had received a great ovation on his arrival at the City Station and at the unveiling of Gokhale's portrait.

[3] *Vide* the preceding item.

[4] This paragraph is from *Mahatma Gandhi: His Life, Writings and Speeches*, Ganesh & Co.

fellow-countrymen, then you can dictate terms to the conqueror. (Prolonged cheers.)

Indian Review, May, 1915; *Mahatma Gandhi: His Life, Writings and Speeches*, Ganesh & Co.

79. LETTER TO G. A. NATESAN

BOMBAY,
May 10, 1915

DEAR MR. NATESAN,

How shall I thank you for the extraordinary affection shown to me by you?[1] As you did it all for the country I accepted it. I shall endeavour to prove myself worthy of it. Yes, Madras still remains my favourite.

We reached without much discomfort. As all the principal men are out of Bombay I am leaving for Ahmedabad tonight. Sundaram[2] seems to be shaping well. Naiker[3] still remains a gem. The old friend[4] is all right. And Mrs. Gandhi can only think of you.

You must let me have Tamil books please. I want books for beginners and books for men like Sundaram. I want all Dr. Pope's[5] books. Will you please attend to this as early as you can?

And you will send us those covering sheets?

Please remember us to your mother and Mrs. Natesan and to all the friends who may be still thinking of us.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat of the original in Gandhiji's hand: G. N. 2228

[1] During Gandhiji's visit to Madras

[2] & [3] Inmates of the Satyagraha Ashram; *vide* the following item.

[4] Revashanker Zaveri's elder brother; *vide* "Letter to Narandas Gandhi", 25-4-1915.

[5] Dr. G. U. Pope (1820-1908), author of *First Lessons in Tamil, A Handbook of the Ordinary Dialect of the Tamil Language, A Textbook of Indian History*, etc.; *vide* Vol. VIII, pp. 136-7.

80. THE ASHRAM: AN ESTIMATE OF EXPENDITURE[1]

Vaishakh Vad 13, Tuesday [*May 11, 1915*]

Dada[2]
Ba
Myself
Sundaram
Naiker
Santok
Rukhi
Radha
Manilal
Ramdas
Devdas
Kaka
Naranji
His wife
Maganbhai
His wife
His son
Maganlal
Shivpujan
Shanti
Navin
Cuppu
Fakiri
Bala
Chavda's daughter
Chhotalal
Narandas
Parthasarathi
Shanti
Ranchhod
Kaku
Keshu
Krishna
Prabhudas
Rajangam
Rati
Magan
Three other Tamils

To begin with, there will be about 40 inmates in the institution. The number is likely to be 50 in a short time.

There are likely to be, on an average, ten guests in a month.

Three to five of them will be with families.

Hence the accommodation to be provided should be such that those with families can stay separately and the rest together.

Having regard to this, three kitchens and rooms measuring 50,000 sq. ft. [together] will provide sufficient accommodation to all.

In addition to this, a room and cupboards for holding a thousand books will also be required.

At least five acres of land will be required for cultivation. Agricultural implements sufficient for at least thirty persons to work with will be needed. These should include hoes, shovels and pickaxes.

Carpenter's tools will be required as under :

5 Big hammers
3 Adzes
5 Small hammers
2 Anvils

[1] Prepared for Sheth Mangaldas Girdharlal of Ahmedabad; *vide* "Diary for 1915".

[2] Used for elder brother or grandfather. Here presumably for Revashanker Jhaveri's elder brother

3 Drills
10 Chisels, small and large
4 Carpenter's planes
1 Pricker
4 Files
4 Gimlets, small and large
4 Saws, small and large
5 Pinches, small and large
20 lbs nails and pins
1 Wooden hammer

Cobbler's tools

I estimate the total cost at Rs. 500.

The kitchen utensils required will cost Rs. 150.

If we are far away from the railway station, one bullock-cart or horse-carriage will be needed for transport of luggage and also perhaps for conveyance of guests, etc.

The annual expenses on boarding, etc., I estimate at the rate of Rs. 10 p.m. per head. I don't see any possibility of our being able to provide this from our produce during the first year. Thus, with an average of 50 inmates, the annual expenditure will come to Rs. 6,000.

I have understood it to be the desire of the [local] leaders that we should merely experiment for a year in Ahmedabad. If that is so, Ahmedabad should bear the whole of this burden. My demand was that Ahmedabad should provide me with land and building complete, while I would obtain the remaining expenses from elsewhere or by other means. As we have now changed the basis, I think Ahmedabad should bear the entire burden for a year or any shorter period. If Ahmedabad is not prepared to do this for a year, I am in a position to provide for the boarding charges.

As I have worked out this estimate in a hurry, it is likely that I have missed some few items. Moreover, I have no information about local conditions, except for boarding charges. Hence my estimates may well be incorrect.

If Ahmedabad bears all the expenses, the figures under the different heads will be as follows :

Rent—bungalow and farm land
Cost of cupboards for books
Carpenter's tools
Cobbler's tools
Kitchen utensils
Bullock-cart or horse-carriage
Boarding charges for one year : 6000

I think we shall need blacksmith's and mason's tools and many others besides. But I have not taken into account these and also equipment for educational purposes. Five or more indigenous looms will be the main requirements among the latter, as far as I can see.

MOHANDAS KARAMCHAND GANDHI

HOUSEHOLD ARTICLES

4 Large cooking pots for 40 persons
2 Small cooking pots for ten persons
3 Water jars of brass or copper for fetching water
4 Earthen [water pots]
4 Wooden stands
1 Frying pan large enough for ten pounds
3 Small ladles
2 Trenchers for kneading flour
1 Large brass vessel for heating water
3 Kettles
5 Buckets or metal vessels to hold bathing water
5 Flat cover-dishes for cooking pots
5 Utensils to store corn
3 Shallow pans
10 Metal trays
10 Metal cups, large size
10 Metal tumblers
10 Cups
4 Tubs for washing clothes
2 Sieves
1 Brass strainer
3 Querns
10 Spoons
1 Scoop
1 Pair of mortar and pestle
3 Sweeping brooms
6 Chairs
3 Tables
6 Cupboards to hold books
30 Inkstands
6 Black-boards
6 Racks
3 Maps of India
3 Maps of the world
2 Maps of Bombay Presidency

1 Map of Gujarat
5 Handlooms
Carpenter's tools
Cobbler's tools
Agricultural implements
4 Bedsteads
1 Carriage
5 Lanterns
3 Commodes
10 Beddings
3 Chamber-pots
4 Street lamps

From the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: S.N. 6196

81. LETTER TO MAGANLAL GANDHI

[AHMEDABAD,]
Vaishakh Vad 0)), Thursday [May 13, 1915][1]

CHI. MAGANLAL,

I am writing this letter on Thursday. You will get it on Monday or Sunday. It has been decided to rent a bungalow[2] here and later look about for land, etc. The rent for the bungalow and the cost of tools, etc., are to be borne by Ahmedabad. And of utensils as well. Boarding charges are to be borne by us. I am leaving for Rajkot today. I shall return to Ahmedabad at the latest on Tuesday. If you start from there[3] on Monday, you will reach Delhi on Tuesday morning, and Ahmedabad on Wednesday. Fix the date and let me know by wire when you will start. Tell me in the telegram when you will reach here. I enclose [currency] notes for Rs. 200/-. If I am not mistaken, you will need 16 and a half tickets.

Send away Pandit to Calcutta now, though, of course, if you feel that he may join you, let him. He should pay the fare himself, however.

I shall be in Rajkot on the day you get this letter, and in Ahmedabad when you arrive there.

[1] From the reference to the renting of a bungalow in Ahmedabad, the letter appears to have been written in 1915. In Gujarati the fifteenth day of the dark half of the month is written as 0)).

[2] For the Ashram

[3] Gurukul, Hardwar

You will get the most convenient train via Delhi : Laksar, Saharanpur, Delhi, Ajmer, Palanpur and Ahmedabad. If you purchase at Hardwar a through ticket to Ahmedabad, you will save Rs. 5/-. The fare is two and a half pies per mile for the first 100 miles and 2 pies beyond that. The Mail has only Intermediate Class. There is a mixed third-class Express from Delhi, reaching Ahmedabad in 27 to 30 hours. It seems you will have to change at least at Laksar, Saharanpur and Delhi. If a large stock of dates, etc., remains over, it will be better to buy it. They should not feel at the Gurukul later that we had been a burden there.

There is nothing more to write.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: C.W. 5673. Courtesy: Radhabehn Choudhri

82. *LETTER TO V. S. SRINIVASA SASTRI*

AHMEDABAD,
May 14, 1915

DEAR MR. SHASTRIAR[1],

I want to have a quiet chat with you regarding your health. I feel very strongly about it. I am sure that you can by regulating your diet and taking water treatment completely cure yourself while there is yet time. You owe it to the Society and the country to get cured when it is so easily possible to do so. In the treatment I suggest, there need be not a day's interruption in your public work. The one thing needful is to follow the cure religiously. Prolonged treatment is not necessary to notice its results. And here it is :

2 hip baths per day of at least 20 minutes' duration, the baths to be taken not before the completion of three hours after a meal. Two hours' gentle walk in the open air morning and evening.

Only two meals per day, the last not after sunset.

Every morsel of diet must be chewed with deliberation so that it goes down the throat not as a solid mass but as a smooth thick liquid. Whether you have done this or not can always be noticed in your stools.

[1] (1869-1946), scholar, statesman; President, Servants of India Society, 1915-27

The diet to consist of bananas, mangoes, oranges, oats, figs (fresh or dried), sultanas, grapes, lemons, tamarind, papaw, pineapple, prunes, cocoanut, groundnuts, almonds, pistachios, walnuts, olive oil, if necessary.

Only two varieties of nuts may be taken during the day. In quantity no more than 4 ounces of both during the day. At the commencement, i.e., for 4 days nuts may be omitted altogether and then gradually introduced.

Either lemons or tamarind may be taken. Figs, dates and other dried fruit should be well washed and soaked for six hours before eating. The water in which they are soaked should be drunk.

If olive oil be taken, no more than an ounce per day may be taken. Nine fair-sized bananas should be enough per day along with the other fruits.

However, quantity may be regulated by each one for himself.

A month's trial without a break is sure to show you that complete recovery lies in this direction and no other. Of course, all drinks—coffee, tea, soda water, etc., and betel leaves, etc., must be eschewed during the treatment. Later on you will go back to your old diet with variations that you may have picked up during the treatment.

Do please think of this thing seriously.

Pray remember us both to your mother and Mrs. Shastriar.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat of the original in Gandhiji's hand: G.N. 6287

83. SPEECH AT LIMBDI[1]

May 19, 1915

The epithets used of me in the address and the praise showered on me by the speakers are full of exaggeration. In all that I did, I did no more than my duty towards my motherland.

[From Gujarati]
Gujarati, 30-5-1915

[1] In reply to an address from the citizens, His Highness the Thakore Saheb of Limbdi presiding

84. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

LIMBDI,
Vaishakh Sud 5, Wednesday [May 19, 1915][1]

CHI. NARANDAS,

I have come here for a day, as the Thakore Saheb was keen that I should. Santok and the girls have also come along. Jamnadas will stay in Rajkot for the time being.

Send the luggage lying with Revashankerbhai, as also that with you and Kalyandas[2], to Ahmedabad in a goods train. The beddings, I think, will have to be covered with hessian and stitched in. Alternatively, a friend coming this way could bring them along. Boxes which may have no locks should be packed well. Those containing glassware should be handled carefully.

There is a telegram from Chi. Maganlal saying that they will all leave Hardwar on Thursday. So they should be in Ahmedabad on Saturday or Sunday.

Shamaldas has come with me. Whether he will stay on, or what he will do, I can't say.

Respected Khushalbhai and I have had long talks. I feel all the time that there is something owing from him to me. In the same degree that he has satisfied me, Nandkorbhabhi, Gangabhabhi and Gokibehn[3] have disappointed me.

More when we meet.

Blessings from
MOHANDAS

From the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: C.W. 5674. Courtesy: Narandas Gandhi

[1] Gandhiji was in Limbdi on this date with Shamaldas, son of his elder brother Lakshmidas, and Santok, wife of Maganlal Gandhi.

[2] Kalyandas Jagmohandas Mehta, who had worked with Gandhiji in South Africa; *vide* Vol. VI, p. 461.

[3] Raliatbehn, Gandhiji's elder sister

85. *DRAFT CONSTITUTION FOR THE ASHRAM*[1]

[Before *May 20, 1915*][2]

This is only a draft printed for circulation among friends for their comments.[3] It is not intended as a statement for the Press.[4]

SATYAGRAHASHRAM?[5]
DESHSEVASHRAM?
SEVAMANDIR?

OBJECT

The object of the Ashram is to learn how to serve the motherland one's whole life and to serve it.

CLASSES

The Ashram consists of three classes: Controllers, Novitiates and Students.

(1) CONTROLLERS

The Controllers believe that, in order to learn how to serve the country, the following observances should be enforced in their own lives and they have been trying to do so for some time.

1. VOW OF TRUTH

It is not enough for a person under this vow that he does not ordinarily resort to untruth; such a person ought to know that no deception may be practised even for the good of the country. One should consider the example of Prahlad in order to understand how one should behave towards elders such as parents in the interests of Truth.

2. VOW OF NON-VIOLENCE

It is not enough to refrain from taking the life of any living being. He who has pledged himself to this vow may not kill even

[1] This was revised and published as third edition on November 7, 1915.

[2] The Ashram, as stated in the third edition, was established on May 20.

[3] *Vide* "Letter to Ranchhodlal Patwari", 5-6-1915 and "Letter to Purshottamdas Thakurdas", 8-6-1915.

[4] These sentences were replaced in the third edition by: "Some revisions have been made in this edition in the light of suggestions from friends or experience." The revisions were as indicated in the footnotes.

[5] The third edition appeared under this title, with the following note below it: (Established in Ahmedabad on *Vaishakh Vad* 6, Thursday, May 20, 1915).

those whom he believes to be unjust; he may not be angry with them, he must love them; thus, he would oppose the tyranny whether of parents, governments or others, but will never kill or hurt the tyrant. The follower of truth and non-violence will offer satyagraha against tyranny and win over the tyrant by love; he will not carry out the tyrant's will but he will suffer punishment even unto death for disobeying his will until the tyrant himself is won over.

3. Vow of Celibacy

It is well-nigh impossible to observe these two vows unless celibacy too is observed; and for this vow it is not enough that one does not look upon another woman with a lustful eye, one has so to control the animal passions that they will not be moved even in thought; if one is married, one will not have sexual intercourse even with one's wife, but, regarding her as a friend, will establish with her a relationship of perfect purity.

4. Control of the Palate

Until one has overcome the palate, it is difficult to observe the foregoing vows, more especially that of celibacy. Control of the palate should therefore be treated as a separate observance by one desirous of serving the country and, believing that eating is only for sustaining the body, one should regulate and purify one's diet day by day. Such a person will immediately, or gradually, as he can, leave off such articles of food as may tend to stimulate animal passions.

5. Vow of Non-Stealing

It is not enough not to steal what is commonly considered as other men's property. One who has pledged himself to this vow should realize that Nature provides from day to day just enough and no more for one's daily needs by way of food and so hold it theft to use articles of food, dress, etc., which one does not really need and live accordingly.

6. Vow of Non-Possession

It is not enough not to possess and keep much, but it is necessary not to keep anything which may not be absolutely necessary for the nourishment and protection of our body : thus, if one can do without chairs, one should do so. He who has taken this vow will always bear this in mind and endeavour to simplify his life more and more.

Subsidiary Observances

Two other vows follow from the foregoing.[1]

1. Vow of Swadeshi

The person who has taken the vow of Swadeshi will never use articles which conceivably involve violation of truth in their manufacture or on the part of their manufacturers. It follows, for instance, that a votary of truth will not use articles manufactured in the mills of Manchester, Germany or India, for he cannot be sure that they involve no such violation of truth. Moreover, labourers suffer much in the mills. The generation of tremendous heat causes enormous destruction of life. Besides, the loss of workers' lives in the manufacture of machines and of other creatures through excessive heat is something impossible to describe. Foreign cloth and cloth made by means of machinery are, therefore, tabooed to a votary of non-violence as they involve triple violence. Further reflection will show that the use of foreign cloth can be held to involve a breach of the vows of non-stealing and non-possession. We follow custom and, for better appearance, wear foreign cloth in preference to the cloth made on our own handlooms with so little effort. Artificial beautifying of the body is a hindrance to a *brahmachari* and so, even from the point of view of that vow, machine-made cloth is taboo. Therefore, the vow of Swadeshi requires the use of simple clothing made on simple handlooms and stitched in simple style, foreign buttons, cuts, etc., being avoided. The same line of reasoning may be applied to all other articles.

2. Vow of Fearlessness

He who is acted upon by fear can hardly observe the vows of truth, etc. The Controllers will, therefore, constantly endeavour to be free from the fear of kings or society, one's caste or family, thieves, robbers, ferocious animals such as tigers, and even of death. One who observes the vow of fearlessness will defend himself or others by truth-force or soul-force.

3. Vow against Untouchability[2]

According to Hindu religion as traditionally practised, communities such as *Dhed*, *Bhangi*, etc., known by the names of *Antyaj*, *Pancham*, *Achhut* and so on, are looked upon as untouchable. Hindus belonging to other communities believe that they will be defiled if they touch a member of any of the said communities and, if anyone

[1] Omitted in the third edition

[2] This and the paragraph on *Varnashram* were added in the third edition.

does so accidentally, he thinks that he has committed a sin. The founders of the Ashram believe that this practice is a blot on Hindu religion. Themselves staunch Hindus, they believe that the Hindu race will continue to add to its load of sin so long as it regards a single community as untouchable. Some of the consequences of this practice have been terrible. In order to be free from this sin, the Ashram inmates are under a vow to regard the untouchable communities as touchable; actually one *Dhed* family was staying in the Ashram, and it is still there, when the third edition of these rules was being drawn up. It lives exactly in the same condition as others in the Ashram do. This vow does not extend to association for purpose of eating. All that is desired is the eradication of the evil of untouchability.

VARNASHRAM[1]

The Ashram does not follow the *varnashram* dharma. Where those in control of the Ashram will take the place of the pupils' parents and where life-long vows of celibacy, non-hoarding, etc., are to be observed, *varnashram* dharma has no scope. The Ashram inmates will be in the stage of *sanyasis*[2] and so it is not necessary for them to follow the rules of this dharma. Apart from this, the Ashram has a firm belief in the *varnashram* dharma. The discipline of caste seems to have done no harm to the country; on the contrary, rather. There is no reason to believe that eating in company promotes brotherhood ever so slightly. In order that the *varnashram* dharma and caste discipline might in no way be undermined, the Ashram inmates are under obligation, whenever they stir out, to subsist on fruits if they cannot cook their own food.

MOTHER TONGUE

It is the belief of the Controllers that no nation or any group thereof can make real progress by abandoning its own language; they will, therefore, use their own language. As they desire to be on terms of intimacy with their brethren from all parts of India, they will also learn the chief Indian languages; as Sanskrit is a key to Indian languages, they will learn that too.

MANUAL WORK

The Controllers believe that body labour is a duty imposed by nature upon mankind. Such labour is the only means by which

[1] The organisation of society into four castes, each with a distinctive function, and the division of life into four stages

[2] Those who, in the last stage of life, have renounced the world

man may sustain himself; his mental and spiritual powers should be used for the common good only. As the vast majority in the world live on agriculture, the Controllers will always devote some part of their time to working on the land; when that is not possible, they will perform some other bodily labour.

Weaving

The Controllers believe that one of the chief causes of poverty in the land is the virtual disappearance of spinning-wheels and handlooms. They will, therefore, make every effort to revive this industry by themselves weaving cloth on handlooms.

Politics

Politics, economic progress, etc., are not unconnected matters; knowing that they are all rooted in religion, the Controllers will make an effort to learn and teach politics, economics, social reform, etc., in a religious spirit and work in these fields with all the zeal that they can command.

(2) Novitiates

Those who are desirous of following the foregoing programme but are not able immediately to take the necessary vows may be admitted as Novitiates. It is obligatory upon them to conform to all the observances which are followed by Controllers the while that they are in the Ashram. They will acquire the status of Controllers when they are able to take the necessary vows for life.

(3) Students

1 Any children, whether boys or girls, from four years and upwards may be admitted with the consent of their parents.[1]

2 Parents will have to surrender all control over their children.

3 Children will not be permitted to visit their parents for any reason until the whole course of study is finished.

4 Students will be taught to observe all the vows intended for the Controllers.

5 They will receive instruction in religion, agriculture, handloom-weaving and letters.

6 Instruction in letters will be through the students' own languages and will include History, Geography, Arithmetic, Algebra, Geometry, Economics, etc., the learning of Sanskrit, Hindi and at least one Dravidian language being obligatory.

[1] This was replaced in the third edition by: "Boys and girls under twelve years of age will not be admitted if their parents do not join at the same time."

7 English will be taught as a second language.

8 Urdu, Bengali, Tamil, Telugu, Devnagari and Gujarati scripts will be taught to all.

9 The Controllers believe that the whole course will be completed in ten years.[1] Upon reaching the age of majority, students will be given the option of taking the vows or retiring from the Ashram. This will make it possible for those to whom the programme has not commended itself to leave the Ashram.

10 They will exercise this option at an age when they will require no assistance from their parents or guardians.

11 Every endeavour will be made from the very beginning to see that, when they leave, they will be strong enough to have no fear what they would do for their maintenance.

12 Grown-up persons also may be admitted as students.

13 As a rule, everyone will wear the simplest and a uniform style of dress.

14 Food will be simple. Chillies will be excluded altogether and generally no condiments will be used excepting salt, pepper and turmeric. Milk, ghee and other milk products being a hindrance to a celibate life and milk being often a cause of tuberculosis and having the same stimulating qualities as meat, they will be most sparingly used, if at all. Meals will be served thrice a day and will include dried and fresh fruits in liberal quantities. All inmates of the Ashram will be taught the general principles of hygiene.

15 No holidays will be observed in this Ashram but, for one and a half days every week, the ordinary routine will be altered and everyone will have some time to attend to his private work.

16 During three months in the year, those whose health permits it will be taken on a tour, on foot for the most part, of India.

17 Nothing will be charged either from Students or Novitiates towards their monthly expenditure, but parents or the members themselves will be expected to contribute whatever they can towards the expenses of the Ashram.

Miscellaneous

Administration of the Ashram will rest with a body of Controllers. The Chief Controller will have the right to decide whom to admit and to which category.

The expenses of the Ashram are being met from moneys already received by the Chief Controller or to be received from friends who may have some faith in the Ashram.

[1] This sentence was omitted in the third edition.



WITH YAKUB HASAN AND G. A. NATESAN





The Ashram is accommodated in two houses on the banks of the Sabarmati, Ahmedabad, on the road to Sarakhej across the Ellis Bridge.

It is expected that in a few months, about 250 acres of land will be acquired in the vicinity of Ahmedabad and the Ashram located thereon.

A Request

Visitors are requested to observe all the Ashram rules during their stay there. Every endeavour will be made to make them comfortable; but the management will be thankful to them if they bring with them their bedding and utensils for meals, as the Ashram rules permit the stocking of only a minimum of articles.

Those parents who intend sending their children to the Ashram are advised to pay a visit to the Ashram. No boy or girl will be admitted before he or she has been duly tested.

Daily Routine[1]

(1) An effort is being made to see that everyone in the Ashram gets up at 4 o'clock. The first bell rings at 4.

(2) It is obligatory on all, except those who are ill, to get up at 4.30. Everyone finishes bathing by 5.

(3) 5 to 5.30 : Prayers and readings from holy books.

(4) 5.30 to 7 : Breakfast of fruits, such as bananas.

(5) 7 to 8.30 : Manual work. This includes drawing water, grinding, sweeping, weaving, cooking, etc.

(6) 8.30 to 10 : School work.

(7) 10 to 12 : Meal and cleaning of utensils. The meal consists of dal, rice, vegetables and *rotlis* for five days. On two days, there are *rotlis* and fruits.

(8) 12 to 3 : School work.

(9) 3 to 5 : Work, as in the morning.

(10) 5 to 6 : Meal and cleaning of utensils. The meal mostly follows the same pattern as in the morning.

(11) 6.30 to 7 : Prayers, as in the morning.

(12) 7 to 9 : Study, receiving visitors, etc.

Before nine, all children go to bed. At ten the lights are put out.

For school work, the subjects of study at present are Sanskrit, Gujarati, Tamil, Hindi and Arithmetic. Study of History and Geography is included in that of languages.

No paid teachers or servants are employed in the Ashram.

[1] Added in the third edition

In all, the Ashram has at present 35 inmates. Four of them live with their families. There are five teachers to look after teaching. Permanent members of the Ashram include two from North India, nine from Madras Presidency and the rest are from Gujarat and Kathiawar.

[From Gujarati]

From photostats of printed leaflets: S.N. 6187 and S.N. 6189

86. *LETTER TO V. S. SRINIVASA SASTRI*

AHMEDABAD,
May 20 [*1915*][1]

DEAR MR. SHASTRIAR,

I have just returned from a brief domestic visit to Rajkot to find your two letters. If I may suggest, I think that you should respond to Sir William's call. Sir Pherozeshaw is likely to take the same view that Mrs. Besant does. To me it is enough that Sir William wants you, and that you know the subject you are expected to handle. Your credentials as President of the Society are and ought to be sufficient to give you the status and authority you will need in your mission.

And if you go, I suppose you will not need to do so for two months. Will you not then during the time get rid of your disease so as to enable you the more effectively to do your work?

Naiker and Sundaram seem to be doing very well.

I am settling down here for the time being at any rate.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

The pamphlet I have sent you is not the last word.

From a photostat of the original in Gandhiji's hand: G.N. 6289

[1] The reference to Sir Pherozeshah Mehta (who died in November 1915) fixes the year as 1915.

87. LETTER TO UMIYASHANKER

AHMEDABAD,
Vaishakh Sud 7, Friday [*May 21, 1915*][1]

CHI. UMIYASHANKER,

I have your letter. I returned only yesterday, after visiting Rajkot and Limbdi. I have no personal relation with Hussain Tyobji so that I could write to him. However, Chhabildas should apply immediately, or you may do so on his behalf. You may mention my name and say that I know him well and will be ready to give a guarantee [on his behalf]. If he then inquires of me, I shall be able to say something.

Have you done anything about what you were to send me concerning Chhotu?

Blessings from
MOHANDAS

From the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: C.W. 1635. Courtesy: C. K. Bhatt

88. LETTER TO G. A. NATESAN

AHMEDABAD,
May 28, 1915

DEAR MR. NATESAN,

I have your letter enclosing cheque for Rs. 3,000 for which please find receipt herewith.

I notice that the Bangalore 'talk' has been much misrepresented and that Mrs. Besant has done me no justice whatsoever. I saw the 'talk' only the day before yesterday and it is a parody of what I actually said. I never sent Mrs. Besant any explanation for publication. I now hear that she has published what purports to be an explanation from me. Could you please send me the copies if you have seen them.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat of the original in Gandhiji's hand: G.N. 2229

[1] Gandhiji returned to Ahmedabad on May 20 from Rajkot and Limbdi.

89. LETTER TO MAGANLAL GANDHI

Vaishakh Vad 7 [June 4, 1915]

CHI. MAGANLAL,

I have your letter. I see that you are rather upset. The fault, I am sure, is mine. In attempting to ride too many horses at a time, I am in danger of falling off all of them. I have not quite, for my enthusiasm proceeds from an eager desire for service. I may not, however, be able to hold on long if I continue to go the way I am doing, forgetting all about service. Be patient. I intend to send you all, on suitable occasions, to different places, so that you may see things for yourselves. Everything will depend on what help we get and how many we can have with us here. I am perfectly confident of this, at any rate, that I shall satisfy the aspirations of you all; meanwhile, I do feel that the life you have all led so far has not been in vain, that, on the contrary, you have learnt much.

I am not unaware that you have not attained to a state of perfect non-attachment, for I have not attained it myself and I know that you are yet to reach even my level. If we stop making noise about the vows, we shall "not find ourselves in unhappy situations as we occasionally do. And now one question. Explain to me what you mean by "not having attained to a state of perfect non-attachment". I can explain [how that is so with me]. For example, I observe *brahmacharya*, but not in all its subtle aspects. I cannot say that my mind or eyes are never disturbed.

2. I maintain truthfulness, but I cannot say that I am never guilty of exaggeration, consciously or unconsciously. To say what I like saying and not to say anything which I don't like saying casts a shadow on the vow of truthfulness.

3. I make untiring efforts to control the palate but I observe that I extract the utmost pleasure from the five articles [I permit myself in a day]. But I do want to keep these and other vows inviolate and make progress in them day by day, and I am quite confident that I shall succeed. I feel that I am not likely now to depart from a literal observance.[1]

From the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: C.W. 5685. Courtesy: Radhabehn Choudhri

[1] The letter is incomplete.

90. LETTER TO RANCHHODLAL PATWARI

AHMEDABAD,
Vaishakh Vad 8 [*June 5, 1915*][1]

RESPECTED SHRI RANCHHODBHAI,

Having been very busy with various affairs, I could not write earlier. Those at Hardwar were expected to arrive any day and so I could not go to Gondal nor could I stay on [at Rajkot]. I have taken up residence in two bungalows here. Efforts [for acquiring land] will now be taken up. Boarding expenses have to be found by me. Utensils, tools, etc., have been supplied by Ahmedabad. Things have not made as much progress as we would have liked, for the various articles take a long time in arriving.

Could you send from there someone to teach [us] how to operate an indigenous loom? Could you secure me such a loom and some sample of handloom cloth woven on it?

Do you know any teacher, a man of character, who can teach Sanskrit and Gujarati? We may pay him. We shall be satisfied if we get one for a short period.

Herewith is a draft constitution[2] for the institution. Please go through it and send your comments and suggestions. I am sending three copies. If you require more, ask for them. Which [name] do you prefer? Or, would you like to suggest a different one altogether?

How does Mr. Dwarkadas keep now?

Respectful greetings from
MOHANDAS

From the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: C.W. 2796; also G. N. 4116

[1] From the references to the arrival from Hardwar of Maganlal Gandhi's party at Ahmedabad and the draft constitution of the Ashram in the letter, it appears to have been written in 1915.

[2] *Vide* "Draft Constitution for the Ashram", before 20-5-1915.

91. LETTER TO KUNVARJI MEHTA

AHMEDABAD,
Vaisakh Vad 9 [June 6, 1915][1]

DEAR SHRI KUNVARJI,

I have your letter. Read the enclosure and you will have the answers to your three questions. I place Mr. Gokhale in the front rank. I cannot judge about others. Come over here when you are free. I am leaving for Poona on the 10th. I shall return by the 15th.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS

From a photostat of the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: G.N. 2661

92. LETTER TO PURSHOTTAMDAS THAKURDAS

AHMEDABAD,
Vaishakh Vad 11 [June 8, 1915][2]

DEAR SHRI PURSHOTTAMDASJI[3],

I saw your letter on Revashankerbhai. Thanks for your views.

You will know something about my activities if you go through the accompanying draft [constitution of the Ashram][4]. I shall be obliged to have your comments.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS

From the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: C.W. 5700. Courtesy: Ramanlal Saraiya

[1] This appears to have been written in 1915, for Gandhiji left Ahmedabad for Poona on June 10, 1915, and returned from there on June 16. *Vide* "Diary for 1915".

[2] From the reference to the draft constitution, the letter appears to have been written in 1915.

[3] Sir Purushottamdas Thakurdas, economist, and a cotton magnate of Bombay

[4] *Vide* "Draft Constitution for the Ashram", before 20-5-1915.

93. LETTER TO RANCHHODLAL PATWARI

AHMEDABAD,
Vaishakh Vad 12 [June 9, 1915][1]

RESPECTED SHRI RANCHHODBHAI,

I have your letter. Thanks for your criticism. The portion concerning parents is written with the best intentions but I shall make changes in it all the same. As for the other points, instead of carrying on a discussion in letters, I hope to have a full talk about them when we meet. I will sacrifice this life itself to uphold the sanatana dharma as I understand it.

I want coarse cloth as well as fine hand-woven cloth. I shall be glad, therefore, if you send it from there as well as from Palanpur. Please send the loom and the man who will teach how to operate it, as soon as they can possibly arrive.

Respectful greetings from
MOHANDAS

From the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: C.W. 2798; also G. N. 4114

94. LETTER TO VIRCHAND SHAH

Thursday [On or about *June 10, 1915*][2]

BHAI SHRI VIRCHAND[3],

I have your letter. I send herewith a copy of the scheme [of the Ashram]. Return it after you have gone through it. You may also send any comments you feel like making. If, moreover, there are any men of learning in Bhavnagar to whom copies should be sent, give me their names.

Mr. Deepchand is still here.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS GANDHI

From the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: C.W. 5701. Courtesy: Pramod Virchand Shah

[1] This was written after "Letter to Ranchhodlal Patwari", 5-6-1915.

[2] From the reference to the scheme of the Ashram, the letter appears to have been written at the same time as "Letter to Ranchhodlal Patwari", 5-6-1915 and "Letter to Purshottamdas Thakurdas", 8-6-1915.

[3] Virchand Panachand Shah, Jain scholar and philosopher

95. LETTER TO RANCHHODLAL PATWARI

AHMEDABAD,
Vaishakh Vad 13 [June 10, 1915][1]

RESPECTED SHRI RANCHHODBHAI,

I wrote to you yesterday in the midst of many preoccupations. I think some of your questions I should answer right now. I have a little time on hand today and, since I leave for Poona in the evening, I set down a few things this very moment.

There need be no congratulations on [the award of] the Kaiser-i-Hind medal.[2] One may get it and also lose it. I do want a medal, but of a different kind altogether. There is no knowing when I shall get it, if ever.

The English article which is sold as flour is often no flour but a mixture of other things. There is fraud in [the sale of] this article. The retailer, being a third party, may not perhaps be involved in it. Handloom cloth is only an example. The vow of swadeshi implies that every article should be swadeshi. Kindly permit me to say that the observance of this vow has a subtle moral bearing.

Arithmetic will certainly include oral sums and Indian accountancy.

It cannot be that Gujaratis will never look outside Gujarat. They will go everywhere in India. They are to serve the nation. If they do not know the languages of Madras, they can have no contact with the people there. As for English, it can be of service only to those who know English. Shankar[3] had learnt all the languages of India. Vallabh[4], who belonged to the land of the Dravids, had learnt Gujarati. There are at present hundreds of Gujaratis in Madras who know Tamil. [In] Europe, people in the various countries know four or five European languages. It is very easy to acquire such proficiency in languages. The time wasted over English will, if saved, be sufficient for the purpose of these other languages.

[1] This was written on the next day after "Letter to Ranchhodlal Patwari", 9-6-1915.

[2] Gandhiji was awarded this medal on June 26 at Poona.

[3] 8th-century philosopher

[4] 15th-century philosopher

Pupils are to receive education which will incline them to nothing but national service when their studies are over. If, on growing up, they leave the Ashram, the education will have failed to that extent. Should any occasion of the kind arise, the student will be free [to follow his inclination]. It is not the aim, however, that the students should return to their parents and get lost in the sea of practical affairs.

I have had bitter experience that, when provision is made for exceptional circumstances, parents conveniently fall ill. While they are still in the stage of *brahmacharya*, students must not go to attend marriages. They are to be surrounded with a new kind of atmosphere and I always feel that, if there is frequent breaking away from this, building of character is impossible.

As for dress, a single uniform is prescribed for the present, it being necessary to do this for several reasons.

I think I have given very deep thought to the subject of milk. It is a legacy of our non-vegetarian past. It is objectionable from so many points of view that it ought to be avoided altogether. Quite a number of boys have gone through the experiment for several years and I have observed no ill-effects on their health. More [about this] when we meet.

I shall try to respect people's sentiments in every way I can without conpromising the aims of the Ashram.

We have secured four teachers. One of them will stay with us. Others live in the neighbourhood and come over daily for teaching. If a teacher is not a man of character, he will be of no use to us.

Respectful greetings from
MOHANDAS

For washing clothes, I use for the present an Indian soap which is free from fat. I am looking out for a substitute.

From the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: C.W. 2792; also G. N. 4117

96. LETTER TO KOTWAL

AHMEDABAD,
Jeth Sud 1 [June 13, 1915][1]

BHAISHRI KOTWAL,

You seem to have forgotten me. I send herewith a draft of the constitution for the Ashram. Please go through it and let me have your considered comments. Anna[2] has arrived at Ahmedabad. You may also come when you have time and take a look at the Ashram.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS

From a photostat of the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: G.N. 3607

97. LETTER TO MAHATMA MUNSHIRAM

AHMEDABAD,
Jeth Shukla 2 [June 14, 1915][3]

MAHATMAJI,

As I was preoccupied with making all sorts of arrangements after the boys' arrival from Gurukul, I could not write to you earlier. The boys can never forget the love you showered on them. I am highly obliged to you for giving shelter to my boys and colleagues.

I have started an Ashram at Ahmedabad at any rate for the time being. A Hindi version of its rules and regulations is being prepared. When ready, it will be sent to you for your opinion. I have not at all forgotten my promise to go to Hardwar again and

[1] From the reference to the draft constitution of the Ashram, the letter appears to have been written in 1915. Though Gandhiji was in Poona on this day, he wrote the letter as from Ahmedabad presumably because he was to leave Poona for Ahmedabad on this day.

[2] Harihar Sharma, a teacher of the Ganganath Vidyalaya, Baroda, who joined Gandhiji at this time

[3] The boys and teachers referred to in the letter arrived in Ahmedabad with Maganlal Gandhi on May 23, 1915 from Gurukul; *vide* "Diary for 1915". Though Gandhiji was in Bombay on this day, the letter is dated as from Ahmedabad, presumably because he was to leave Bombay for Ahmedabad the following day.

spend a few days with you. I will certainly come when I get the time.

Looking forward to your kindness,

Yours,
MOHANDAS GANDHI

From a photostat of the Hindi original in Gandhiji's hand: G.N. 2208

98. LETTER TO J. B. PETIT[1]

AHMEDABAD,
June [16][2], 1915

DEAR MR. PETIT,

I beg to submit herewith an account of the income and expenditure as up to the 31st January 1915 in connection with the passive resistance movement in South Africa.

Publication of the account has been delayed beyond my desire and expectation. It was Mr. Gokhale's intention that the accounts should be published along with a statement about the disposal of the balance in hand. As he was the prime mover in India and remained in closest touch with the movement to the end, I never did anything without consultation with him, and through him with your Committee. It was his intention that before the accounts were finally published, I should confer with your Committee. The cruel hand of Death having removed him from us, the matter of publication has been further delayed, and it is only now that it has become possible to submit the accounts to the public.

The income includes not only the monies received through you, but includes also those received from Madras, Rangoon, London and various parts of Africa, Passive Resistance School, etc. Thus, of the £27,324.0.7, £8,424.0.7 were monies other than those received through you.

As to expenditure, there are some items which require explanation. Relief which takes up nearly £3,000/- means assistance given to Passive Resisters or their families, and it is a recurring item. There are widows of Passive Resisters who died during the struggle without leaving anything for those left behind them.

[1] This was sent to the addressee, Jehangir Bomanji Petit, who was Secretary of the South African Indian Fund, as a draft. It was eventually printed and made public on October 31, 1915, with additions and alterations indicated in footnotes.

[2] *Vide* "Diary for 1915".

There are children of Passive Resisters and Passive Resisters themselves who require support.[1] Farm upkeep and improvements mean expenses in connection with the Phœnix Settlement which became the Passive Resistance Farm after the transference to Phœnix of Passive Resisters from Tolstoy Farm belonging to Mr. Kallenbach. Phœnix Settlement consists of 100 acres of land originally bought by me for locating the printing works of *Indian Opinion*. Though the legal title vested in me for some years, I never made personal use of the property. During the struggle, however, I divested myself of the legal title and it is now held by Trustees for public purposes defined in a registered Trust deed.[2] This property is still being used for housing Passive Resisters or their families. Settlers who are living on the land receive no wages but take out of the income from *Indian Opinion*, and other sources just enough for their maintenance. The journal has never been and can never become an entirely self-supporting proposition. The English portion of it is mainly of an educative character for the European public amongst whom it is distributed gratis. It was a powerful weapon in the armoury of Passive Resistance and continues to be the only recorder of accurately sifted facts about our countrymen in South Africa and of Passive Resistance movement. It is in no sense a commercial enterprise. This settlement will still need assistance.[3]

The third item is Valiama Hall. This is an institution founded in the memory of the late Valiama, a girl of 17 who died shortly after her discharge from prison of fever contracted therein. Its use will be chiefly educational. The Tamil portion of our countrymen have suffered most. Johannesburg is one of the largest Indian centres. It gave the largest number of Passive Resisters, and the Tamils were the foremost among them. The late sister belonged to Johannesburg. No better use of the Passive Resistance funds could be conceived than to have a permanent hall in Johannesburg for the public needs of the community. The institution will be registered in the name of Messrs Kachalia, the Chairman of the British Indian Association, Thambi Naidoo and Polak for the purposes mentioned above. This will cost probably £4,000. I hope that this disposal of the funds will commend itself to your Committee as being strictly in accordance with the purposes for which

[1] The published letter here adds: "For these, disbursements will still have to be made."

[2] The two sentences that follow are omitted in the published letter.

[3] In the published letter, this sentence reads: "It is to this settlement that assistance has been given to the extent mentioned in the account."

the monies were sent to South Africa, namely, relief of Passive Resisters and furtherance of the struggle. The available balance should, in my opinion, remain as it has done, in the names of Messrs A. H. West and Maganlal K. Gandhi as a trust with instructions to utilize the funds from time to time for furtherance of measures being adopted to secure just administration of local laws and the removal of the remaining disabilities and for relief of Passive Resisters, if further relief than what I have already adverted to is necessary. Co-operation of Messrs Cachalia, Parsee Rustomjee and other Passive Resisters is sought whenever extraordinary expenditure has to be incurred.[1]

Whilst the actual courting of imprisonment has ceased, the struggle for removal of the remaining disabilities itself has by no means ceased and this brings me to a brief statement of its results.[2] In its last stages, nearly 25,000 Indians actively participated in it, that is, one sixth of the total Indian population in South Africa. The balance of the community practically but with few exceptions supported the struggle whether by contributions in cash or in kind or by holding meetings in support[3], etc. It began in the Transvaal with the passing of the now famous Asiatic Registration Bill in the year 1906, but as year after year the struggle rolled on with temporary settlements, it included many other things besides the Asiatic Registration Act, and covered the whole of South Africa till at the time of the settlement the points in Passive Resistance were as follows :[4]

(1) Repeal of the Asiatic Act.
(2) Removal of the racial or colour disqualification as to immigration from the Union legislation.
(3) Removal of the legal disabilities of Indian wives.

[1] In the published letter, this paragraph is replaced by the following:

"Bulk of the unexpended balance, viz., Rs. 215,000 has been cabled to me from Durban. In accordance with the desire of your Committee, I have handed this sum to you. In my opinion, the saving of such a large sum shows that utmost economy has been used in handling the funds.

It is perhaps necessary at this stage to give in its briefest outline an account of the struggle to the maintenance of which the mother country contributed so generously."

[2] In the published letter, this sentence reads: "Whilst the actual courting of imprisonment has ceased, the struggle itself has by no means ended."

[3] These two words are omitted in the published letter.

[4] In the published letter, this sentence reads: " . . . and covered the whole of South Africa. At the time of the settlement, the points of Passive Resistance were as follows:"

(4) Removal of the annual Poll Tax of £3, which was payable by ex-indentured Indians, their wives and grown-up children.
(5) Just administration of existing laws with due regard to vested rights.

All these points are covered by the settlement of the last year which are considered[1] to be a complete vindication of Passive Resistance and I venture to state that if more has not been gained, more was not and could not be asked[2] for as an item in Passive Resistance, for a Passive Resister has to frame his minimum as well as his maximum and he dare not ask for more nor can he be satisfied with less.

But I do not wish to be understood to mean that nothing further remains to be done in South Africa, or that everything has been gained. We have only fought for removal of legal disabilities as to immigration, but administratively it tells more heavily upon us than other nations. In accepting administrative inequality, we have given due regard to existing conditions and prejudices.[3] We fought to keep the theory of the British Constitution intact so that practice may some day approach the theory as near as possible. There are still certain laws in South Africa, for instance, the Law 3 of 1885, Trade Licence Laws of the Cape and Natal which continue to cause worry. Administration of the Immigration Law is not all it should be. For these, however, Passive Resistance [is not] applied and is at present inapplicable, its application being confined to grievances which are generally felt in a community and are known to hurt its self-respect or conscience. Any of our[4] grievances referred to by me may any day advance to that stage. Till then only the ordinary remedies of petition, etc., can be and are at present being applied[5]. Letters received from South Africa show that difficulties are being experienced in some cases acutely by our countrymen and if not much has been heard of them in India just now, it is because of the extraordinary self-restraint of our countrymen in South Africa during the crisis that has overtaken the Empire.

[1] The published letter has "I consider" instead of "are considered".

[2] In the published letter, this portion of the sentence reads: " . . . more was not—could not be—asked . . . "

[3] In the published letter, these two sentences are replaced by the following: "We have only fought for removal of legal disabilities as to immigration but administratively we have taken note of existing conditions and prejudices."

[4] The published letter has "the" instead of "our".

[5] The published letter has "adopted".

This struggle has defined principles and removed disabilities which were in the shape of a national insult. The larger question of the treatment of British Indians who came there[1] from outside can only be dealt with here[2] and for the question of the local disabilities still unredressed, your Committee will have to exercise a ceaseless watch and assist as heretofore the efforts of our countrymen in South Africa.

I feel that I ought to place on record my strong conviction, based upon close personal observation extending over a period of twenty years, that the system of indentured emigration is an evil which cannot be mended but can only be ended. No matter how humane the employers may be, it does not lend itself to the moral well-being of the men affected by it. I therefore feel that your Committee should lose no time in approaching the Government of India with a view to securing entire abolition of the system for every part of the Empire.

Before closing, I am bound to mention that the struggle would not have ended so soon and even as satisfactorily as it did, but for the generous support rendered by the Motherland under the leadership of the great and saintly patriot whose death we all mourn and but for the very sympathetic and firm attitude taken by the noble man who at present occupies the Viceregal chair.

M. K. GANDHI[3]

SOUTH AFRICAN INDIAN
PASSIVE RESISTANCE FUND ACCOUNTS
AS UP TO JANUARY 31, 1915[4]

EXPENDITURE

	£	s	d
Debit balance April 6, 1912 as per statement rendered to Mr. Ratan Tata	43	1	3
Relief	2,868	10	1
Legal expenses	235	2	9
Telegrams and cables	705	15	10
Bank commission	117	4	6
Printing & stationery	169	15	0
Travelling	2,258	19	3

[1] This word is deleted in the published letter.

[2] In the published letter, the sentence ends here and "and" is omitted.

[3] Taken from the published letter

[4] In the published letter, income and expenditure are shown in parallel columns.

	£	s.	d.
Johannesburg office	1,070	15	7
Medical expenses	92	9	10
Stamps	20	19	3
Railage and cartage	118	12	7
Maritzburg committee	125	0	0
Farm upkeep & improvement (expended)	976	19	2
[1] —do— (unexpended)	2,023	0	10
Newspapers	94	19	0
Reporting commission sittings	183	10	0
Durban office	1,068	11	2
Commissariat	540	16	11
Funeral expenses Passive Resisters	67	0	8
Salaries	197	15	6
[2]Valiama Hall (expended)	877	0	0
—do— (unexpended)	3,123	0	0
London Deputation	400	0	0
London Committee	240	5	6
Sundries	4	13	0[3]
Allocations to Valiama Hall, Passive Resistance Relief and furtherance [of] struggle including support to Phœnix Settlement	3,000	0	0
Allocation to Passive Resistance Relief	2,400	0	0
	23,023	17	8
Balance in hand	4,300	2	11
£	27,324	0	7

INCOME

Funds acknowledged in *I.O.*	1,054	17	6
Bombay	18,901	6	8
Madras	4,035	0	0
Rangoon	2,136	0	6
Nairobi	150	0	0
Zanzibar	33	6	8

[1] This entry has been omitted in the published letter.

[2] These entries have been omitted in the published letter.

[3] The published letter has the following entries here:

" Grand Total	11600	16	10
Balance in hand	15723	3	9
	27324	0	7"

The subsequent entries under expenditure are omitted in the published letter.

London	386	11	10
Farm School fees refund	491	10	7
Goods sold	67	13	10
Johannesburg	64	17	0
Durban office refund	1	1	0
Travelling refund	1	15	0
£	27,324	0	7

From a photostat of the handwritten draft with corrections in Gandhiji's hand: S.N. 6211; published letter: G.N. 8224

99. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

[*June 19, 1915*][1]

CHI. NARANDAS,

Chi. Shamaldas writes from Porbunder to say that Ba's copy of the *Ramayana*, with Gujarati commentary, is lying there at Rajkot. If you come across it, bring it along, as also any Tamil books by Pope I may have lent to Jamnadas. Think over what I have written[2] to respected Khushalbhai concerning you. If you have unshaken faith in the Ashram, take the plunge.

Blessings from
MOHANDAS

CHI. NARANDAS KHUSHALCHAND GANDHI
OPPOSITE MIDDLE SCHOOL
PARA
RAJKOT

From the original post card in Gujarati in Gandhiji's hand: C.W. 5676. Courtesy: Narandas Gandhi

[1] From the postmark
[2] This letter is not available.

100. LETTER TO GENERAL TRAFFIC MANAGER, G. I. P. RAILWAY

[AHMEDABAD,
June 28, 1915][1]

THE GENERAL TRAFFIC MANAGER
G. I. P. RAILWAY
BOMBAY

SIR,

I travelled on the 27th instant from Poona to Bombay on 3rd class return ticket, taking the 16.45 train last Saturday from Kirkee. As my ticket was only as far as Dadar and as I wished to go as far as Victoria Terminus, I informed an official that I was travelling beyond my destination. I attempted to give the information at Dadar but succeeded in giving it only at Parel. The official, who I subsequently learnt was a brakesman, told me to inform the *bada*[2] Guard. I could not do so as he was in a far-off compartment. At Masjid the authorities collected from me the fare from Dadar and the usual penalty, notwithstanding my protest. They ascertained too from the brakesman that I had duly informed him. The authorities at Masjid said that in order to enable them to exempt me from the penalty, I should produce a certificate from the Guard or the Station Master. You will see that I could not procure the certificate without the risk of missing the train. I asked for the certificate from the only official whom I could safely approach. And he would not grant one. I bring this incident to your notice as I have often observed that 3rd class passengers are often punished without any fault of their own. I shall be obliged if you will kindly inquire into this matter. In my opinion, either Station Masters should be instructed not to charge penalties when information has been given about over-travelling to any railway official of the company or strict instructions should be given as to prompt issue of certificates by the officials concerned. If it was not competent for the brakesman to issue the certificate, was it not his duty to immediately inform the Guard that a passenger

[1] From the addressee's reply
[2] Superior

was over-travelling and that he had applied for the usual certificate?

I enclose herewith the receipt for this fare and the penalty.[1]

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your obedient servant

From a photostat of the draft in Gandhiji's hand: S.N. 6200

101. FRAGMENT OF LETTER TO MANILAL GANDHI[2]

[After *July 7, 1915*][3]

[CHI. MANILAL[4],]

. . . I shall make some arrangement for your Tamil. It seems desirable that you get hardened a bit as a result of the difficult situation in which you find yourself, provided, of course, you go through the process intelligently. Let me know when you run short of funds. Keep writing to me. Don't lose heart in any way. Keep in mind what the poor do and bear yourself accordingly.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a copy of the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: C. W. 99. Courtesy: Sushilabehn Gandhi

[1] In his reply dated July 18, the Acting Deputy Traffic Manager (Commercial) said: "From enquiries made, I find that you did not intimate at Dadar your intention to ride on to V. Terminus, and since you had already ridden as far as Parel before any intimation was given to the train staff, you were correctly encessed, and I cannot grant you any relief."

[2] The first page of this letter is missing.

[3] The addressee went to Madras on July 7, 1915.

[4] Second son of Gandhiji

102. SPEECH AT BOMBAY PROVINCIAL CONFERENCE, POONA[1]

July 11, 1915

MR. PRESIDENT, BROTHERS AND SISTERS,

Perhaps, it is impudent on my part to add anything to the feeling words that have been spoken by Mrs. Ranade. The fact that she is the widow of the master's master adds solemnity to the proceedings, which I can only mar by any remarks I may make. But, claiming as I do to be one of Mr. Gokhale's disciples, you will forgive me if I say a few words which are personal titbits.

It was on board the *Cronprinz* some years ago,[2] that I found myself in the master's company together with a common friend, Mr. Kallenbach[3], a German. Let me say that all Germans are not fiends, nor are all German soldiers fiends.[4] Mr. Kallenbach is a German and a soldier, but I feel that no purer-minded person to-day walks the earth in Europe than Mr. Kallenbach. He was accepted as a worthy companion by Mr. Gokhale, who used to play with him the game of quoits. Mr. Gokhale had just then, during the voyage from England to Cape Town, picked up that game, and he very nearly gave Mr. Kallenbach a beating in the game. I fancy that was a drawn game between them, and, let me add, Mr. Kallenbach, so far as I am aware, is one of the cleverest players of quoits in South Africa. Just after that we had our meals at which Mr. Gokhale was talking to me with reference to the result of the game. He thought I never indulged in such sports and that I was against them. He expostulated with me in kind words and said, "Do you know why I want to enter into such competition with Europeans? I certainly want to do at least as much as they can do for the sake of our country. It is said, rightly or wrongly, that

[1] While seconding the following resolution moved by Mrs. Ramabai Ranade: "This Conference places on record its sense of profound grief at the irreparable loss the country and the Empire have sustained in the untimely and the universally mourned death of the late Mr. Gopal Krishna Gokhale, than whom no more self-sacrificing and devoted patriot and no more far-sighted statesman ever consecrated his life in the cause of his country."

[2] In 1912

[3] Gandhiji's co-worker in South Africa, who had placed at the disposal of the satyagrahis the Tolstoy Farm; *vide* Vol. X, p. 262.

[4] During the First World War, Britain and, with her, India considered Germany as an enemy country.

we are an inferior people in many matters, and so far as I can do it"—and this he said in all humility—"I certainly want to show that we are at least their equals, if not their superiors."

That was one incident. On board the same steamer, we were engaged in a hot discussion in connection with our dear motherland, and he was mapping out for me, as a father would for his child, a programme that I was to follow in India if I ever happened to see the motherland again, and, in connection therewith, there was one thing he said : "We lack in India character; we want religious zeal in the political field." Shall we then follow the spirit of the master with the same thoroughness and the same religious zeal, so that we can safely teach a child politics? One of his missions in life, I think, was to inculcate the lesson that whatever we do, we should do with thoroughness. This it is not possible for us mortals to imitate in any degree of perfection. Whatever he did, he did with a religious zeal; that was the secret of his success. He did not wear his religion on his sleeve; he lived it. Whatever he touched, he purified; wherever he went, he recreated an atmosphere around him which was fragrant. When he came to South Africa, he electrified the people there not only by his magnificent eloquence but by the sincerity of his character and by the religious devotion with which he worked. What was that devotion? Ailing though he was, he was awake the whole night practically when he was to have seen General Smuts; he did so in order to prepare the case for his countrymen with a thoroughness that surprised the leader of the Boer Government. What was the result? The result was that he got the promise from the South African Government that the £3 tax would be gone in a few years, and the £3 tax is no more. It is no more there to grind down so many thousands of our countrymen. Mr. Gokhale is dead, but it is possible for you and for me to make his spirit live in us and through us. ("Hear, hear.") We are about to pass resolutions which would expect us, the chosen representatives, or, it may be, the self-elected representatives of the people to do certain things. Shall we discharge our trust with the master's devotion? The people we represent will base their verdict not upon our speeches but upon our actions, and how shall we act? We have a right to pass this resolution if we act in the spirit of the master. With these words, I have much pleasure in seconding this resolution.

Report of the Proceedings of the 15th Bombay Provincial Conference, July, 1915

103. LETTER TO SUNDARAM

Tuesday [On or after *July 13, 1915*][1]

MY DEAR SUNDARAM,

I was delighted to receive your letter. Do please come whenever you wish to. I have certainly not given you up entirely. Whilst you are in Madras, you should help Manilal with his Tamil and find out for him a Tamil companion when you are away. We sing *Mutti Neri*[2] everyday without fail. Devdas[3] has made fair progress in Tamil.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat of the original in Gandhiji's hand: G.N. 3188

104. LETTER TO MANILAL GANDHI[4]

AHMEDABAD,
Ashadh Sud 3 [*July 15, 1915*][5]

CHI. MANILAL,

I have your letter. I won't let you be thrown on the streets; do not lose heart. I don't like that you should feel helpless, even when dealing with me. You had better put up with your present difficulties. There are mosquitoes everywhere in Madras. You should sleep covered with a thin sheet. If you rub some kerosene on the face, mosquitoes will keep away. I hope you sleep in the open. If not, do so. Take a room in the neighbourhood, provided it is [airy] like a *maidan*.

From the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: C.W. 112. Courtesy: Sushilabehn Gandhi

[1] This appears to have been written after Manilal Gandhi went to Madras on July 7, 1915.

[2] In the original, Gandhiji has written in Tamil script these first two words of a Tamil devotional song by Manikkavachagar.

[3] Youngest son of Gandhiji

[4] The letter is incomplete.

[5] The addressee went to Madras on July 7, 1915.

105. LETTER TO V. S. SRINIVASA SASTRI

AHMEDABAD,
July 16 [1915][1]

DEAR MR. SHASTRIAR,

Herewith copy of Mr. Andrews' letter[2] for your perusal. I think that the Society[3] can inauguarate a big movement for seeking total prohibition[4].

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

Are you trying to secure me a Tamil teacher?

From a photostat of the original in Gandhiji's hand: G.N. 6293

106. LETTER TO CHHOTALAL TEJPAL

[AHMEDABAD,]
Ashadh Sud 11 [July 22, 1915?][5]

BHAISHRI CHHOTALAL,

I got your letter, but could not attend to it for want of time. Please forgive me.

The cause of your hardship is not the Customs Department. It originated with the Police Department. It is possible to file a suit against the police, but I don't advise that. I think it will be better, for the present, to write to the Police Department. It will be advisable to have this done through some lawyer friend of yours there. You can also do it yourself. If you make a brief, factual statement in Gujarati, that will serve your purpose all right. That will be the basis.

[1] From C. F. Andrews' reference to his illness in the letter to which this is a reply, this correspondence seems to have taken place in 1915.

[2] Written to Gandhiji on July 11 from Simla where Andrews was convalescing. The letter is not reproduced here.

[3] The Servants of India Society

[4] Of recruitment of indentured labour in India

[5] From the reference to the Viramgam papers, the letter could have been written either on July 22, 1915 or July 11, 1916 or July 1, 1917. On July 1, 1917, Gandhiji was in Motihari. We do not know where he was on July 11, 1916. He was in Ahmedabad on July 22, 1915.

It is necessary to leave the papers about Viramgam with me for the time being. I don't propose to drop the matter.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS

From a photostat of the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: G.N. 2591

107. FRAGMENT OF LETTER TO MATHURADAS TRIKUMJI

AHMEDABAD,
Ashadh Sud 15, July 26, 1915

. . . The subject of physical contact [whether it is rightly prohibited] is a large one. I think we are committing a great sin in treating a whole class of people as untouchables and it is owing to the existence of this class that we have still some revolting practices among us. Not to eat in company with a particular person and not to touch him are two very different things. No one is an untouchable now. If we don't mind contact with a Christian or a Muslim, why should we mind it with one belonging to our own religion? No defence of untouchability is possible now, either from the point of view of justice or that of practical common sense.

[From Gujarati]

Bapuni Prasadi

108. FRAGMENT OF LETTER TO MATHURADAS TRIKUMJI

July 26, 1915

. . . Your reading for M.A. seems to me, personally, so much unnecessary drain on your health. If you don't need to work for a living, study Sanskrit and learn other Indian languages; this is necessary.

[From Gujarati]

Bapuni Prasadi

109. LETTER TO B. G. TILAK

AHMEDABAD,
July 27 [1915][1]

DEAR MR. TILAK,

I have your note. I have not given anyone any authority to use my name in connection with the interviews I had with you. I have not even read the things you are referring to. The conversations between us were private and must remain so. The draft sent by you hardly does justice to the interview. I never said that I spoke for the Congress party or with its authority. I simply came as a friend and admirer and for friends. I did not know what view the Congress party would take. I simply put a tentative proposal before you.

I hope you will respect my wish not to be drawn in a newspaper controversy and that you will in no case publish the interview.

I am,
Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a facsimile of the original in Gandhiji's hand published in *Mahatma*, Vol. I

110. LETTER TO CHHOTALAL TEJPAL

[AHMEDABAD,]
Ashadh Vad 5 [July 31, 1915][2]

The following is found in the issue of February 2, 1910 of *The Times [of India]* :

> We could wish that His Excellency's visit had synchronised with the removal of the Viramgam customs line, which is a blot upon the administration of India and very imperfectly serves the purpose for which it was designed.

[1] This letter appears to have been written in 1915, for Gandhiji had two interviews with Tilak on July 11 at Poona.

[2] From the postmark

Please excuse me for the delay in searching this out.

MOHANDAS KARAMCHAND

SHRI CHHOTALAL TEJPAL
RAMCHANDRA MANSION
SANDHURST ROAD
GIRGAUM
BOMBAY

From a photostat of the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: G.N. 2586

111. LETTER TO V. S. SRINIVASA SASTRI

AHMEDABAD,
August 1 [1915?][1]

DEAR MR. SHASTRIAR,

This will be presented to you by Mr. Raghavendra who is desirous of joining the Society in any capacity in which he may be found fit. He seems to have had a varied experience. I have known him for some time as a correspondent.

I am,
Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat of the original in Gandhiji's hand: G.N. 6290

112. LETTER TO A. H. WEST

AHMEDABAD,
August 3, 1915

MY DEAR WEST,

This is for you and Chhaganlal. Herewith Passive Resistance Fund a/c[2] with my covering letter which speaks for itself. You may publish the a/c there. You will see some items allocated in anticipation. £2,023 have been allocated to the improvements there. This enables you to develop agriculture and keep the ground in such

[1] This appears to have been written during the early years of Gandhiji's stay in India after his return from South Africa. In 1917, 1918 and 1919, he was not in Ahmedabad on this date. We do not know whether he was in hmedabad on August 1, 1916 but we know that he was there in 1915 on this date.

[2] *Vide* "Letter to J. B. Petit", 16-6-1915.

order as to enable you to cope with emergency, it being understood that the property is open to receive more Passive Resisters than there at present. Of course you will not expend this amount if it is not required.

Allocation of £3,000 to Phœnix settlement includes assistance to *Indian Opinion*. This enables you to report cases of hardship and to help such cases also. You may even open a branch office in Durban and collect information about hard cases of immigrants and give them free help, you can engage men for reporting cases, etc. The expense will be justified only as far as you use the paper to attend [to] local relief. Allocation to passive resistance relief means relief given both here and there. I am supporting the widows, etc., you have there your cases in Phœnix and elsewhere. I have made a rough calculation.

For Valliama Hall up to £4,000 may be expended.

It is possible that there will be some talk about the Phœnix allocations. But I could not do otherwise than to deal with the whole matter as I have done. Your work if it is fruitful of results will silence cold criticism in the end. If there is any further information please let me know. I am having this letter copied so that I should know the contents if you referred to it in your correspondence.

Yours sincerely,

I have read Maganlal's letter written on my suggestion. I approve of it. Please let me have your views upon it. Should any questions arise there regarding the accounts, you should refer the questions to Mr. Petit.

From a photostat of the handwritten office copy: S.N. 6215

113. LETTER TO B. G. TILAK

AHMEDABAD,
August 17 [1915?][1]

DEAR MR. TILAK,

Immediately on receipt of your letter last week, I duly telegraphed[2] as requested. I hope you got my wire in time.

I am,
Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a facsimile of the original in Gandhiji's hand published in *Mahatma*, Vol. I

114. LETTER TO CHHOTALAL TEJPAL

AHMEDABAD,
Shravan Sud 8 [August 18, 1915][3]

BHAISHRI CHHOTALAL,

The right time for me will be when I can work in freedom. That cannot be during this year. The root cause of all this is the same. As we are against customs levy as such, whether or no there is police tyranny, we must emphasize the inherent injustice of the system. We would oppose the customs levy even if the police were gods.

I know you have no selfish end to serve.

I did not receive *Jain Hitechchhu* at all. I waited for it.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS

From a photostat of the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: G.N. 2592

[1] In the source, this letter is ascribed to the years 1915-16. We do not know where Gandhiji was on August 17, 1916. He was in Ahmedabad on August 17, 1915.

[2] This telegram is not available.

[3] This appears to have been written after "Letter to Chhotalal Tejpal", 31-7-1915.

115. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

AHMEDABAD,
Shravan Sud 11 [August 21, 1915]

CHI. NARANDAS,

I have your letter. I think your duty is simple. You have given due notice. They want to retain you longer for their own purpose; this, they cannot do. Even during September, you should have only to go for their case, for a day or two, at their expense.

Directors are always much too greedy and look at only one side of a question. They can take into account nothing but their own interest. Now that you know my view, it is entirely for you to decide what you will do.

Blessings from
MOHANDAS

From the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: C.W. 5677. Courtesy: Narandas Gandhi

116. LETTER TO V. S. SRINIVASA SASTRI

AHMEDABAD,
August 23 [1915][1]

DEAR MR. SHASTRIAR,

Here is Manilal my second son. He will tell you why he finds himself in Madras. He is to complete[2] his training in Tamil and handloom weaving there. Kindly guide him. Hanumanthrao can try his social service training on Manilal.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat of the original in Gandhiji's hand: G.N. 6292

[1] Manilal Gandhi was in Madras at this time.

[2] He had been to Madras before for this training; *vide* "Letter to Sundaram", on or after 13-7-1915.

117. LETTER TO MADHURIPRASAD

AHMEDABAD,
Bhadrapad Shukla 1 [*September 10, 1915*]

DEAR SHRI MADHURIPRASAD,

I have received the letter written by Totaramji[1] and you. I am sorry I have no time at present to visit Ferozabad. The Ashram work here will not allow me to go.

Yours sincerely,
MOHANDAS GANDHI

SHRI MADHURIPRASAD
BHARATIBHUVAN KARYALAYA
FEROZABAD

From a photostat of the Hindi original in Gandhiji's hand: G.N. 2764

118. LETTER TO V. S. SRINIVASA SASTRI

AHMEDABAD,
September 14, 1915

DEAR SHASTRIAR,

I think that the newspaper statement should be answered at once. I am prepared to relate the conversation I had with him in Cape Town and on other occasions. It is not possible to believe the signature story until we have seen the original application itself. A mischievous attempt is being made to bolster up what am I to call it!

I am in the midst of a momentous step[2] being taken in my life. I have no time today to write about it, some of that is about the Pariah question.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat of the original in Gandhiji's hand: G.N. 6288

[1] Totaram Sandhya, who had lived twenty-one years in Fiji and written a book on his life there. Later, he joined Gandhiji's Ashram at Sabarmati.

[2] The reference is to the admission of an "untouchable"; *vide* "Letter to V. S. Srinivasa Sastri", 23-9-1915.

119. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

Bhadarwa Sud 7 [*September 16, 1915*]

CHI. NARANDAS,

I did not write to you only because I thought that you would soon be here. To wish you a long life will avail you but little. What I wish you is self-realization during this very life. You have my blessings and my help in your efforts to that end.

You will arrive here at a difficult time. It is for a time like this that I desired your presence. I believe you will not be discouraged by reports of the trouble. Worries from the side of one's wife may be overcome only with gentle firmness. A husband or a wife has no right to obstruct the other in pursuit of a worthy aim. In the situation which has arisen, I indeed suffer outwardly but experience boundless inward happiness. I feel that it is only now that my life in India has started.

Blessings from
MOHANDAS

From the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: C.W. 5678. Courtesy: Narandas Gandhi

120. LETTER TO V. S. SRINIVASA SASTRI

AHMEDABAD,
September 23 [*1915*][1]

DEAR MR. SHASTRIAR,

When I took in Naiker, Mrs. Gandhi did not 'kick'. Now I had to decide whether I was to take in a grown-up Gujarati *Dhed*[2] with his wife.[3] I decided to take him and she rebelled against it and so did another lady at the Ashram. There was quite a flutter in the Ashram. There is a flutter even in Ahmedabad. I have

[1] Naiker referred to in the letter joined Gandhiji in 1915.

[2] An untouchable

[3] The reference is to Dudabhai, the first 'untouchable' who joined the Ashram with his family on September 26; *vide* "Diary for 1915". Gandhiji accepted him at the suggestion of Amritlal Thakkar. The event caused a stir in the socio-religious life of Ahmedabad and people thought of even boycotting the Ashram.

told Mrs. Gandhi she could leave me and we should part good friends. The step is momentous because it so links me with the suppressed classes mission that I might have at no distant time to carry out the idea of shifting to some *Dhed* quarters and sharing their life with the *Dheds*. It would mean much even for my staunchest co-workers. I have now given you the outline of the story. There is nothing grand about it. It is of importance to me because it enables me to demonstrate the efficacy of passive resistance in social questions and when I take the final step, it will embrace swaraj, etc.

Please share this with Dr. Deva and any other member you please.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat of the original in Gandhiji's hand: G.N. 6291

121. LETTER TO MAGANLAL GANDHI

AHMEDABAD,
[Before *September 26, 1915*][1]

CHI. MAGANLAL,

I have again written[2] to respected Khushalbhai. You should handle the situation there quite calmly. Do what will please the self. If Santok wants to return, let her. It will be all right even if she goes to Madras. She need only observe all the Ashram rules there. If you want, you may stay on there [for some time] or go to Madras.

There have been two letters for you, which, for the present, I don't send on.

Narandas should remain determined. He should be confident and fearless about the future.

Keshu came round very soon. Already, he is playing about today. Two of his different groups [of subjects] are under my charge. I am therefore in a better position to observe how he does. Purushottam[3] has felt nothing. He had his usual meal.

Dudabhai will arrive on Sunday morning.

[1] Dudabhai referred to in the letter arrived with his wife at the Ashram on Sunday, September 26, 1915.

[2] This letter is not available.

[3] Son of Narandas Gandhi

Things have been happening at Phœnix, it seems.[1] Chhaganlal appears to have cut off his connection altogether. The price of *Indian Opinion* has been reduced to one penny. It seems he has been hasty. This also must be for a good end. More when you are here. You, of course, ought not to allow yourself to be upset. The burden is on you.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: C.W. 5679. Courtesy: Narandas Gandhi

122. LETTER TO A. H. WEST

AHMEDABAD,
September 26 [1915][2]

MY DEAR WEST,

I have your typewritten letter.

I note the changes made and I accept them. The central idea is that *Indian Opinion* should be kept up at any cost. If you can be totally independent of public support, i.e., from the Passive Resistance Fund, so much the better.

This means revision of the account sent to you by me.[3] Fortunately there was delay on my side. The new scheme requires a revision which I shall do shortly.

I am not going to keep the large sum with me but it will be handed over to the Trust.

As for part of the payment to Pragji[4] and Imam Saheb[5] being debited to the P. R. Fund, I am inclined to think that they were present at the meeting, where the matter was settled. But if they object, the amounts could be debited to the P. R. Fund as assistance to *Indian Opinion*. In either case, the money has to come from the P. R. Fund. It was debited by way of relief as the whole amount could not be a legitimate charge against *Indian Opinion*.

[1] *Vide* the following item.

[2] This is in reply to West's letter dated August 23, 1915. On West's letter Gandhiji has written "Reply, 26th Sept."

[3] *Vide* "Letter to A. H. West", 3-8-1915.

[4] Pragji Khandubhai Desai, a passive resister during the South African struggle

[5] Imam Abdul Kadir Bawazeer; Muslim priest and passive resister; President of the Hamidia Islamic Society

But for their being passive resisters, we could not have availed ourselves of their services. But it was a matter of account keeping. I should be prepared to defend the outlay in any case.

Unless Chhaganlal is bodily incapable, his withdrawal from *Indian Opinion* is a bad sign. However I must not grumble. You who are on the spot must know what is best. The ideals we are working are common to us and you will work according to your own way. Hence the Phœnix Trust. I can only advise from this distance.

Auditing, if it is to cost anything appreciable, is useless. Our books contain all the transactions. The bank-balance represents the savings from the Fund, etc. However, even in this matter you know best what should be done.

Mr. Rustomjee's warning is now superfluous as I shall not be handling the funds any more. For the Phœnix funds there are the trustees and they may, subject to the sanction of the schemers, do the needful.

This exhaust the points raised by you. The amount fixed for Polak should stand until he himself feels that he can dispense with it.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat of the original in Gandhiji's hand: C.W. 4420. Courtesy: A. H. West

123. SPEECH ON INDENTURED INDIAN LABOUR AT BOMBAY[1]

October 28, 1915

Mr. Gandhi, who was loudly cheered by the audience, said that the question of indentured labour was just now a topical question, because those true and real friends of India, Messrs Andrews and Pearson, were conducting an enquiry[2] in Fiji. The Fiji Islands absorbed the largest number of indentured Indians at the present moment. Messrs Andrews and Pearson were not the first to interest the Indians in this question, but it was the deceased statesman, Mr. Gokhale, who first impressed Indians with the importance of their duties

[1] Under the auspices of the District Congress Committee at the Empire Theatre, Sir Ibrahim Rahimtullah presiding

[2] The results were published in their Report on Indentured Labour in Fiji.

in connection with this question. Mr. Gandhi here read the resolution[1] introduced by Mr. Gokhale in the Viceregal Council and his speech[2] upon it demanding the total abolition of the indenture system and commented upon it at some length. The resolution which Mr. Gokhale brought before the Council was defeated by a majority, though all[3] the non-official members of the Council voted for the abolition. However much a benign and sympathetic Viceroy wished to remove this abominable system of indenture from the Indian Statute Book, there was a very serious difficulty in his way and that was the report by the two Commissioners, who were sent by Lord Hardinge, namely, Messrs MacNeill and Chimanlal,[4] which was contained in two bulky volumes. All might not care to wade through the rather dull pages of those volumes, but to him who knew what real indentured labour was they were of great interest. They might, however, take upon trust that the report recognised that indentured labour should continue just as it was, if certain conditions were fulfilled. Those conditions, Mr. Gandhi said, were impossible of fulfilment. And the recommendations, which these two great Commissioners made, showed that they really could not seriously have meant that the system of indenture which existed today in Fiji, Jamaica, Guiana and other colonies should be continued a minute longer than was actually necessary. The speaker here referred to the previous commission and said that the defects which Messrs MacNeill and Chimanlal had pointed out were patent to all. Their report contained nothing new. But there was unofficial investigation on behalf of some philanthropic body in England some forty years ago, and in that book an unvarnished tale was given, which told in graphic language what were the hardships under the system.

In this connection, Mr. Gandhi quoted a statement made by the Prime Minister of Natal in which he said that the system of indenture was a most inadvisable thing and that the sooner it was terminated, the better for the indentured labourer and the employer. Lord Selborne said the same thing when he was the High Commissioner in South Africa: he said that it was worse for the employer than the employed, because it was a system perilously near to slavery. Sir William Hunter[5] wrote a beautiful series of letters in 1895

[1] Recommending prohibition of recruitment of indentured labour in India; *vide* "Indenture or Slavery?", December, 1915.

[2] On March 4, 1912

[3] 22 in number

[4] McNeill and Chimanlal were sent by the Indian Government to report on conditions prevailing in Jamaica, Trinidad, British Guiana and Fiji—Colonies where the indenture system was still permitted.

[5] (1840-1900), historian, an authority on Indian affairs and author of *Indian Empire*; served in India for 25 years, was sympathetic to Indian aspirations; member of the British Committee of the Indian National Congress in London

when he first brought himself to study the system personally and compared the system of indenture, after due investigation, to a state bordering on slavery. On one occasion he used the expression 'semi-slavery'. Mr. Gandhi said if he erred in making these statements, he erred in Lord Selborne's company. And it was in connection with this system that these two worthy gentlemen, the Commissioners, had seen fit to report and advise the fulfilment of certain conditions which in the very nature of the contract were impossible of fulfilment. The conditions were that unsuitable emigrants be excluded; the proportion of females to males to be raised from 40 to 50 per cent. The speaker could not understand what they meant by "unsuitable emigrants" being excluded. The Commissioners themselves told them that it was not easy to find labour in India. India was not pining to send her children out as semi-slaves. Lord Sanderson[1] stated that it was the surplus population from India that went out from dissatisfaction with the economic condition in India. But they must remember that there were 500 recruiting licences issued in the year 1907. Could they conceive the significance of the extraordinary state of things which required one recruiter to 17 labourers? The Colonial Governments had their sub-agents in India for this indentured labour to be collected. They were paid a sum of Rs. 25 for each cooly recruited, and this sum of Rs. 25 was divided between the recruiter and the sub-agent. Mr. Gandhi thought the mental state of those recruiters must be miserable, who could send so many of their countrymen as semi-slaves. After having seen what the recruiting agents did and after having read the many gross mis-statements they made, he was not surprised that thousands and thousands of their countrymen were becoming indentured labourers. The Commissioners devoted several pages to the immorality prevailing on the estates. It was not forty women for sixty men, but the statement was made that these men did not marry these women, but kept them and that many of these women were prostitutes. Mr. Gandhi said he would decline to send his children out of the country under such an indenture, if he was worthy of his salt. But thousands of men and women had gone. What did they think of that in India?

The conditions were that rigorous provisions should be either expunged from the Ordinances and that the Protector should control employers. As for the regulations made to protect these labourers, they could take it from him, Mr. Gandhi said, that there were a great many flaws in them and a coach and four could be easily driven through these. The aim of the rules was to make the employer supreme. Here was capital ranged against labour with artificial props for capital and not labour.

[1] Chairman of the Committee appointed by the British Government in England to investigate conditions in the Crown Colonies of Jamaica, Trinidad, British Guiana and Fiji.

Mr. Gandhi condemned the "protectors" of emigrants. They were men belonging to that very class to which employers belonged; they moved among them and was it not only natural that they should have their sympathies on the side of the employers? How was it then possible that they could do justice to the labourer against the employer? He knew many instances when magistrates had meted out justice to the indentured labourer, but it was impossible to expect such a thing from the Protectors of Emigrants. The labourer was bound hand and foot to the employer. If he committed an offence against his employer, he first of all had to undergo a course of imprisonment; then the days that the labourer had spent in the jail were added to his indenture and he was taken back to his master to serve again. The Commissioners had nothing to say against these rules. There was nobody to judge the Protector of Emigrants if he gave a wrong judgment, but in the case of the magistrate he could be criticised. Again, the Commissioners said that these prisoners should be put into separate jails. But the Colonial Government would be bankrupt if they built jails for hundreds of prisoners that were imprisoned. They were not able to build jails for the passive resisters. Then the Commissioners said that the labourer should be allowed to redeem his indenture by payment of a graduated redemption fee. They made a mistake in thinking him to be an independent man. He was not his own master. Mr. Gandhi said he had known of English girls, well educated, who were decoyed, and who were not indentured, unable to free themselves. How was it then possible for an indentured labourer to do this? Then the Commissioners said the special needs of Indian children in the matter of primary education should receive consideration. As for education, Mr. Gandhi said, no doubt, some work of that kind was being done by some of the philanthropic missions, but nothing substantial was being done or could be expected. Mr. Balfour[1] compared the labourer under an indenture to a soldier. But the soldier was a responsible man and he could rise to a high position. But an indentured labourer remained a labourer. He had no privileges. His wife was also included under his disabilities, so also his son. In Natal the finger of scorn was pointed at these people. Never could an indentured Indian rise to a higher post than that of labourer. And what did the labourer bring when he returned to India? He returned a broken vessel, with some of the artificial and superficial signs of civilization, but he left more valuable things behind him. He might bring some sovereigns also with him. They should decline to perpetuate this hateful system of indenture because it robbed them of their national self-respect.

If they could consider well over what he had said, they would try and abolish the system in a year's time and this one taint upon the nation would have gone and indentured labour would be a thing of the past. He wanted

[1] Arthur James Balfour (1848-1930), British statesman, Conservative leader and Prime Minister

to remove the cause of the ill-treatment of Indians in the Colonies. However protected that system might be, it still remained a state bordering upon slavery. It would remain, said Mr. Gandhi, a state based upon full-fledged slavery and it was a hindrance to national growth and national dignity.

The Bombay Chronicle, 29-10-1915

124. FRAGMENT OF LETTER TO MAGANLAL GANDHI[1]

[After *October 28, 1915*][2]

. . . the requirements will have been known that way.[3] If we can do without oil, we shall have made a very important change. I have noted that in some institutions they use neither oil nor ghee.

Fakiri[4] doesn't like being in Ahmedabad. He had of course to be looked after, and it became something of a problem where he should be kept. I found the Nursing Home in Surat very good and so he is kept there. There is a letter from him today, in which he says that he is not well yet.

Manilal has gone to leave Chanchi[5] at Rajkot. Her mother wanted to have her there for a few days before she left for Calcutta. Kaka[6] is here. Revashanker[7] has gone to fetch his wife. Maganbhai[8] has left for Dharmaj today to make arrangements for his son. We have two new persons in the Ashram. It has been decided not to admit fresh students for a year in any circumstances. We may as well give up hopes of Anna. The two new persons are grown-up men.

See if you can get a Tamil teacher to come over here. We may pay him. We shall not mind his living outside the Ashram. He must be a man of simple habits. We shall know the position

[1] The first two pages of the letter are not available.

[2] From Gandhiji's request to the addressee to procure a Tamil teacher, it would appear that the latter was in Madras. Maganlal Gandhi left for Madras on October 28.

[3] The original is not clear at this point.

[4] Naidoo

[5] Chanchalbehn Gandhi, wife of Harilal, Gandhiji's eldest son

[6] Dattatreya Balkrishna Kalelkar (1885-); educationist, writer and constructive worker; Padma Vibhushan; *vide* also "Circular Letter for Funds for Ashram", 1-7-1917.

[7] Sodha

[8] Patel

from the Gurukul side, after they have been through the whole thing.

Blessings from
BAPU

Kitchin[1] has committed suicide. Reason : Monetary loss.

From the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: C.W. 5690. Courtesy: Radhabehn Choudhri

125. LETTER TO A. H. WEST

AHMEDABAD,
October 31 [1915][2]

MY DEAR WEST,

I have your indictment. If you do not speak out, who would? I value your friendship just because you always say exactly what you mean.

Now for the reply.

I could not consult anyone there as to allocations because I was not there. The Phœnix allocations were discussed between us there. Relief allocations needed no discussion. Valiama Hall allocation was settled there. The £1,000 for Polak's expenses, should he have to return to England penniless, was a matter which was fixed there but I am not able to say that it was positively discussed. But I suggest that it is again an expense about which I should not deem consultation necessary. If the community has any respect for itself, it could not send them away starving. It would be pure passive resistance relief. I would not dream about publishing it in the accounts sheet. We are not bound to disclose the names of the resisters helped.

Mr. Petit's statement was published after consultation with me. Mine was delayed at his instance. I have brought every item including Polak's £1,000 to the Committee's notice. I am even going to bring to Mr. Petit's notice your and Rustomji's dissent.

You suggest that you could not take interest which is tainted nor would you take the help offered. I congratulate you. The

[1] Herbert Kitchin, a theosophist who edited *Indian Opinion* after Nazar's premature death. Lived with Gandhiji for a time and worked with him during the Boer War

[2] From the reference to Gandhiji's cable to the addressee regarding Chhaganlal Gandhi, the letter appears to have been written in 1915.

stronger you are, the better. The allocations suggested by me were due to our collective weakness. But you will not find me weakening you if you are strong.

You suggest that for Phœnix's improvement, I would have to send you money from elsewhere. This I could not do. Even when we discussed there, it was clearly understood that the charges should come out of the passive resistance funds, as we were running Phœnix as a P. R. farm and wanted to make it more and more a refuge for indentured Indians who may be in distress. If therefore you want the help, it can only come out of the fund.

I would certainly welcome any decision you may come to as to not receiving any help.

The money does not belong to South Africa. The Committee here has control over it. They asked that the funds be transferred to them, subject to such allocations as I may suggest. I am now having no definite allocations but shall receive monies for you in S. A. as you there may desire from time to time. This gives the Committee here the fullest control. I shall act as the go-between.

As to books, you are quite wrong. Our books contain all the receipts and all disbursements. We need no audit, we owe nobody anything and no one has a legal right to ask us to do anything except the Committee. Individual subscribers may ask. Them we could satisfy. Not a penny has been yet spent which could not be brought within the scope of the fund.

Relief to resisters includes Polak, Thambi and even Mr. Cachalia. I do not think we have received the loan given to him. So will it include Chhaganlal, Maganlal, Pragji, etc. It will most decidedly include Naidoo's and other passive resisters' children. It will not include me and my family simply because our expenses are found otherwise. As I am or rather have been the controller of the funds, I have desired to remain free from personal help. But if I had no one else to help me, I should not hesitate to draw for self and children. Only then I would at least make that clear to the public. No such precaution is necessary regarding other passive resisters as I cover them.

I need not discuss your proposal to invest in land, as we no longer have the funds under our control.

I have cabled[1] you regarding Chhaganlal. He seems to be breaking up. If so, he should be sent here. And unless Pragji and Imam Saheb undertake the work, I must send someone from here. All I know is this that you must continue *I.O.* even if you

[1] *Vide* the following item.

have to labour in the streets and if you burn your boats, so much the better. If you cannot, you and your family, so long as you are at Phœnix turning out the paper, will be supported at all costs.

I think I have now exhausted all the material points raised by you. I mean material in view of the new state of things. Now you may all consider and let me know your decision. I have P. R. a/c to 31st Jan. If Chhaganlal is there or if Pragji can manage it, you should let me have further a/c.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat of the original in Gandhiji's hand: C.W. 4421. Courtesy: A. H. West

126. *LETTER TO MAGANLAL GANDHI*

AHMEDABAD,
Aso Vad 11 [November 3, 1915][1]

CHI. MAGANLAL,

I sent a cable[2] to say that Chi. Chhaganlal might be sent here if he was still ill. Khushalbhai was very pleased. The reply came "Chhaganlal better, West." I can see from this that he is not likely to come in the near future. I am writing all the same that, if they can spare Chhaganlal, he may come away.

The printing of the satyagraha account is nearly over.

Keshu is enjoying himself. He had slight fever for a day. All the children sleep by my side. I take their lessons and that is a great advantage. I take all the lessons of Naransami and Parthasarathi with the exception of Sanskrit, and I intend to continue doing so for the present.

Ba has calmed down a little. But I observe she is smouldering inside. About untouchability she has relaxed a little.

Amritlalbhai Thakkar[3] is in the Ashram at present.

Khushalbhai had offered to send Jamnadas if he was needed and so I have sent for him.[4]

From a photostat of the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: S. N. 6239

[1] This appears to have been written in 1915; *vide* the following item.

[2] Not available

[3] Popularly known as Thakkar Bapa, who dedicated his life to the uplift of the tribals and the untouchables

[4] The letter is incomplete.

127. LETTER TO A. H. WEST

AHMEDABAD,
November 5, 1915

MY DEAR WEST,

I forgot to mention that Valiama Hall had to go. I saw that the Committee[1] do not like the idea. It would have sanctioned it if I had insisted, but I did not especially in view of the condition of the community there.

I have your wire about Chhaganlal.[2] Letters recently received from Chhaganlal have been alarming. And I felt that if he was not keeping well, it was better to send him here. The latest from him says that even if he was well, he could not only be spared but that his retirement would cause relief. If he can be spared, he may be sent.

If you need [an] assistant from here, I would send after 3 months or thereabout.

I cabled[3] too saying that audit was unnecessary. You could gain nothing by auditing especially now. If we decide not to take any public funds, our books can be only simple. All you will then have will be receipts from *Indian Opinion* and book sales and expenditure. What is left for Polak is earmarked. If you would not handle it there, it now could be transferred here. But I hope that you will all consider that allotment to be necessary.

Valiama Hall ground may be kept or it may be sold and the proceeds returned here.

Maganlal has gone to Madras to finish his Tamil studies. His wife accompanies him and also Fakiri Naidoo.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat of the original in Gandhiji's hand: C.W. 4422. Courtesy: A. H. West

[1] Committee for the South African Indian Fund; *vide* "Letter to J. B. Petit", 16-6-1915.

[2] *Vide* the preceding item.

[3] This cable is not available.

128. LETTER TO KHUSHALCHAND GANDHI

[AHMEDABAD,
November 8, 1915][1]

WITH HUMBLE RESPECTS TO MY BROTHER,

There was no limit to the pain I gave you last year. Since I acted as I did in the sincere belief that that suffering was for the welfare of the country, the family and my own soul, I think I deserve pardon and so pray for your forgiveness. I crave your blessings for, if anyone among the elders of the family understands me, more or less, it is you. I also offer my most humble respects to my sister-in-law and pray for her blessings and forgiveness.

Most reverent regards from
MOHANDAS

From the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: C.W. 5681. Courtesy: Narandas Gandhi

129. LETTER TO MATHURADAS TRIKUMJI

AHMEDABAD,
Kartak Sud 3 [*November 10, 1915*]

CHI. MATHURADAS,

I had forgotten your address.

Your post card indicates that you have not forgotten me. I have high hopes of you. That they may be fulfilled, may God give you greater moral strength.

Blessings from
MOHANDAS

[From Gujarati]
Bapuni Prasadi

[1] From the postmark

130. LETTER TO MAGANLAL GANDHI

[AHMEDABAD,]
Saturday [*November 13, 1915*][1]

CHI. MAGANLAL,

As you address the letters in Gujarati, they go to the Dead Letter Office before they arrive here. If the name of thc town is written in English, they will be delivered in time.

Dr. Deva[2] is here at present. He got your letter very late. He was touring. He asks you now to reply to Nogin Babu that he may go whenever he wants to, after giving eight days' notice. Accommodation will be arranged by Dr. Deva. Does Manilal experience any difficulty in starching the yarn?

There is no new work on hand at present. Prabhudas[3] has left off carpentry. I set him to work on the loom for as many hours as possible. Hajee Ismail Moosa is also here. A meeting was held this evening to honour Dr. Deva. There was a good attendance. I hope you are going on with your Tamil. I don't think it is necessary to ask for a scholarship for you from the Doctor[4]. Jamnadas is not to come over here for the present. Did I send you a copy of [my] letter[5] to Petit? We have two new persons here, one named Narandas Patel and another Bapuji Bhagat. The latter has his grandson also with him. Dana is also here. Everyone is working quite well. Krishnasamy Sharma arrived today.

Blessings from
BAPU

Inform Mr. Vrajlal that the money order for Rs. 25/- has not been received.

From the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: C.W. 5680. Courtesy: Radhabehn Choudhri

[1] The meeting to felicitate Dr. Deva, referred to in the letter, took place on this day.

[2] Secretary of the Servants of India Society, Poona

[3] Son of Chhaganlal Gandhi

[4] Pranjivan Mehta

[5] *Vide* "Letter to J. B. Petit", 16-6-1915.

131. SPEECH AT PHEROZESHAH MEHTA CONDOLENCE MEETING AT AHMEDABAD[1]

November 15, 1915

The entrusting of this resolution to me has given me a welcome opportunity to express my sentiments about Sir Pherozeshah in public. He was the lion of the Bombay Municipal Corporation and I too have sometimes heard the roaring of this lion. Many were the battles he fought with Sir George Clarke[2], Lord Harris[3], successive Viceroys and many Governors in India. No wonder that the whole of India mourns the death of such a valiant leader. But there is selfishness behind this expression of grief. If many more among us could live and die as he lived and died, we would in that case have nothing to grieve for. A little while ago, India was lamenting the death of the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale. Before these tears had dried, we have had another stunning blow. It would not be fair to compare these two great men. They did their best, each according to his lights. Mr. Gokhale was a selfless man and as such deserved the title of *rishi*. There are two epithets which describe Sir Pherozeshah. In the first place, he was the Father of the Bombay Municipal Corporation and, in the second, he was the uncrowned king of Bombay, say rather, of the whole of India—a king chosen by the subjects themselves. He took the lead on every public issue and the people had come to have such confidence in him that they would do whatever he wanted them to do. That was because of the respect that people, not only of Bombay city but of the whole Presidency, had for his judgement. There was none to challenge his position in the Presidency. At a time when the people of India expect to win important political rights, no one is left, we may say, who could speak to the Government on our behalf. I have read somewhere that those who love their friends dearly love them all the more in their death; likewise, if we are overflowing with love at this moment, it is because of the great qualities of Sir Pherozeshah. We may have crossed him often

[1] Held in Premabhai Hall, Sir Chinubhai presiding; Gandhiji proposed the condolence resolution.

[2] Lord Sydenham, ex-Governor of Bombay

[3] Ex-Governor of Bombay and chairman of the Consolidated Gold Fields of South Africa, *vide* Vol. IV, pp. 50-1.

enough when he was alive, spoken well or ill of him; but, now that he has gone, we are not to look at his faults. It is but our duty that we should hold a condolence meeting on his death. We must not, however, stop with this. It was Sir Pherozeshah's desire that we, too, all of us, should render public service as he did and we shall have done our duty to him only if we render such service. His body, which was mortal, has perished but what he did will live on. His interest in public service was so keen that he would get his clients' cases adjourned or let go his fees, suffer all manner of inconvenience even to attend meetings of the Bombay Municipal Corporation. He would sometimes not go to the Assembly; he considered the work of the Corporation of greater importance. He did not like being absorbed exclusively in political activities. It was his principle that whatever one took up, one must carry to success and he, therefore, gave his best attention to the work of the Bombay Corporation. There is no city in India in which a member has rendered such services in the field of municipal work as Sir Pherozeshah has done. The world has admired the services of Mr. Chamberlain[1] as President of Birmingham Municipality, but Sir Pherozeshah did, single-handed, work for Bombay which it would have taken four Chamberlains to do. The right memorial to Sir Pherozeshah would be for all municipalities to work in the manner he did. The daily political discussions in Sir Pherozeshah's office were unfailingly echoed immediately in the public at large, so important and influential were his views. He was more of an Indian than a Parsi and believed that the unity of India could be achieved only by turning the entire population into a single community. The discussions in his office were mainly concerned with how we could fight fearlessly for our rights. He had to suffer much while doing public service. He once gave me the best advice on this subject. I was insulted by an Englishman once and I was about to file a suit for damages against him. Sir Pherozeshah told me then that, if I wished to do any good to myself or the country, I should swallow the insult and that I should swallow similar insults in future as well. Indeed, I have had to swallow them on numerous occasions. I must admit that whatever capacity for work I possess I owe to this advice. If we pay tributes to him today, it is because of his good sense, his courage and faith. I feel like making a suggestion about how we may perpetuate the memory of this great man whom Ahmedabad mourns today. This public hall is so small that the city should be ashamed of it, for towns even one-fourth the

[1] Joseph

size of Ahmedabad possess halls bigger than this. It is my submission, therefore, that the people of Ahmedabad should build a big public hall in memory of Sir Pherozeshah Mehta. His magnificence, too, deserves to be understood. He was lavish in spending money. Mr. Gokhale, Mr. Ishvar Chandra Vidyasagar[1] and others held one view about how one should live and Pherozeshah held another, which, however, did no harm. Ahmedabad ought to put up a memorial to so great a man and I hope my appeal will find favour with the people of Ahmedabad.

[From Gujarati]

Prajabandhu, 21-11-1915

132. SPEECH AT RAJCHANDRA BIRTH ANNIVERSARY, AHMEDABAD

November 21, 1915

At a public meeting held at the Premabhai Hall, Ahmedabad, on November 21, 1915, to celebrate the birthday of the famous philosopher of Gujarat, Shrimad Rajchandra[2], Gandhiji, who occupied the chair, dwelt in the course of his opening remarks on the appropriateness of the celebration of the great philosopher's birthday.

Dealing with the life of Rajchandra, Mr. Gandhi mentioned that he had come in close personal contact with him and, so far as he was competent to judge, he declared it to be his deliberate opinion that the deceased was one of the best religious philosophers of modern times in India. He was incomparable in true perception, he was free from attachment, and had true *vairagya* in him.[3] He followed no narrow creed. He was a universalist and had no quarrel with any religion in the world. In the West, the speaker had found Tolstoy and Ruskin among the best philosophers and he did not hesitate to put the deceased above both of them. The deceased outdid them in religious experience. The faith of the deceased was a robust faith, such as could only be based upon the true realisation of the self. Upon the speaker's own life, the deceased had exercised a very powerful influence. There was a suitable and certain sublimity and

[1] (1820-1891), educationist and social reformer of Bengal

[2] Son-in-law of Revashanker Jagmohan Mehta, elder brother of Gandhiji's life-long friend and supporter, Dr. Pranjivan Mehta. Gandhiji first met him in 1891 at the suggestion of Dr. Mehta. A business man and an expert jeweller, he lived his life in the spirit of *karmayoga*. His was the first profound influence on Gandhiji in his mature years, comparable to that of Ruskin and Tolstoy later; *vide An Autobiography*, Part II, Ch. I.

[3] *Gujarati*, 28-11-1915, has here: "He had *gyana*, *vairagya* and *bhakti*."

genuineness about the writings of the deceased, which gave them peculiar charm and enabled them to have a powerful hold upon the reader.

Concluding, Mr. Gandhi hoped that those who had attended the celebration would take the trouble of studying the writings of the deceased Mahatma and he promised that they would feel all the better for their trouble.

The Bombay Chronicle, 23-11-1915

133. FRAGMENT OF LETTER[1]

[Before *November 26, 1915*]

The Ashram activities are in full swing. It has at present 33 inmates in all, three of whom are *Dheds*. These latter have become a serious issue. Ahmedabad is considered to be a stronghold of *sanatana dharma*[2]. Hence the issue of the *Dheds* has led to a storm. At first we thought the entire Ashram would be outcast, and that may yet happen. The boys have made much progress in their study of Sanskrit, Hindi and Tamil. They are being taught carpentry and hand-weaving. Two carpenters are engaged in the Ashram. In a few days, we shall send you some cloth woven on looms by our own hands. The boys have made tables, etc. They are now working at book-cases for holding books.

[From Gujarati]

Prajabandhu, 26-12-1915

134. SPEECH AT AHMEDABAD FUNCTION[3]

November 28, 1915

I know that you will dislike my expressing, amidst all this gaiety, views which you will find unpleasant; I must, all the same, tell you what I feel. It may, of course, be questioned whether, holding the views that I do, I should have come to a gathering such as this; it is still more open to question whether I should express them. It is love which prompted me to come here and, again, it is love which has prompted me to stand up and speak. You are all very happy and I too am happy to see you honour Bhai Nanalal.

[1] A part of Gandhiji's letter received in Phœnix and reproduced in *Prajabandhu* from *Indian Opinion*, 26-11-1915

[2] In which the caste system is accepted as one of the unchanging foundations of Hinduism

[3] In honour of N. C. Mehta, who had been admitted to the Indian Civil Service

He has succeeded in gaining admission into the Indian Civil Service. . . .[1] He deserves to be honoured for his hard work. . . .[2] But I should not like other students to follow his example and enter the civil service. Our students do not need at present the kind of example Civilians provide; they stand in need of the example set by the lives of Mr. Dadabhai, Mr. Gokhale and Mr. Pherozeshah Mehta. If I may use the words of the late Mr. Gokhale, what we need at present is character, not labels. Bhai Nanalal's father spent Rs. 30,000 to make him a Civilian; I believe he could have put that money to better use instead; and Bhai Nanalal, even if he had remained an ordinary man, could have rendered better service to India in some other capacity, if he had so chosen. Civilians have to come to India in plenty, and many more will come; but it doesn't look as if they have been particularly useful to the country. Bhoja Bhagat[3] was a cobbler but, working as a cobbler, he succeeded in raising himself; and so also Akha Bhagat[4], who was a goldsmith. Thus, if one wishes, one can progress spiritually even while pursuing one's vocation. And so also Bhai Nanalal could have been more useful to the country if he had devoted himself to its service while pursuing some vocation. You are in love with labels and you think that it is something to have acquired one. On the contrary, as I believe, the man is crushed beneath them, loses his truth. We have no need at present of labels like *B.A.*, *M.A.*, *Baronet*, *K.C.S.I.*, *C.I.E.*, *Sir*, *the Hon'ble*, etc. We need men who will rise above the desire for all such honours and work. People need education which will enable everyone to express his thoughts with the utmost freedom. Today, all over the country there is an atmosphere of fear, so much so that we feel afraid, unnecessarily, even to express our views. We need an education that will blow up all such notions and make us truly fearless. We don't need labels. I know many of you will not like this discordant note. But, whispering into my ear a little while ago, Bhai Nanalal asked me why the people in India are so much impressed by success at examinations. He said he could speak nothing of this, but asked me if I wouldn't like to say something. It is this hint from him which prompted me to say a few things which I had in mind. You may accept what appeals to you and throw away or leave behind in this hall what may seem rubbish to you. I wouldn't mind it either way. I wish Bhai Nanalal all success in doing his duty, that is, in loyally serving the Government

[1] & [2] The source is damaged here.

[3] A Gujarati poet, 1785-1850

[4] A metaphysical poet of the 17th century, famed for his satire; vedantin and rationalist

and comporting himself with the people, over whom he will be placed in authority, not as their superior but as one of them; for he should know that the people are not the slaves of the officers, it is the officers who are their servants. May God give Bhai Nanalal long life and may he fulfil all our dreams about his serving the country. If he does, I should be happy. If things do not turn out so and he goes the way others do, I wish that he then performs *prayashchita*[1] and, should I come to hear of it all, I too would do *prayashchita* for having attended this function and addressed it. It is not enough merely to acquire a means to a good income; there is much else one has to do afterwards and we need at present the character, the education and the men that will teach us how to do this.

[From Gujarati]

Kheda Vartaman, 8-12-1915

135. *INDENTURE OR SLAVERY?*[2]

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM,
AHMEDABAD,

Girmit[3] is a corrupt form of the English word agreement. The term cannot be dispensed with. What it suggests, "agreement" does not. There is no alternative word in the language. The document under which thousands of labourers used to emigrate and still emigrate to Natal and other countries on contract for five years is known by the labourers and the employers as *girmit*. A labourer so emigrating under *girmit* is a *girmitio*[4]. About 12,000 such indentured labourers emigrate annually from India, mostly to the Fiji Islands near Australia, Jamaica near South America, British Guiana, Dutch Guiana and Trinidad.

The late Mr. Gokhale, a brave soul, held indenture to be a state bordering on slavery; it was described in the same terms by the famous historian, the late Sir William Wilson Hunter; the same analogy was used by Mr. Harry Escombe, a well-known former Minister of Natal.

Indenture is indeed a state of semi-slavery. Like the slave before him, the indentured labourer cannot buy his freedom. A

[1] Act of penitence
[2] This appeared as an article in *Samalochak.*
[3] Indenture
[4] Indentured labourer

slave was punished for not working; so also is an indentured labourer. If he is negligent, does not attend work for a day, if he answers back, —he will suffer imprisonment for any one of these lapses. A slave could be sold and handed over by one owner to another, so too the indentured labourer can be transferred from one employer to another. The children of a slave inherited the taint of slavery; much in the same way, the children of an indentured labourer are subject to laws specially passed for them. The only difference between the two states is that while slavery ended only with life, an indentured labourer can be free after a certain number of years. It should be noted, moreover, that indenture came after the abolition of slavery and that indentured labourers were recruited to take the place of slaves.

The following facts concerning indentured labourers have been established. In the countries to which they emigrate, they receive no moral or religious education. Most of them are unmarried. On every ship carrying indentured labourers, there is provision for taking women to the extent of 40 per cent. Some of these are women of ill fame. They do not, as a rule, enter into a marriage alliance. In this state of affairs, even if 20 per cent of the men wish to marry, they cannot. Going to lands so far away, they get into the habit of drinking. Women, who in India would never touch wine, are sometimes found lying dead-drunk on the roads.

After all this degradation, the profit which they point to is that the economic condition of these people improves. Everyone will admit that even though we may stand to gain economically by selling our souls, we ought not to do so.

How is it that this thing has been allowed to go on for fifty years now? None of us will be prepared to submit himself to a condition such as this. How then did we tolerate it for our own brethren? In raising this question, I have not the least desire to make people feel sorry for the past, but the question helps us to realize our duty in the present. The late Mr. Gokhale introduced, in March 1912, a resolution in the Imperial Legislative Council, asking for the repeal of the law governing indenture and demanding that the emigration of indentured labourers from India be stopped. At that time, 22 members took a pledge that "they would bring forward the resolution every year till indenture was abolished". It is for us, the survivors, to fulfil that pledge. Mr. Andrews and Mr. Pearson have gone to Fiji for this very purpose. It is not too much to say, therefore, that every educated Indian is in duty bound to apply his mind to this question and join in discussing it so as to help in getting it finally settled.

This is not the place to go into details; for those, however, who wish to study the subject, there is literature in plenty and easily accessible : in particular, the debates in the Imperial Legislative Council on the resolution mentioned above, the Lord Sanderson Committee Report and the report of Messrs MacNeill and Chimanlal on the condition of indentured labourers. If any paper gets a special note prepared on this literature, it is bound to prove useful.

[From Gujarati]

Samalochak, December, 1915

136. SPEECH AT VIRAMGAM

December 1, 1915

Mohanlal [*sic*] Karamchand Gandhi arrived at Viramgaon on the 1st instant by the 1 Down Mail from Ahmedabad. He was received on the station by about 25 men of Viramgaon. After about an hour's halt, Gandhi went on to Rajkot by train.

During the time he was on the station at Viramgaon, he made a brief speech to the assembled people, explaining that he was going to Rajkot to collect subscriptions for a memorial to the late Mr. Gokhale. He requested the people of Viramgaon to contribute towards the memorial.

Gandhi was accompanied by his wife and one Chintaman Sakharam Davle, a member of the Servants of India Society.

Bombay Secret Abstracts, 1915, p. 316

137. SPEECH AT GONDAL ON GOKHALE[1]

December 4, 1915

Gokhale was so great a man that his death is mourned by 330 million Indians. Right up to the moment of death, he thought only of service to the country; the Servants of India Society was his very life to him. I came into closer contact with him than others did and I observed that he was a man of great capacity. He knew both how to live and how to die.

[From Gujarati]

Prajabandhu, 12-12-1915

[1] The meeting was held for making an appeal for subscriptions to the Gokhale Memorial Fund, the State Diwan presiding.

138. SPEECH AT JETPUR[1] ON GOKHALE MEMORIAL FUND

December 5, 1915

We have not come here to get contributions to the Fund. Pay something only if, after this account of his life, you feel that you should. You may send the amount later. We don't want to shame anyone into paying. Pay only if you wish to.

[From Gujarati]

Kathiawar Times, 8-12-1915

139. SPEECH AT BHAVNAGAR FOR GOKHALE MEMORIAL FUND[2]

December 8, 1915

He [Gandhiji] expressed his great happiness at the unprecedented enthusiasm displayed by the people of Bhavnagar that day and the day before and offered them his heartfelt thanks. He gave very useful advice to students and youth in general, appealed to the people of Bhavnagar to subscribe to the Memorial Fund for his guru, the late widely-respected Hon'ble Mr. Gopal Krishna Gokhale and explained the aims of the Servants of India Society established by him as also the great things expected of it. Proceeding, he said:

I was invited four months ago by the people of Bhavnagar to visit this place but I could not do so then owing to certain circumstances. But now that I am here, I see that my not coming here then has in a way furthered the purpose of my visit, for then Sir Prabhashanker was not here and, now that he is here, I have had the honour of receiving this address from the blessed hands of so popular an officer as he; what is more, there will be—I am perfectly sure of this—a most substantial gain to the Memorial Fund for the late Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale for which I have especially come here.

[From Gujarati]

Prajabandhu, 12-12-1915

[1] A town in Saurashtra

[2] In reply to an address from the citizens, Sir Prabhashanker Pattani, the State Diwan, presiding

140. SPEECH AT RECEPTION BY BHAVNAGAR MODH COMMUNITY

[*December 9, 1915*]

I am grateful to all my friends of the [*Modh*] community, who invited me here, for the love they have shown to me. My *Modh* friends showed me the same love even when I landed in Bombay. I do not deserve it, for I have rendered no service to the community. Besides, my friends and members of the community ask me sometimes what good I have done to it, and accuse me of forsaking *swadharma*[1] and taking up *paradharma*[2]. In reply, I shall merely say that I serve the country to the best of my ability and that, the community being but a part of it, I believe service of the country includes that of the community. You express unbounded love for me at the moment but remember, friends, not to obstruct me when I do something which you may not approve of. Even in those circumstances, I shall crave your blessings. I feel so sad that even my own people do not know me. I cannot keep with me a thing like this[3] made of silver, since I observe the rule of non-possession. If I do, a thief may try to steal it and I may then have to resort to violence for protecting it; this, again, will violate my rule of non-violence. I will therefore get it melted and use the money for the purposes of the Ashram. I thank you all, gentlemen, and my friends of the community.

[From Gujarati]

Prajabandhu, 19-12-1915

[1] Duty natural to oneself; *vide Bhagavad Gita*, III.35.

[2] Duty natural to someone else

[3] The casket containing the address

141. SPEECH AT BAGASRA ON VIRAMGAM CUSTOMS CORDON[1]

December 12, 1915

Mohanlal [*sic*] Karamchand Gandhi was in Bagasra on the 12th instant, coming *via* Hadala from Amreli. He was accompanied by Darbar Shri Vajsurwala, of Hadala, Devchand Uttamchand, Bar-at-Law of Jetpur, his son and a man from Rajkot. Vakil Chhaganlal Ghordhan gave an address of welcome to Gandhi.

Gandhi in reply said he would now try his best to get Government to abolish the Customs arrangements at Viramgaon.[2] His ostensible reason for touring Kathiawar was to collect subscriptions for the Gokhale Memorial Fund. He collected some Rs. 250 at the meeting.

On the 15th December Gandhi visited Wadhwan City and Camp when he addressed meetings and asked for subscriptions towards the Fund. He went to Dhrangadhra by the 1.15 p.m. train the same day.

Bombay Secret Abstracts, 1916, p. 15

142. DRAFT LETTER FOR V. G. DESAI[3]

[Before *December 21, 1915*][4]

I observe that Government servants are not allowed to attend the Indian National Congress session even as visitors. It is my intention to attend the Congress session as a visitor. I feel that the prohibition referred to is an undue interference with one's personal liberty. If therefore you consider that I am a Government servant in the sense in which His Excellency the Governor has used the term, I beg herewith to tender my resignation.

From the original in Gandhiji's hand: C.W. 5686. Courtesy: Valji Govindji Desai

[1] At a meeting in the ginning and weaving factory of Ratilal Motichand which most of the inhabitants of Bagasra attended

[2] *Vide* also "Speech on Viramgam Customs Cordon", 23-10-1916.

[3] Valji Govindji Desai, sometime lecturer in English, Gujarat College, Ahmedabad; resigned from service and joined Gandhiji; translated *Satyagraha in South Africa* and other works of Gandhiji

[4] This evidently was drafted before "Telegram to V. G. Desai" and "Letter to V. G. Desai", 21-12-1915.

143. TELEGRAM TO V. G. DESAI

December 21, 1915

WITHDRAW RESIGNATION, ASK PERMISSION ATTEND CONGRESS.

From the original as delivered: C.W. 5682. Courtesy: Valji Govindji Desai

144. LETTER TO V. G. DESAI

SERVANTS OF INDIA SOCIETY,
GIRGAUM,
[BOMBAY,]
Tuesday, December 21, 1915

BHAISHRI VALJI GOVINDJI,

I hope you got the telegram I sent you today. After coming here, I learn that any [Government] servant can go with the permission of his superior. I think it will be proper for you to apply for such permission. If it is refused, you may proceed to resign. In the telegram, I asked you to withdraw the resignation. As a matter of fact, however, your letter has not been treated as amounting to resignation. All the same, I think you should acquaint Robertson with the latest position.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS

From the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: C.W. 5683. Courtesy: Valji Govindji Desai

145. SPEECH AT INDUSTRIAL CONFERENCE, BOMBAY[1]

December 24, 1915

Mr. Gandhi in support of the Resolution[2] said that they could not keep their industries if their industrial population went away from India and returned, if it ever did, a broken reed, a moral wreck. The two adjectives, "injurious" and "immoral" were not chosen haphazard but they bore the "imprimatur" of their deceased countryman, Mr. Gokhale. He urged them to insist on the abolition of the system even while the war was going on.

Mr. K. N. Aiya Iyer seconded the Resolution. He said that this wretched system no human ingenuity could mend and, therefore, must be ended.

Mr. Muzumdar, in supporting, said that no more despicable system could be invented by man.

The Hindu, 25-12-1915

146. SPEECH ON INDIA AND THE COLONIES AT BOMBAY CONGRESS SESSION

December 28, 1915

Mr. M. K. Gandhi (Bombay) moved Resolution X regarding India and the Colonies on 28th December 1915 at the 30th Indian National Congress session held at Bombay.

He said:

MR. PRESIDENT AND FRIENDS,

The resolution that stands in my name reads thus :

> This Congress regrets that the existing laws affecting Indians in South Africa and Canada have not, in spite of the liberal and imperialistic declarations of Colonial statesmen, been justly and equally administered and this Congress trusts that the self-governing Colonies will extend to the Indian emigrants equal rights with European emigrants and that the

[1] At the eleventh session, with Sir Dorab Tata as President and Sir Dinshaw Petit as Chairman, Reception Committee

[2] Which read: "This Conference tenders its respectful thanks to H. E. Lord Hardinge, Viceroy of India, for all he has done for Indian labour outside India and for recommending its abolition to the Secretary of State and submits that, in the highest interests of the country, the system of Indian indentured labour is undesirable and urges its abolition, looking to the highly injurious and immoral effects of the same, as soon as possible."

Imperial Government will use all possible means to secure the rights which have been hitherto unjustly withheld from them, thus causing widespread dissatisfaction and discontent.

May I please appeal to the Press to alter the word "equally" to "equitably" because that was the word given last night at the Subjects Committee meeting?

Friends, it is an irony of fate that, whilst this vast assembly will be regretting the attitude, the hostile attitude that has been adopted by the self-governing Colonies, a contingent of your countrymen formed in South Africa will be nearing the theatre of war in order to help the sick and the wounded. I am in possession of facts in connection with this contingent formed in South Africa, which shows that it is composed of the middle classes which, according to *The Times of India*, are going to form the future self-governing nation. These men are drawn from ex-indentured Indians and their children; they are drawn from the petty hawkers, the toilers and the traders—all these men compose this great contingent. And yet the Colonies do not consider it necessary to alter their attitude, nor do I see the logic in their altering their policy. It is the fashion now-a-days to consider that because we have taken our humble share in the war by not being disloyal to the Government at the present juncture, we are entitled to rights which have been hitherto withheld from us as if those rights were withheld from us because our loyalty was suspected. No, my friends. If they have been withheld from us, the reasons are different and those reasons will have to be altered. They are due, some of them, to undying prejudices; they are due, some of them, to economic causes and these will have to be examined. The prejudices will have to be borne down.

What are the hardships that our countrymen are labouring under in South Africa, in Canada and in the other self-governing Colonies? In South Africa, the settlement of 1914 secured what the passive resisters were fighting for and nothing more and they were fighting for the restoration of legal equality in connection with emigration from British India and certain other things. That legal equality has been restored, the other things granted, but the domestic troubles still remain, and if it was not the custom unfortunately inherited for the last thirty years that the language, the predominant language in the assembly, should be English, our Madras friends will have taken good care to learn one of the northern vernaculars and then there are men enough from South Africa who would tell you in one of our own tongues the difficulties that we have to go through even now in South Africa. They are in

connection with the holding of landed property; they are in connection with men who, having been once domiciled in South Africa, return to South Africa; there are difficulties in connection with the admission of their children and in connection with trade licences. These are, if I may call them so, bread-and-butter difficulties. There are other difficulties which I shall not enumerate just now. In Canada, it is not possible for those brave Sikhs who are domiciled there to bring their wives and children. (Cries of "Shame".) That is the difficulty in Canada. The law is the same but the administration is vilely unequal. I feel that this unequal administration will not be altered because of the splendid aid which India is said to have rendered to the Empire.

Then how are these difficulties to be met? I do not intend to go into details, but the Congress proposes that this difficulty can be met by an appeal to the sense of justice of Colonial statesmen and by an appeal to the Imperial Government. I fear that the Congress can only do this. Lord Hardinge, only a few months ago, made a fervent appeal to Indian publicists and to Indian statesmen for helping him to come to an honourable solution which will retain the dignity of India and at the same time not cause any trouble to the self-governing Colonies. Lord Hardinge is still waiting for an answer. That answer is not supplied by the Congress nor can it be supplied by the Congress. It has to be supplied by associations such as the Imperial Citizenship Association, the specialists, if I may call them so. The Congress has given them the lead and it is for these associations to frame the details in which they will have to examine the rival claims and offer to Lord Hardinge a detailed solution, a solution which will satisfy the Colonial Governments as well as the Indian people and will not take away anything whatsoever from the just demands that this resolution makes. With these words, I have much pleasure in proposing this resolution. (Loud applause.)

Report of the Thirtieth Indian National Congress (Bombay), pp. 62-4

147. FRAGMENT OF LETTER TO RATANSHI SODHA[1]

[*1915*][2]

Write a letter to Rajkot and leave Chi. Reva[3] under my charge. I don't expect, however, that you will do this, for I think that, while you are strong in some, you are very weak in other ways.

It is not at all necessary for you to send a suit for Chhotu[4]. I get all the clothes we need made here. If you can save anything, send some money towards the expenditure on his account.

Due regards from
MOHANDAS

From the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: C.W. 3420. Courtesy: Revashanker Sodha

148. DIARY FOR 1915[5]

JANUARY 9, SATURDAY[6]

Arrived in Bombay.[7] Saw Mr. Gokhale.

JANUARY 13, WEDNESDAY

Gathering at Mount Petit.[8]

JANUARY 14, THURSDAY

Interview with Governor.

[1] Only the last page of the letter is available.

[2] The letter appears to have been written in 1915. The exact date cannot be ascertained.

[3] Revashanker, son of the addressee

[4] Another son of the addressee

[5] In Gandhiji's own hand, in Gujarati, the Diary is for the most part a factual record of Gandhiji's movements and activities, the persons he met, the places and institutions he visited, the addresses received, the interviews given, the speeches delivered and the letters and telegrams sent. It also records, in some detail, developments during the year in regard to the Ashram he proposed to establish.

[6] The pages of the printed Diary contain, besides the English dates, the corresponding dates in the Vikram, Hijri, Saka and Parsi eras. Only the English dates are reproduced here.

[7] *Vide* "Interview to *The Bombay Chronicle*".

[8] This should be under January 12; *vide* "Speech at Public Reception, Bombay", 12-1-1915.

JANUARY 15, FRIDAY

Address from women. Left for Rajkot.

JANUARY 16, SATURDAY

Night at Vankaner. Chhotu joined. Umiyashanker came to see.

JANUARY 17, SUNDAY

Arrived in Rajkot in morning. Address[1], etc.

JANUARY 18, MONDAY

Saw Thakore Saheb.

JANUARY 21, THURSDAY

Left Rajkot. Arrived in Jetpur. Addresses—Stayed overnight—Shukla accompanied.

JANUARY 22, FRIDAY

Left Jetpur by special train. Address at Dhoraji.[2] Left Dhoraji. Reached Porbunder. Devchand Parekh accompanied.

JANUARY 24, SUNDAY

Address from *Modh* community.[3]

JANUARY 25, MONDAY

Address in Porbunder.[4] Also one from women.

JANUARY 26, TUESDAY

Reached Gondal. Stayed at Patwari's. Ranchhod, Shanti and Gokuldas joined at Porbunder.

JANUARY 27, WEDNESDAY

Went to see Thakore Saheb. Address[5]—Visit to Orphanage. Left for Rajkot.

JANUARY 28, THURSDAY

Meeting with Nagji Swami.

JANUARY 29, FRIDAY

Saw Mr. Sladen.

[1] *Vide* "Speech at Rajkot in Reply to Citizens' Address".

[2] *Vide* "Speech at Reception at Darbargadh".

[3] This should be under January 25; *vide* "Speech at Reception by Porbunder Modh Community", 25-1-1915.

[4] *Vide* "Speech at Porbunder in Reply to Citizens' Address".

[5] *Vide* "Speech at Reception by Gondal Citizens".

JANUARY 30, SATURDAY

Address from women at Rajkot. Took Ba to see Mrs. Sladen.

JANUARY 31, SUNDAY

Went to hear Nagji Swami's lecture. Paid Rs. 1,650 to Fuli in full settlement of her claims. Decided to put it out to interest. Shukla paid the money. He decided to bear Fuli's maintenance charges himself. Gangabhabhi to be paid Rs. 20 & sister Rs. 10 per month, with effect from today. Paid Rs. 8½ as interest to Fuli. Paid Rs. 8 to Gokibehn for the month. Paid Rs. 14 to Gangabhabhi.

FEBRUARY 1, MONDAY

Left Rajkot. Reached Ahmedabad. Stayed at Sheth Mangaldas's[1]. Accompanied by Gokuldas, Modi, Becharbhai, Ranchhod, Harilal, Shanti, Kaku, Chhotu & Jamnadas.

FEBRUARY 2, TUESDAY

Address in Ahmedabad.[2] Met Bapubhai at his place. Went to Miyakhan's & Patwari's. Address from women.—Talk with leaders regarding settling down in Ahmedabad. Jamnadas left for Bombay.

FEBRUARY 3, WEDNESDAY

Went to see land. Lunch at Ambalalbhai's[3]. Address by *Modh* community. Tea at the club in the afternoon. In the evening at Asharambhai's. Met Akhandanand[4].

FEBRUARY 4, THURSDAY

Left Ahmedabad. Harilal and Gokuldas stayed on. Reached Bombay at night.

FEBRUARY 5, FRIDAY

Meeting with Patwari. Discussion about caste restrictions.

FEBRUARY 6, SATURDAY

Saw Bhagvanlal. Paid him the full amount of Rs. 2900 in the matter concerning Modi. Settled the account with Modi. Total came to Rs. 6000/-. This settles the account with both brothers. Sent the documents about the house to Shukla. Another meeting with Patwari.

[1] & [3] Millowners of Ahmedabad

[2] *Vide* "Speech at Reception by Ahmedabad Citizens".

[4] A *sanyasin*; founder of Sasta Sahitya Karyalaya, a publishing firm bringing out low-priced books on religion, etc.

FEBRUARY 7, SUNDAY

'ent to see School[1] for untouchables. Amritlal[2] & Kesariprasad ayed with me last night. Had a talk with them. Left at night ır Poona.

FEBRUARY 8, MONDAY

.eached Poona, accompanied by Gokuldas. Discussion about ıy joining the [Servants of India] Society.

FEBRUARY 11, THURSDAY

aw Prof. Barve's institutions, etc. Had gone to Shri Tilak's.

FEBRUARY 13, SATURDAY

'ublic meeting[3]—women's and general. Mr. Gokhale fainted.[4]

FEBRUARY 14, SUNDAY

Went to Bombay. Gokuldas, Kunzru and Devadhar[5] accompanied. Also Balvantrai. Talk with Gokhale from four in the morning. Presided at function of Sanatana Dharma Niti Mandal.[6] Went to theatre. Meeting with Sorabji's sister.

FEBRUARY 15, MONDAY

Meeting with Robertson. Visit to Kapol Hostel.[7] Left for Bolpur accompanied by Nagindas.

FEBRUARY 16, TUESDAY

On the way.

FEBRUARY 17, WEDNESDAY

Andrews and Santokbabu came to see in Burdwan. Went to Khristi's. Reached Bolpur at night. Had experience of old-style hospitality.[8]

[1] *Vide* "Speech at Mission School, Bombay".

[2] Probably Amritlal V. Thakkar, a member of the Servants of India Society and a leading worker in the cause of depressed classes and aboriginal tribes

[3] *Vide* "Speech at Poona Public Meeting".

[4] *Vide An Autobiography*, Part V, Ch. II.

[5] G. K. Devadhar, a member of the Servants of India Society, and later its President

[6] *Vide* "Speech at Prize Distribution to Students in Bombay".

[7] *Vide* "Speech at Kapol Hostel, Bombay".

[8] *Vide* "Speech at Santiniketan Reception".

FEBRUARY 18, THURSDAY

Talk with Andrews.

FEBRUARY 19, FRIDAY

Further talk with Andrews.

FEBRUARY 20, SATURDAY

Received telegram about death of my political master.[1] Left Bolpur. Sent cable to J. B.[2] Andrews accompanied up to Burdwan. Had a long talk. Talk with teachers about reforms. Difficulties on train.[3] Maganlal, Nagindas & Ba accompained.

FEBRUARY 21, SUNDAY

On the way.

FEBRUARY 22, MONDAY

Reached Kalyan at noon. Saw Mr. Kaul. Reached Poona at night. Brief talk with members [of Servants of India Society].

FEBRUARY 23, TUESDAY

Long talk with members. Wrote letters to Mahatmaji, Ranchhodbhai and others.

FEBRUARY 25, THURSDAY

Talk with Shinde about *Bhangis*[4], etc.

FEBRUARY 26, FRIDAY

Discussion with members about this.

FEBRUARY 27, SATURDAY

Started Marathi. Tried to think out a solution to the problem of *Bhangis*.

FEBRUARY 28, MONDAY

Offered oblations at river.[5] Maganlal went to Bombay.

MARCH 3, WEDNESDAY

Public meeting in Poona. Governor presided. The first resolution[6] in my charge. Left for Bombay by night train.

[1] *Vide* "Telegram to H. N. Kunzru" and "Telegram to Karsandas Chitalia".

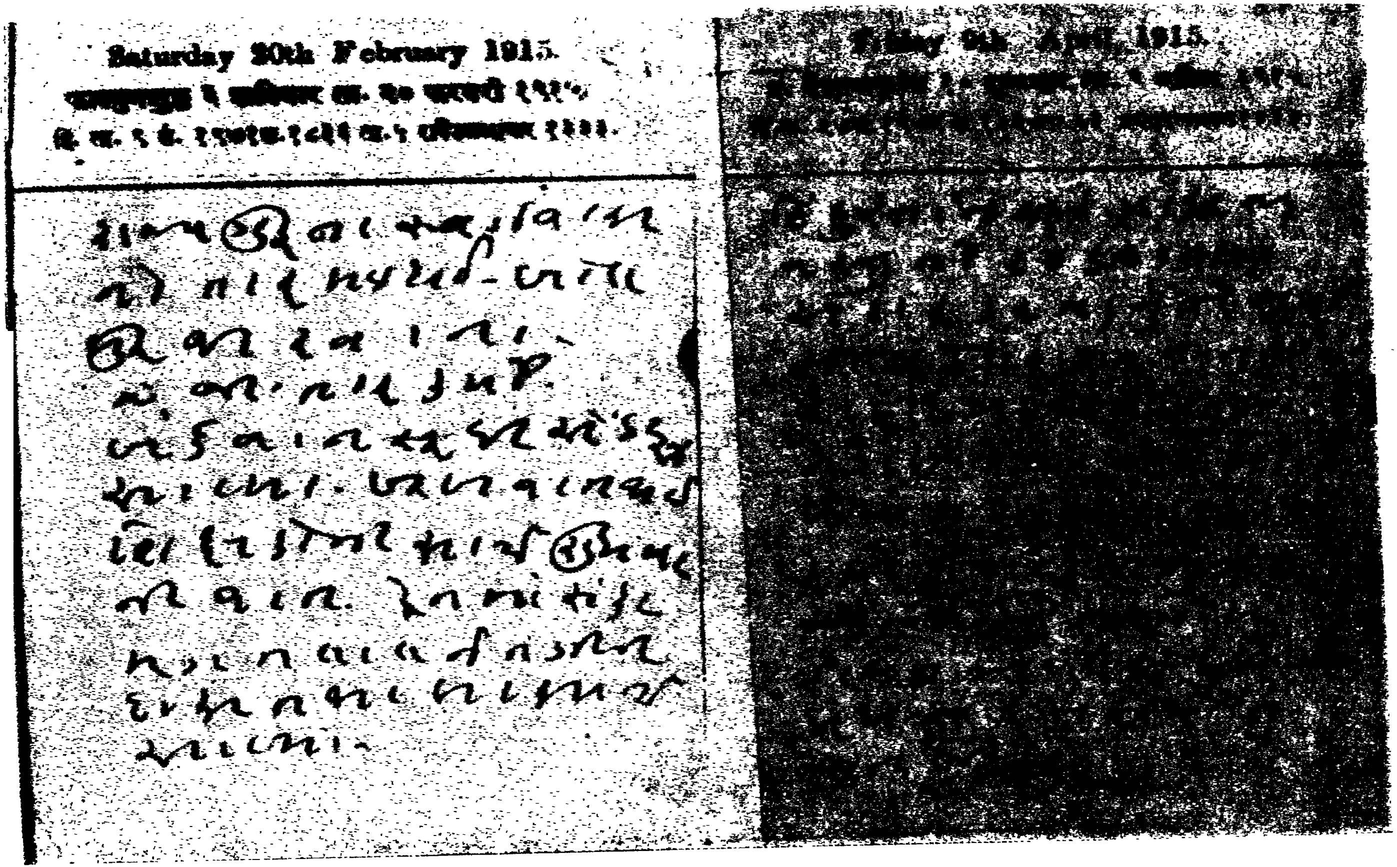
[2] Johannesburg; *vide* "Cable to Transvaal B. I. Association".

[3] This should be under February 21; *vide* "Letter to Chief Traffic Manager, E. I. Railway", 23-2-1915.

[4] One of the communities traditionally regarded as untouchable

[5] *Vide An Autobiography*, Part V, Ch. VI.

[6] *Vide* "Speech at Gokhale Condolence Meeting, Poona".



FROM "DIARY FOR 1915"

Courtesy: Gandhi Smarak Nidhi



WITH KASHMIRI CAP

MARCH 4, THURSDAY

In Bombay in the morning—Saw Jehangir Petit and Narottamdas. Left Bombay at night. Tapidas and Mulji came along, latter with his wife.

MARCH 5, FRIDAY

Reached Santiniketan. Meeting with Gurudev. Fakiri had temperature on way.

MARCH 6, SATURDAY

Went down to Santiniketan. Meeting with Gurudev.

MARCH 7, SUNDAY

Went to Gurudev's place with Andrews. Talk with Harilal. Lecture by Gurudev.

MARCH 8, MONDAY

Gurudev left for Calcutta. Had a talk with Andrews about his conduct. Met teachers at night. Discussed education.

MARCH 9, TUESDAY

Went round with Sanitary Committee. No end of filth.

MARCH 10, WEDNESDAY

Talk with teachers. Meeting with boys. Started experiment in self-cooking. Fruits in morning. Lecture in temple in the evening.

MARCH 11, THURSDAY

Hot words between Andrews & Sarod Babu. Andrews apologized. Left for Calcutta at night. Harilal and Ramdas accompanied. Met Gurudev at Station. Gave Rs. 200/- to Andrews on account of the boys. Took the money from Dattatreya[1].

MARCH 12, FRIDAY

Reached Calcutta. Big crowd. Stayed at Bhupen Babu's. Address from Gujarati Mandal.[2]

MARCH 13, SATURDAY

Meeting of Marwaris. Meeting in Cassim Bazaar.[3] Meeting with Moti Babu. Party at Bhupen Babu's. Harilal's final decision to separate.

[1] Dattatreya Balkrishna Kalelkar

[2] *Vide* "Speech at Reception by Calcutta Modh Community".

[3] *Vide* "Speech at Calcutta Reception".

MARCH 14, SUNDAY

Left for Rangoon with Ramdas, Rajangam, Chhagan, etc. No end to filth and over-crowding [on the boat].[1]

MARCH 15, MONDAY

Wrote a good many letters.

MARCH 16, TUESDAY

Wrote more letters.

MARCH 17, WEDNESDAY

Reached Rangoon. Received, etc., same as usual.

MARCH 18, THURSDAY

Went round with Doctor[2]. There was a party in the evening at his place.

MARCH 19, FRIDAY

Visited garden. Wrote letters. Sent telegram to Malaviya about Gokhale Memorial. Suggested spending the amount for promoting Hindu-Muslim unity.

MARCH 20, SATURDAY

Visited park. Wrote letters. Walked the distance both ways.

MARCH 21, SUNDAY

Went to Mulla Dawood's & Jamal Sheth's. Latter was not present. Wrote letters to England. Visit to Chetty temple.

MARCH 22, MONDAY

Meeting with Sen. Dinner at Popatbhai's.

MARCH 23, TUESDAY

Anna expressed desire to join me. Asked him to think further and tell me tomorrow morning. Told him about Kotwal's and Maganlal's vows. Public meeting—address.

MARCH 24, WEDNESDAY

Anna still of same mind. Expressed urgent desire to join forthwith. But Doctor advised against it. Garden party.

MARCH 25, THURSDAY

Went to see groundnut mill. To Jamal's garden in the evening. Talk with him about reforms.

[1] *Vide* "Letter to Agents of B. I. S. N. Company", 19-3-1915.

[2] Dr. Pranjivan Mehta

MARCH 26, FRIDAY

Left Rangoon. Popatbhai accompanied.

MARCH 27, SATURDAY

On the ship.

MARCH 28, SUNDAY

Reached Calcutta in the evening. Stayed with Mr. Das.

MARCH 29, MONDAY

Address by Hindu Sabha. Meeting with Mr. Holland. Party at Mr. Das's.

MARCH 30, TUESDAY

Meeting with teachers of National College. Discussion with members of Indian Association. Meeting with Mrs. Roy, also with Mr. H. Bose and Kumar Babu.

MARCH 31, WEDNESDAY

Brief address to students.[1] Mr. Lyon in the chair. Left for Bolpur. Marwaris gave Rs. 300/- to cover expenses of journey to Bolpur. Reached Bolpur at night. Pranlal came along with me.

APRIL 1, THURSDAY

Visit to an ailing boy. Saw Andrews' miserable position. Meeting with Gurudev.

APRIL 2, FRIDAY

Talk with Gurudev about Andrews and then with the teachers. Finally with Andrews in the presence of the teachers. Telegram from Kunzru asking us to reach Hardwar by the 5th. Attended on Nepal Babu.

APRIL 3, SATURDAY

Last meeting with boys with Gurudev as Chairman. Kept Maganlal and Ramdas at Bolpur to help in the kitchen. Left for Hardwar with the rest. Shanker Pandit accompanied.

APRIL 4, SUNDAY

In the train.

APRIL 5, MONDAY

Reached Hardwar in the evening. Accommodated in Sarvannath's garden. Meeting with Kali Kamaliwala Bava Ramnath.

[1] *Vide* "Speech at Students' Hall, Calcutta".

APRIL 6, TUESDAY

Visit to Gurukul in the morning, accompanied by a volunteer. Meeting with Mahatmaji. Returned in his van. Jamnadas, who had accompanied me, stayed on in Gurukul. Boys left for Rishikesh. Meeting with Akhandanand, Padhiar and others—Mulji, Tapidas—in Gurukul.

APRIL 7, WEDNESDAY

Went to Rishikesh. Walked to Lakshman Jhoola. Saw hanging bridge, also Swargashram. Many reflections passed through my mind. Meeting with Mangalnathji. Discussion about *shikhasutra*[1]. Meeting with Swami Narayana.

APRIL 8, THURSDAY

Visit to Jwalapur Mahavidyalaya. Visit to Hindu Sabha and Rishikul. Address from Gurukul students.[2] Raojibhai arrived, also Kotwal.

APRIL 9, FRIDAY

Vow to have in India only five articles of food during 24 hours, and that before sunset. Water not included in five articles. Cardamom, etc., included. Groundnut and its oil to count as one article. Raojibhai vowed to abstain from milk and milk-products.

APRIL 10, SATURDAY

Vow on this date—see entry under last date. Visit to other institutions. Dharsimal, whom I met on way to Rishikesh, seems to be gradually drawing closer.

APRIL 11, SUNDAY

Visit to Mohini Ashram. Saw Ramakrishna Mission. Left for Delhi. Discussion with members of Society.

APRIL 12, MONDAY

Arrived in Delhi—with Ba and . . . bhai[3], also Kotwal, Raojibhai, and Deodhar. Parted company with all except Deodhar. Meeting with Mr. Alwatt and Mr. Weston. Saw Kutub Minar. Many thoughts.

[1] *Vide An Autobiography*, Part V, Ch. VIII.
[2] *Vide* "Speech at Gurukul, Hardwar".
[3] Not legible here

APRIL 13, TUESDAY

Function of college students in the morning. Went to Sultan Singh. Saw Mr. & Mrs. Hailey. Saw the Fort. Many thoughts. Public meeting in the evening. Speech by Mahomed Ali.

APRIL 14, WEDNESDAY

Left Delhi in the morning for Vrindavan. Reached Vrindavan at noon. Visit to Prem Mahavidyalaya, Rishikul, Gurukul, and Ramkrishna Mission. What filth in the city. Returned to Mathura at night and took the train to Madras.

APRIL 15, THURSDAY

In the train.

APRIL 16, FRIDAY

In the train. Under police surveillance—interrogated.

APRIL 17, SATURDAY

Arrived in Madras in the evening. Large crowd at station. They drew the carriage.[1] Meeting with Mrs. Besant. Stayed with Natesan.

APRIL 18, SUNDAY

Started meeting people.

APRIL 19, MONDAY

Met many people.

APRIL 20, TUESDAY

Met many people.

APRIL 21, WEDNESDAY

Address by South African League.[2]

APRIL 22, THURSDAY

Krishnaswami Sharma. Has studied up to matriculation. Passed examination in 1907. Knows Tamil, Telugu. Has *Bhagavad Gita* by heart. Spent three years in gaol. Sub-Editor in *Hindu Nesan*. Under vow of life-time *brahmacharya*, truthfulness, non-violence, non-hoarding & non-stealing. Wishes to devote himself exclusively to service of country. Owns land and house in Conjeevaram. Annual income of Rs. 200/- therefrom. In the Cosmopolitan Club.

[1] *Vide* "Speech on Arrival at Madras".
[2] *Vide* "Speech at Public Reception, Madras".

APRIL 23, FRIDAY

Address from Mahajan Sabha.[1] Slept at Tyobji's.

APRIL 24, SATURDAY

Meeting of Muslim League.[2] Dinner with lawyers.[3]

APRIL 25, SUNDAY

Dinner with Bohra friends. Social Service League.[4] Women's meeting. Arya Vaishya Sabha.[5]

APRIL 26, MONDAY

Function at Mr. Subhramaniyam's,[6] the Rev. Father's and S. Shrinivas Ayyangar's.

APRIL 27, TUESDAY

Function at Mr. Simon's. Function at Young Men's Christian Association.[7] Address from students.

APRIL 28, WEDNESDAY

Talk with teachers of Pachayappa College. Function at Mrs. Besant's. Aluri Ramraj's decision to join. Age 29, parents dead, language Telugu, no knowledge of Tamil, is a B.A., knows Sanskrit, has two elder brothers. Has always been a *brahmachari*. Vegetarian for 15 years. Prepared to take six vows. Doesn't ask for railway fare. Will come in July.

APRIL 29, THURSDAY

Talk with Ramraj in the morning. Took vows mentioned under Wednesday. Krishnamachari Vardachari. Age 25, . . . married for six years, no parents, no responsibility for maintaining anyone. Has passed matriculation. In service for three years. Venkatapar Seturam Aiyyar. Age 33, married in 1889, three children, son 7, daughters 9 and 2. Parents alive. Does not have to maintain anyone. Both have some property. Has passed matriculation. Knows a little Sanskrit. Party at Govinddas's.[8]

[1] *Vide* "Speech at Reception by Mahajan Sabha and Congress Committee, Madras".

[2] *Vide* "Speech at Reception by Muslim League, Madras".

[3] *Vide* "Speech at Madras Law Dinner".

[4] *Vide* "Speech at Social Service League, Madras".

[5] *Vide* "Speech at Reception by Arya Vaishya Mahasabha, Madras".

[6] *Vide* "Speech at Reception by Indian Christians, Madras".

[7] *Vide* "Speech at Y. M. C. A., Madras".

[8] *Vide* "Speech at Reception by Gujaratis of Madras".

APRIL 30, FRIDAY

Reached Mayavaram in morning. Left for Tranquebar in tonga. Stopped at Semnarkoil on the way. Meeting at Tranquebar in the evening.[1] Address from *Panchamas*.[2]

MAY 1, SATURDAY

Went to Ramapuram and Teliyadi in morning. Left for Mayavaram in evening. Address there.[3] There are a thousand handlooms in Mayavaram, manufacturing women's fabrics. Took train to Madras at night. Naiker, Selvan's son, accompanied.

MAY 2, SUNDAY

Reached Madras. Talk with Nate[san] about *Panchamas*. Meeting with students.

MAY 3, MONDAY

Went for dinner at Mr. Shastriar's. Left for Nellore in the evening. Stayed with De[wan] Ba[hadur] Ramchandra Rao there. Accompanied by Naiker and Ada. Mr. C. Srinivas Ayyangar gave Rs. 500/-. Entrusted the amount to Natesan.

MAY 4, TUESDAY

Ada fell ill. He got tired of fruit-diet and ate cooked food. Gave it to Naiker also. Attended Conference. Saw *Prahlad Akhyan* in Telugu.

MAY 5, WEDNESDAY

Attended Conference.[4] Also Social Conference. There was Sanatana Dharma Conference as well.

MAY 6, THURSDAY

Attended both Conferences. Saw swadeshi cloth. Resolution about us.[5] Reply. Address again at night from students. Reply to it.[6]

MAY 7, FRIDAY

Departure in morning. Reached Madras. League meeting.[7] Also, drama on Harishchandra by Suguna Vilas Sabha. Accompanied

[1] *Vide* "Speech at Reception at Tranquebar".
[2] *Vide* "Speech at Reception by Depressed Classes Society, Tranquebar".
[3] *Vide* "Speech at Reception at Mayavaram".
[4] *Vide* "Speech at Nellore".
[5] *Vide* "Speech at Nellore," 5-5-1915.
[6] *Vide* "Speech at Students' Meeting, Nellore".
[7] *Vide* "Statement at Indian South African League Meeting, Madras".

by Sundaram.[1] Left for Bangalore . . . a fraud. Forbade him to join. One student gave Rs. 10. Gokuldas gave a draft for Rs. 1,000/-.

MAY 8, SATURDAY

Reached Bangalore in the morning. Much excitement. Natesan accompanied. Met Surju's wife. Arranged for Rs. 20 to be given to her. Have decided to pay her Rs. 10/- a month for 2½ years. Unveiled Mr. Gokhale's bust in Bangalore.[2] Public meeting.[3] Meeting with Diwan Saheb.

MAY 9, SUNDAY

On the way.

MAY 10, MONDAY

Reached Bombay. Put up in Society. Gave the draft for 1,000/- to Mani. Left Bombay.

MAY 11, TUESDAY

Arrived in Ahmedabad. Ada gave Rs. 50/- towards his fare. It came to Rs. 66-7-0 up to Ahmedabad. Went with Jivanlal to inspect a house. Drew up estimate[4] of expenditure and handed it over to Sheth Mangaldas.

MAY 12, WEDNESDAY

Talk with Sheth Mangaldas. He started a fast to cure his cough.

MAY 13, THURSDAY

Took Rs. 200/- from Sheth and sent to Maganlal. Wired to him to come away. Stayed a day longer at Sheth's request. Meeting with Doctor Madhavlal.

MAY 14, FRIDAY

Left Ahmedabad.

MAY 15, SATURDAY

Came to Rajkot. Meeting with Ranchhodbhai.

MAY 16, SUNDAY

Spent in Rajkot.

[1] V. A. Sundaram, later Secretary to Madan Mohan Malaviya
[2] *Vide* "Speech at Bangalore".
[3] *Vide* "Speech at Civic Reception, Bangalore".
[4] *Vide* "The Ashram: An Estimate of Expenditure".

MAY 17, MONDAY

Sister-in-law, Shamaldas, Gokuldas & Maneklal came. Saw Pandit.

MAY 18, TUESDAY

Shamaldas and Gangabhabhi signed Power of Attorney. Sent a telegram to Maganlal and another to Limbdi.

MAY 19, WEDNESDAY

Reached Limbdi. Shamaldas accompanying, also Santok and the girls.[1] Met Thakore Saheb in the morning. A procession. Had a long discussion with Thakore Saheb in the evening, and also during afternoon, about education, etc.

MAY 20, THURSDAY

Reached Ahmedabad in the morning. Collected our things. Had a pot[2] carried to the new house and performed *vastu*[3].

MAY 21, FRIDAY

Nanalal Kavi[4] and others visited. Had an acute attack of superficial inflammation of the lungs.

MAY 22, SATURDAY

Inflammation has subsided. Went over to the new house. Received telegram that the boys had left. Wired to Kunzru.

MAY 23, SUNDAY

Maganlal and others arrived.

MAY 24, MONDAY

Shamaldas, Shanti, Ranchhod & Kaku left for Rajkot.

MAY 25, TUESDAY

Made some beginning in school routine. Doctor Mahadev Prasad and Bhogilal Kantharia started teaching.

[1] *Vide* "Letter to Narandas Gandhi".

[2] It is the custom, while moving to another house or occupying a newly-built house, to have first a pot filled with water carried to it by an unmarried girl or a married woman whose husband is alive.

[3] A religious ceremony invoking the gods to make their abode in the house

[4] An eminent Gujarati poet (1877-1946); son of Dalpatram, himself a poet, Nanalal was a prolific and versatile writer and distinguished himself as the greatest lyricist of Gujarat.

MAY 26, WEDNESDAY

Received boards, etc., from Jivanlalbhai. Ranchhodbhai and Nanalal turned up. Letter from Natesan, with Rs. 1,000/-. Nanalal gave Rs. 300/-.

MAY 27, THURSDAY

Chhaganlal Master paid a visit. Gave Re. 1/-. Madhavdas came and left his son Vrajlal. Gave Rs. 1,450/- to Nanalal to be deposited with a Sharaf.

MAY 28, FRIDAY

Popatbhai and his adopted sister Gangabehn came. Some household things from Punjabhai arrived. Received a cheque for Rs. 3,000/- from Mr. Natesan.[1] Manilal Kothari called.

MAY 29, SATURDAY, JETH VAD 1

Raichandbhai's pupil, Manasukhbhai came to see. Pain again. Fasted. Narandas's wife came.

MAY 30, SUNDAY

Saw Sheth Mangaldas. Attended Raichandbhai's death anniversary. Popatbhai gave Rs. 100/-, Ranchhodbhai Rs. 10 & Manasukhbhai Re. 1/-. Prof. Ramamurti[2] came.

MAY 31, MONDAY

All went to Ramamurti's show. Maganlal stayed behind to attend on Maganbhai. Vithalrai came. Some household things also. The rest where they are.

JUNE 1, TUESDAY

Maganbhai's fever continues, though reduced. Besides, had been obliged to go to Ramamurti's show. Noticed falsehood among the boys. And so started a fast. Lying admitted. Broke the fast in the evening. Maganlal brought the household things. Received Rs. 25/- from Keshavlalbhai.

JUNE 2, WEDNESDAY

Haribhai came with family.

JUNE 4, FRIDAY

Ranchhodlal, a teacher from Limbdi, came. Received Rs. 100/- from the Queen-mother of Rajkot. News of Kaisar-i-Hind Medal.

[1] *Vide* "Letter to G. A. Natesan".

[2] Physical culturist

JUNE 5, SATURDAY

Went to see Ambalal, Dalpatbhai, Jamiatram Shastri, Bhaishanker, Nanabhai and others. Popatbhai came. Maneklal agreed to keep Rs. 3,000. Maganlal, Maganbhai and Manilal took the vow of truthfulness.

JUNE 6, SUNDAY

Boys from *Vaghari*[1] school came. Attended *kirtan*[2] at Popatbhai's in the morning. He sent mangoes, *puris*, etc., for the boys. Madhavji Shastri and Girjashanker started teaching boys and teachers.

JUNE 7, MONDAY

Visit from Hirji Bhimji Chavda. The Limbdi teacher left yesterday. Maganbhai's wife came back.

JUNE 8, TUESDAY

Amathalal, his wife and son came to see Ashram. Ba's illness, serious.

JUNE 10, THURSDAY

Chavda left. Amathalal got tired and left. Raojibhai came, also Popatlal. Anna & his wife, too. Sundaram & I left for Poona by Mail.

JUNE 11, FRIDAY

Reached Bombay. Accompanied by Kaka. Saw Mr. Petit. Reached Poona. Sundaram accompanying.

[Rs. As. Ps.][3]	
9. 8. 0	Mail fare—for two
0.15. 0	Conveyance to and from Petit
5.10. 6	Fare to Poona
0. 8. 0	Conveyance

JUNE 12, SATURDAY

Mr. Shastriar's speech.

JUNE 13, SUNDAY

I submitted brief report before members. Left Poona.

[1] Name of a socially and economically backward community

[2] Devotional music

[3] The accounts are given in the Diary at the end of the year under the dates (according to the Vikram era) written down in Gandhiji's hand. They are reproduced here under the respective English dates.

[Rs. As. Ps.]	
0. 6. 0	Stamps
2.11. 0	Poona to Bombay
0.11. 0	Tram and tonga
0. 4. 0	Ticket to Colaba
20.11. 6[1]	[Total of entries under June 11 and June 13]
0.14. 0	Fare to Bandra
0. 4. 0	Miscellaneous
21.12. 6[2]	[Grand total]

JUNE 14, MONDAY

Stayed in Ghatkopar. Saw Ratanchandji Sadhu.
Telephone from Mr. Petit. Saw Hajibhai and Devkarandas.

JUNE 15, TUESDAY

Saw Mr. Ratan Tata. Paid condolence visit to Mr. Natarajan at Bandra. Left Bombay. Narandas came along.

JUNE 16, WEDNESDAY

Reached Ahmedabad. Sent estimate with draft letter to Mr. Petit.[3]

JUNE 17, THURSDAY

Maganbhai's father-in-law paid a visit. Vaidya Jatashanker came. Examined Ba.

JUNE 18, FRIDAY

Popatlal left for Limbdi.

JUNE 19, SATURDAY

Narandas left for home.

JUNE 20, SUNDAY

Nothing worth noting.

JUNE 21, MONDAY

Maneklal gave Rs. 10/-.

JUNE 22, TUESDAY

Narmadashanker started teaching. Mangaldas and Popatbhai came over.

[1] This should be 20-9-6.
[2] This should be 21-13-6.
[3] *Vide* "Letter to J. B. Petit".

JUNE 23, WEDNESDAY

Nothing new.

JUNE 24, THURSDAY

Governor's letter. About the medal. Sent him telegram yesterday.

JUNE 25, FRIDAY

Left for Poona to receive the medal. Pandit Madhavji came over to stay in the institution. Nephew of Zaverchand of Dhoraji also came.

[Rs. As. Ps.]	
6. 7. 0	Ahmedabad to Bombay

JUNE 26, SATURDAY

Reached Bombay in the morning. Left for Poona. Met Lallubhai there. Received the medal. Pattani[1] came to leave me at Kirki. Discussed rules and regulations with Shastriar.

[Rs. As. Ps.]	
2. 7. 0	Bombay to Poona
0. 2. 6	Masjid Bunder to Bori Bunder[2]
2. 0. 0	*Vairagya Prakarana, Abhanga* and postage.
11. 0. 6	[Total of June 25 and June 26]
1. 4. 0	Bananas and labour charges
0. 1. 0	Porter at station

JUNE 27, SUNDAY

Reached Bombay. Talk with Station Master at Masjid Bunder. About fare. He apologized on recognizing me. Posted letters : Polak, Shastriar, Pragji, Miss Schlesin, Langdale Smith.

JUNE 28, MONDAY

Back to Ahmedabad. Visit by Phadake.

[Rs. As. Ps.]	
2. 0. 0	Stamp—on account of 'not-paid'

[1] Sir Prabhashanker

[2] This should be under the next date.

JUNE 29, TUESDAY

Bapubhai Dolatrai came to see me.

[Rs. As. Ps.]	
0.11. 0	Porter charges for bedding
0. 0. 6	Miscellaneous
15. 0. 0[1]	[Total of entries under June 25, 26, 28 and 29]
5. 1. 0	Balance
20. 5. 0[2]	Account of Poona journey

JULY 4, SUNDAY

Speech by Mahadevprasad on health. I was in chair.

JULY 5, MONDAY

Amritlal Thakkar came. Maganbhai also. Ramanbhai came to see Ashram.
Harilal, Mulchand and Trambaklal started teaching.

JULY 6, TUESDAY

Narandas came at night.

JULY 7, WEDNESDAY

Swami from Bihar paid a visit. Also Chandramani from Gurukul. Maganlal went to Viramgam & returned. Amritlal Thakkar left. Hathibhai came. Manilal came. He went back.

JULY 9, FRIDAY

Left for Poona. Hathibhai left. Narandas accompanied me.

JULY 10, SATURDAY

Reached Poona. Conference[3] started.

JULY 11, SUNDAY

Saw Mr. Tilak in the morning & in the afternoon.[4] Discussion with Akhandanand and Dayalji about various matters.

JULY 12, MONDAY

Paid a visit to Home for Destitute Students. Left Poona.
Talk with Bhajekar. Bhaishanker came to Ashram.

[1] This should be 15-1-0.

[2] This should be 20-2-0.

[3] Bombay Provincial Conference, Poona; *vide* "Speech at Bombay Provincial Conference, Poona", 11-7-1915.

[4] *Vide* "Letter to B. G. Tilak", 27-7-1915.

JULY 13, TUESDAY

Reached Ahmedabad. Visit of Nagji Swami.

JULY 14, WEDNESDAY

Nagji Swami came over to stay in Ashram. He gave a talk in the morning.

JULY 15, THURSDAY

Nagji Swami left. Went to see Mr. Pratt[1]. Talked about many things. Promised to help.

JULY 16, FRIDAY

Bhaishanker ill at ease because of his addictions.

JULY 17, SATURDAY

Started taking bath before morning prayers. Ba washed Deva's dhoti. Seen doing so. Told a lie. Could not control my anger. Went at her. Vowed to fast for 14 days if she should wash anything of Deva's, even a handkerchief. May God help.
Bhaishanker Oza left because he could not give up his addictions.

JULY 19, MONDAY

Meeting with several gentlemen. Shyamlal came.

JULY 20, TUESDAY

Ratansinh Parmar started coming to help. Revashankerbhai came.

JULY 21, WEDNESDAY

Saw Painter, the Collector. Meeting with Mangaldas Sheth.

JULY 22, THURSDAY

Revashankerbhai left.

JULY 24, SATURDAY

Went to see Vadilal's looms. Mistri started work. Fixed Rs. 40/- for 30 days.

JULY 25, SUNDAY

Went to see Judge Kennedy.

JULY 26, MONDAY

Shyamlal's brother came. Nanalal Kavi and the ladies of his family paid a visit. Manilal started going to Vadilal's looms. Carpenter did not come today.

[1] Commissioner, Northern Division of the then Bombay Presidency

JULY 27, TUESDAY

Carpenter left. Vanamali came. His son is with him.

JULY 28, WEDNESDAY

Mangal joined.

JULY 29, THURSDAY

Krishnaswami Sharma came.

JULY 30, FRIDAY

Vanamali left.

JULY 31, SATURDAY

Maneklal arranged dinner for all.

AUGUST 1, SUNDAY

Panditji asked for salary. Decided to pay him from July to December at the rate of Rs. 20/- p.m. It was arranged that in return he should give 3 hours and Sharadabehn[1] 2½ hours. The ladies went to Punjabhai's. Professor Swaminarayan[2] paid a visit. Mangal disappeared.

AUGUST 2, MONDAY

Jamnadas arrived. Harilal and Trambaklal started living in the Ashram.

AUGUST 3, TUESDAY

Manasukhlal came. Punjabhai and another slept here. Ada fell ill & seemed to have failed in the test. Rallied.

AUGUST 4, WEDNESDAY

Krishnarao came. Manasukhlal took to nature cure.

AUGUST 5, THURSDAY

Jamnadas left for Surat.

AUGUST 6, FRIDAY

Krishnarao left Ashram. Shivaraman came.

AUGUST 7, SATURDAY

Babu *alias* Madhavan came. Jethalal and his brother Purushottam also.

AUGUST 8, SUNDAY

Amarsinh came. Paid a visit to Jivanlalbhai, Motilal Sheth and others. Vikramsinh came with his son.

[1] A social worker, sister of Vidyagauri Nilkanth, *vide* "Speech on Indian Women's University", 23-2-1916.

[2] Professor of Mathematics, Gujarat College, Ahmedabad

AUGUST 9, MONDAY

Amarsinh left. Received Rs. 100/- from Sir Subramaniam. Pandit left for 10 days.

AUGUST 10, TUESDAY

Started Tamil a little more seriously. Gomatibehn decided to give up wearing ornaments.

AUGUST 11, WEDNESDAY

Purushottam ran away. Keshu, Krishna and Navin were inattentive. Placed them and myself under *Pradosha Vrata* for tomorrow.

AUGUST 12, THURSDAY

Manasukhlal bought up Gomatibehn's jewellery for Rs. 250/-.

AUGUST 13, FRIDAY

Mohan Soni came.

AUGUST 14, SATURDAY

Karunashanker Master[1] and others came to see me.

AUGUST 15, SUNDAY

Karunashanker Master and others came to see me.

AUGUST 16, MONDAY

Karimbhai Salwala of Palanpur came.

AUGUST 17, TUESDAY

Mulchand Parmar sent word that he would not be able to come to teach. Ratansinh Parmar asked for pay and, on being refused, he also stopped coming.

AUGUST 18, WEDNESDAY

Took five divisions today. Maganbhai fell ill. Maganlal observed a semi-fast, taking only one meal, for some fault of Parthasarathi's.

AUGUST 19, THURSDAY

Abdul Karim Sheth came. Anna placed himself under vows : *brahmacharya*, truthfulness and abstaining from six articles, also from milk and its products. Read eleventh canto [of the *Bhagavat*] yesterday.

[1] Literally, a teacher; Karunashanker was responsible for introducing Dr. Maria Montessori to Gujarat.

AUGUST 20, FRIDAY

Jamnadas & Parvati came.

AUGUST 21, SATURDAY

Purushottam Patel [and] his brother came. Sundaram admitted his error.

AUGUST 22, SUNDAY

Jamnadas left.

AUGUST 23, MONDAY

Jamna & Purushottam came.

AUGUST 24, TUESDAY

Purushottam [and] brother left for Dharmaj.

AUGUST 25, WEDNESDAY

Ba and other ladies went to Sheth Mangaldas's.

AUGUST 26, THURSDAY

Jamna left.

AUGUST 28, SATURDAY

Carpenter started work. Fixed Rs. 45/- for 30 days.

AUGUST 30, MONDAY

Received letter & draft from Chhaganlal.

AUGUST 31, TUESDAY

Sundaram's temperature not coming down.
Ramdas's weakness also causing anxiety.

SEPTEMBER 4, SATURDAY

Dadabhai *jayanti* [birth anniversary]. Speech in Premabhai Hall. Vrajlal & Hirji Chavda came. Telegram for Krishnaswami about his mother's illness. Anna & Mama left for Baroda.

SEPTEMBER 5, SUNDAY

Krishnaswami left for Madras.

SEPTEMBER 6, MONDAY

Anna & Mama returned.

SEPTEMBER 7, TUESDAY

Trambaklal & Harilal came back.

SEPTEMBER 9, THURSDAY

Amritlal, High Court pleader, came.

SEPTEMBER 10, FRIDAY

Karimbhai returned from Palanpur.

SEPTEMBER 11, SATURDAY

Dudabhai came from Bombay. There was quite a scene. Santok refused to eat, and I, too, therefore. Started a fast because Vrajlal had smoked.

SEPTEMBER 12, SUNDAY

Mr. Pratt and Advani paid a visit. Went to see Bhaichandji. Saw Nagji Swami. Also Sir Chinubhai[1]. Feel the strain of the fast.

SEPTEMBER 15, WEDNESDAY

Dudabhai went to bring his wife. Harilal came. Attended party at Commissioner's.

SEPTEMBER 16, THURSDAY

Chanchi & Nanubhai came. Pandit left. Also Navin.

SEPTEMBER 17, FRIDAY

Received Re. 1/- from Shaan & Rs. 7 from Rangoon. Davis and Ambalal Sheth came.

SEPTEMBER 18, SATURDAY

Nichhabhai came.

SEPTEMBER 19, SUNDAY

Left Ahmedabad to receive Andrews. Harilal accompanied. Nanabhai left.

SEPTEMBER 20, MONDAY

Andrews & Pearson arrived. Meeting of Committee. I was asked to preside. All went to see *Dheds'* houses. All three left for Ahmedabad.

SEPTEMBER 21, TUESDAY

Reached Ahmedabad. Leaders had come. At home, found sister, etc. There was a good meeting. The two friends left at night. Chunilal came.

[1] A leading citizen of Ahmedabad and a philanthropist

SEPTEMBER 22, WEDNESDAY

Chunilal and Dayalji left.

SEPTEMBER 24, FRIDAY

Maganlal and Santok & the girls left for Bombay.

SEPTEMBER 26, SUNDAY

Dudabhai and his wife came.

SEPTEMBER 27, MONDAY

Kaka, Gunaji and a student came. Vrajlal left for Rajkot. Maneklal came for two or three hours.

SEPTEMBER 28, TUESDAY

Deshpande came. Left in the evening. Gunaji also. Shivaraman left.

SEPTEMBER 29, WEDNESDAY

Left for Bombay. Devbhabhi and Jamnadas with me during the journey. Long talk with Devbhabhi.

SEPTEMBER 30, THURSDAY

Reached Bombay. Talk with Narandas on various matters. Went to Natarajan's. Had a long talk with him. Fruits at Naranji's. Examined Harakhchand's health. Meeting of Committee. Left the matter of Valiamma Hall to Mr. Tata. Left Bombay.

OCTOBER 1, FRIDAY

Returned to Ahmedabad. Professor Valji came over to stay.

OCTOBER 3, SUNDAY

Joitaram left. Maganlal & Santok returned.

OCTOBER 4, MONDAY

Prakashanand came. Mistri (carpenter) started coming.

OCTOBER 5, TUESDAY

Devbhabhi came. Accompanied by Jamnadas. A meeting about famine, with Collector in the chair. I attended. Resolutions.

OCTOBER 6, WEDNESDAY

Devbhabhi & Jamnadas left.

OCTOBER 7, THURSDAY

Valji gave Rs. 15. Sent a cheque for Rs. 1,500/- to Mr. Petit.

OCTOBER 8, FRIDAY

Dahyabhai gave Rs. 8/-. Got excited again and lost temper with Ba. I must find a medicine for this grave defect.

OCTOBER 9, SATURDAY ASO SUD 1

Vrajlal ran away. Joitaram came. He won't be able to stay.

OCTOBER 10, SUNDAY

Went to Sojitra. Saw the Boarding House there. Saw loom and other things, also the one at Petlad. Met Kavi's brother on the way. He came to the Ashram with Mulchand Parmar.

OCTOBER 11, MONDAY

Harakhchand came. Jekibehn[1] says she does not want to stay in the Ashram. Joitaram and Parmar left.

OCTOBER 12, TUESDAY

Manilal & Karimbhai left for Palanpur. Also Harakhchand left.

OCTOBER 17, SUNDAY

Madgaonker came. Santok left for Rajkot. Vrajlal's brother Chhotalal stayed here today.

OCTOBER 19, TUESDAY

Dayalji & his students came from Surat. Manilal returned from Palanpur. The boys went to Sarkhej.

OCTOBER 23, SATURDAY

Vrajlal came.

OCTOBER 24, SUNDAY

Dayalji & his students left.

OCTOBER 25, MONDAY

Revashanker came.

OCTOBER 26, TUESDAY

Vithalji Dave and his sons came.

OCTOBER 27, WEDNESDAY

Maganlal, Santok, Radha, Rukhi, Vrajlal, Fakiri and I left for Bombay by the 5.30 p.m. train.

OCTOBER 28, THURSDAY

Maganlal and others left for Madras. Speech in Empire.[2]

[1] Daughter of Dr. P. J. Mehta

[2] *Vide* "Speech on Indentured Indian Labour at Bombay".

OCTOBER 29, FRIDAY

Returned to Ahmedabad. Jagjivandas Mehta and a Kapol boy came last evening. Left the same night.

OCTOBER 30, SATURDAY

Dayalji, his mother and his friends came. A student from Baroda, named Pandurang, expressed keen desire to join Ashram. Stayed overnight.

OCTOBER 31, SUNDAY

Pandurang left, saying he would return after seeing his people. Jamnalal [Bajaj] from Wardha and Doctor Benjamin paid a visit.

NOVEMBER 1, MONDAY

Dayalji left in the morning.

NOVEMBER 2, TUESDAY

Amritlal Thakkar came at night. Finished one chapter of Doke's book.

NOVEMBER 3, WEDNESDAY

Kanbi Naranji came in the morning.

NOVEMBER 4, THURSDAY

Mr. Painter came to see. Sharadabehn[1] had been to see Ashram.

NOVEMBER 5, FRIDAY

Amritlal Thakkar came.

NOVEMBER 6, SATURDAY

Amritlal left. Indulal Yagnik[1] came.

NOVEMBER 7, SUNDAY

Indulal left. Bapuji came with his two grandsons Bechar & Chatur.

NOVEMBER 8, MONDAY

Boys of *Vaghari* School, more than 125, came on a visit. Offered them fruits. Maneklal & Punjabhai each gave Rs. 5/-

NOVEMBER 9, TUESDAY

Valji returned.

[1] An active political worker. Gandhiji later took over *Navajivan* from him.

NOVEMBER 10, WEDNESDAY

Vrajlal Vora came.

NOVEMBER 11, THURSDAY

Doctor Deva came. Vrajlal left for Bombay.

NOVEMBER 13, SATURDAY

Sheth Ismail Moosa & a friend of his came. Arranged a function today to enable [friends] to meet Doctor Deva. Prof. Anandshanker[1] and others came.

NOVEMBER 14, SUNDAY

Naranji left. Attended a meeting about Sir Pherozeshah.[2]

NOVEMBER 15, MONDAY

Ismail Sheth and his friend left. A meeting of Gujarat Sabha at Govindrao Patil's. Rules and regulations drafted.

NOVEMBER 16, TUESDAY

Felt burning sensation when passing urine.

NOVEMBER 17, WEDNESDAY

Trouble more acute.
Naiker's mother & his brother came.

NOVEMBER 18, THURSDAY

Did not eat in the morning. Passing much blood.

NOVEMBER 19, FRIDAY

Pain continues.

NOVEMBER 21, SUNDAY

Raichand *jayanti*.[3] Less pain. Naiker & his mother left.

NOVEMBER 22, MONDAY

Another meeting about *jayanti* in the Ashram.

NOVEMBER 23, TUESDAY

Doctor came. Makkhanlal Gupta came.

[1] Prof. Anandshanker Bapubhai Dhruva, Sanskrit scholar and man of letters; Vice-Chancellor, Benares Hindu University (1920-37)

[2] This should be under November 15, *vide* "Speech at Pherozeshah Mehta Condolence Meeting at Ahmedabad".

[3] *Vide* "Speech at Rajchandra Birth Anniversary, Ahmedabad".

NOVEMBER 24, WEDNESDAY

Mama left for Rajkot & other places.

NOVEMBER 25, THURSDAY

Doctor left for Rajkot. Valji came from Rajkot.

NOVEMBER 26, FRIDAY

Chandulal of Patidar Boarding spent a day.

NOVEMBER 30, TUESDAY

Mr. Devle[1], Chintaman Sakharam came.

DECEMBER 1, WEDNESDAY

Left Ahmedabad with Devle to go to Rajkot. Ba got ready at the last moment and came along. Punjabhai came as far as Wadhwan. Met the people of Wadhwan and Viramgam.[2] Called on Gokibehn at Rajkot. Joined by Gopalji at Wadhwan.

DECEMBER 2, THURSDAY

Spent in Rajkot. Saw Pandit. Approached Vithalraibhai for contribution. He set down Rs. 20/-

DECEMBER 3, FRIDAY

Went to Wankaner. Ba & Jamnadas accompanied. Saw looms. A function. A procession earlier. Received Rs. 825/- at the gathering. Returned to Rajkot, having left Wankaner in the evening.

DECEMBER 4, SATURDAY

Reached Gondal. Jamnadas, Khanderia and Purushottamdas accompanying. Saw Thakore Saheb. A function.[3] Popatbhai came from Rajkot.

DECEMBER 10, FRIDAY

Left Bhavnagar. Reached Amreli. Public function. Asked Harilalbhai to auction caskets received with addresses.

DECEMBER 11, SATURDAY

Saw the jail, boarding houses, schools, etc., at Amreli.

[1] Member, Servants of India Society; *vide* "Speech at Viramgam", 1-12-1915.

[2] *Vide* "Speech at Viramgam".

[3] *Vide* "Speech at Gondal on Gokhale",

DECEMBER 12, SUNDAY

Arrived in Hadala. Went to Bagasra. A function there.[1]

DECEMBER 13, MONDAY

Came to Limbdi. Jamnadas parted company at Hadala. Called on Nanchandji Maharaj.

DECEMBER 14, TUESDAY

Reached Wadhwan. Left Limbdi. Function there, with Thakore Saheb as Chairman.

DECEMBER 15, WEDNESDAY

Function in Wadhwan. Reception in [Wadhwan] Camp. Left for Dhrangadhra.
Arrived there. Function in High School. Raja Saheb in the chair.

DECEMBER 16, THURSDAY

Reached Viramgam. Left Dhrangadhra. Address by *Modh* community. Meeting in Viramgam. Doctor came to see in Viramgam. Ada parted company and went to Bombay. Devchandbhai left. Reached Ahmedabad in the evening.

DECEMBER 17, FRIDAY

Devle & Gopalji left.

DECEMBER 18, SATURDAY

Asked Bapuji to leave Ashram.

DECEMBER 19, SUNDAY

Doctor and I dined at Popatlal's. Observed that he & Punjabhai were not on good terms.

DECEMBER 20, MONDAY

Devchandbhai, A . . . bhai, Paramananddas, Chandulal & others came. Left for Bombay along with the students.

From the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: G.N. 8221. Courtesy: Gandhi Smarak Nidhi

[1] *Vide* "Speech at Bagasra on Viramgam Customs Cordon".

149. SPEECH AT SALEJ[1]

January 1, 1916

I do not deserve the honour you are giving me, because, being a barrister, I am expected to be a man of understanding. Honour is due to those who, though illiterate, do their work, full of faith. We should honour men who have faith.

[From Gujarati]

Gujarat Mitra ane Gujarat Darpan, 9-1-1916

150. SPEECH AT SURAT[2]

January 2, 1916

Please take it that the opening ceremony which I was invited to perform has been performed this very moment. May the inmates of the temple imbibe its beauty. I hope those who come to worship here and the members and admirers of the Arya Samaj[3], will acquire a fragrance that will endure even after this temple has come down some day. May it prosper and may its prosperity in turn ensure that of the devotees visiting it.

[From Gujarati]

Gujarat Mitra ane Gujarat Darpan, 9-1-1916

151. SPEECH AT ARYA SAMAJ ANNUAL CELEBRATIONS, SURAT

January 2, 1916

You have laid me under a heavy debt by inviting me to attend this function and declare open the Arya Samaj temple and I am thankful likewise to the Samaj and to the people of Surat for asking me to preside over this celebration. Let me tell you at the outset that I am not an Aryasamajist, as members of the

[1] In reply to an address by the people of Salej, in Gujarat, the native place of Pragji Desai, who had worked with Gandhiji in South Africa

[2] While declaring open the Arya Samaj temple

[3] A socio-religious movement for reform of Hinduism, started by Swami Dayanand Saraswati (1824-83); *vide* the following item.

Samaj, and others as well, know. At the same time, I ought to say that I bear no ill-will to the Samaj either. I am not a member of this body just as I am not a member of any other body. There are numerous other bodies like the Arya Samaj in India and they all do their best by way of service, but I have especial respect for the Samaj. I have developed good relations with Munshiramji of the Gurukul at Hardwar. My sons and other friends of mine had occasion to stay in that Gurukul[1] and it is not easy to forget the love which prompted all that was done for them. The whole of India knows its work as much as I do. Swami Dayanand, the adored founder of the Samaj, was a rare man and I must acknowledge that I have come under his influence. I have had occasion to talk about the Arya Samaj at many places. In my opinion, the Samaj could do very useful work if some change was brought about in it. What needs to be changed is this,—that some of the spokesmen of the Samaj seem to be only too ready to enter into violent controversy to gain their end. They could, however, achieve their purpose without recourse to controversy. I discussed this matter in Hardwar and mention it again here today. The service that the Arya Samaj renders is not different from that of the Hindu religion. If one examines different bodies like the Brahmo Samaj[2], the Sikh Samaj, etc., one sees that all of them express the truths of the Hindu religion. Only the names differ. Just as individual persons are mentioned by name for the purpose of a census, so are the various sects listed with some public good in view. If you examine the basic principles of all the sects, they will be found to differ in no way from those of the Hindu religion. The trend of the discussions at present going on shows unmistakably that a time will certainly come when all the sects of Hindus will be included under the single term "Hinduism". There are different religious groups in India like Hindus, Parsis, Muslims and so on, but for purposes of national work they all get united. This will show that the spirit of religion is active in all. Let it be remembered that without this spirit, no great task was ever ventured upon or ever will be. I shall now make a few observations which I feel like making on this occasion. They will serve my own purpose and will also help me to discharge my duty. I have been given half an hour now and one hour in the evening, a total

[1] The Phoenix party had stayed at Gurukul for some time and, in 1915 at the Kumbha Mela at Hardwar, it assisted the Volunteer Corps of the Servants of India Society. Later, Gandhiji also joined the party.

[2] A socio-religious reform movement started by Raja Ram Mohan Roy

Replying to some observations of the speakers who followed him, Gandhiji said:

It is not enough that today, acting upon a hint from me, you did not indulge in long speeches to make things easy for me. It will make me happier to know that you will never do so. Pandit Ramchandraji put me an important question in the course of his speech. He asked me to say how the work of the Arya Samaj could be made more useful and popular. It is not only here that the question has come up. It was also discussed when I was at Hardwar. I have no time just now to answer it. I shall argue with Panditshri about it if he visits me at Ahmedabad. It will also be necessary to take into account the views of those who have different ideas on the subject. I was asked by my guru, the late Mr. Gokhale, not to get involved in such controversies and hence I avoid them. This is not a controversy, however, with people not one's own. I look upon members of this Samaj as my friends and I owe it to them to offer my advice. I have been tested on the anvil and have stood the test; it is my duty, therefore, to share my experience with my friends. We must strive every day for India's progress.[1]

In reply to one Balkrishna who argued against Gandhiji's advice to refrain from controversies, he said:

Following the advice of my guru, Mr. Gokhale, I do not enter into argument with anyone. With the new year, I must remind myself of this and, since the issue has come up, I shall say that it is a very delicate one and the question cannot therefore be answered without some discussion. I am not partial to anyone. If I feel that I can serve India better by becoming a member of the Samaj, I will become one and when I feel that way, I shall immediately say so in public. At the moment, I cannot give any reply to Mr. Balkrishna. However, if he comes to Ahmedabad any time, I shall discuss the matter with him and satisfy him.[2]

[From Gujarati]

Gujarat Mitra ane Gujarat Darpan, 9-1-1916 and *Gujarati*, 9-1-1916

[1] From *Gujarat Mitra ane Gujarat Darpan*

[2] From *Gujarati*

152. SPEECH AT SURAT ON PLACE OF ENGLISH[1]

January 3, 1916

It is very surprising that students who deliver speeches in English do not see whether or not the audience can follow what they say. Nor do they consider whether those who understand English will feel interested or bored by their broken, incorrect English. It is a sad state of affairs that growing young people turn away from their own mother tongue and become such devoted lovers of a foreign language. Those who argue that a new era has come to prevail in our country through foreign contacts, how much do they care to explain their new ideas to the people around them? They ought to consider whether the new era will draw closer or recede farther by their prating in a language which their parents do not know, which their brothers and sisters do not know, and their servants, wives, children and kinsfolk cannot follow. There are some who think that English is our national language and that sooner or later it will be the language of all the people of the country, but this does not seem correct to me. If we take a handful of persons who have received English education to be the nation, it must be said that we do not understand the meaning of the word "nation". I am sure it can never happen that 300 million people will pick up English, so that it becomes our national language. Those who have been fortunate enough to acquire new knowledge and new ideas must explain their ideas to their friends, kinsfolk and fellow-countrymen. To those young men who argue that they cannot express their ideas in their own language, I can only say that they are a burden to the motherland. It does not become any son worthy of the name to slight his mother tongue, to turn away his face from it, instead of removing what imperfections it may have. If we of the present generation neglect the mother tongue, future generations will have occasion to feel sorry for us. We shall never cease being reproached by them. I hope that all the students present here will take a vow that they will not use English at home unless it is absolutely necessary to do so.

Parents also should be on their guard against being carried away by the tide of the modern age. We do want the English language, but we do not want it to destroy our own language.

[1] On the occasion of the opening of the Jain Students' Library

Our society will be reformed only through our own language. We can ensure simplicity and dignity in communication only through our own language. Students, and their parents as well, should all aspire for a high level of proficiency in their own tongue. If this library opened by me helps to weaken rather than nourish our language, I cannot help feeling sorry when I hear of the fact.

[From Gujarati]

Gujarati, 16-1-1916

153. SPEECH AT YOUTH ASSOCIATION, SURAT[1]

January 3, 1916

What can the heart speak when it is attuned to other hearts? I was told by many even in South Africa that, when I returned to India, others might or might not help me, but that there was a Patidar[2] Youth Association which would be only too ready to help me in my work. It was my wish all along to come here and visit this institution at the first available opportunity after returning to India and that makes me all the more delighted. How far this Association helps me will be seen when the time comes, but it certainly has men of character.

[From Gujarati]

Gujarati, 9-1-1916

154. SPEECH AT ARYA SAMAJ FUNCTION, SURAT[3]

January 3, 1916

SISTERS AND BROTHERS,

I should have been here at two but I could not; kindly forgive me for that. I find myself in difficulties wherever I go. I have one or two days at my disposal and too many people to meet and too many places to see, with the result that I cannot always manage to be punctual. Nor can I deny myself to anyone. Yesterday, a subject was suggested to me for a speech, but I did not like to speak on it. It has again been suggested today. I shall, therefore,

[1] In reply to an address from the Surat District Patidar Youth Association

[2] Landlord

[3] On the second day of the celebration

as desired, place before you what few ideas I can. We find everyone in India in a state of fear, so much so that a father and a son dare not speak frankly to each other. The reason for this, you will find, is that it has become difficult to speak the truth. One is always in doubt whether one's words will please the other person or not. So long as this is our condition, we shall never be able to speak the truth. While this state of fear continues, we shall always remain backward and shall always be dogged by misery. From the prevalent atmosphere, it seems that the people are eager for something to be done. What is that something? Allow me to point out that we shall have to suffer whatever work we take up. In taking up any work, we must first decide on the course we want to follow and then go ahead fearlessly. We are afraid at the sight of a policeman. We feel afraid if it is but a station-master. Why this fear? It is there because we are afraid of speaking the truth. Though they are men in authority, they are in a way our servants, since their services are paid for from public revenues. Why, then, should we be afraid of those whom we have ourselves appointed? Only when people become fearless will they wipe out this charge of timidity. I would say that fear springs in a man from within, that no one puts the fear into him. If you stand by the side of a wild animal, like a tiger, utterly fearless, he will play with you; if you try to run away, he will kill you. If, for example, you run because of the barking of a dog, he will run after you, but he will play with you if you face him fearlessly. Government officers are in fact our servants. We should entertain no fear of them, though we should not behave rudely to them either. There must be courtesy even in dealing with servants. We should follow truth, and be fearless in doing so. A coward is himself afraid and fills others with fear. Such is the condition of affairs in families and communities. Where, then, shall we voice the demand for reform? Everyone who desires reform in his community only talks about the matter before others, saying : "Oh yes! There is need for such a reform, certainly. But you know what our community is like! The members would raise a storm." To be afraid in this way and do nothing is no credit to one's manliness. The other members of the community would not feel for our daughter as we do. I know the way caste affairs are managed; everywhere there is the same story. Parents remain in great fear for their daughters. Any reform that is necessary in this matter must be carried out. If that is not done, to what end do bodies like the Arya Samaj exist? The poet Akha has said : "Live as you will, Realize God anyhow, anyway."

We are to seek Hari[1] through these activities. We cannot attain Him till we have realized the self. This country is ever in the forefront with words, but hindmost in action. This charge against our country must go, however. It was my experience in South Africa that people spoke with a profuse flow of words at meetings, declared themselves ready in their speeches even for imprisonment, but, when the testing time came, they made themselves scarce. A man is one person when speaking and another when the time for action comes. Then, fear takes possession of his heart. Till you have driven out that fear, you will make no progress, material or spiritual. People in India will know real life only when they have shed all fear. The country has a population of three hundred million. Even if only a few of these come forward, they will give a lead to the rest. One good coin is of greater worth than millions of bad ones. With these words, I beg leave to resume my seat. I should tell you that I have yet another appointment elsewhere. Kindly give me leave, therefore, and go on with the rest of the programme.

[From Gujarati]

Gujarat Mitra ane Gujarat Darpan, 9-1-1916

155. *SPEECH AT SURAT RECEPTION*[2]

January 3, 1916

SISTERS AND BROTHERS,

I have grown weary listening to my praises on this occasion and I am sure you too are tired, as it has grown so late, and you must be disinclined to hear a long speech. That you all shout 'no' means nothing in particular; I know it only signifies our good manners in India. I thank you very much indeed for the sentiments you have expressed about my wife. The reason, as far as I know, for all that is being said about me and my wife is that the sentiments the high-souled Shri Gokhale expressed about us here[3], in India, are still echoing. We, husband and wife, were not the only ones in South Africa to have gone to gaol; there were many others. A young girl of 17, fresh from *Vanitavishram*[4], went to gaol, and her

[1] Vishnu

[2] Under the auspices of the District Bar Association

[3] While Gandhiji was in South Africa

[4] A girls' school

husband too. While in gaol, he died of an illness. It has become a custom in India to show respect to anyone who happens to be present. India needs to wake up; without an awakening, there can be no progress. To bring it about in the country, one must place some programme before it. The question then is: how to bring about awakening and spread understanding in the country. I had a key with me for this purpose; it was this : I first learnt the language of the people through whom I had to work and I told them, in their own language, of the situation in which I found myself, seeking from them the line of action which would best meet the needs of that situation. It was entirely because of this approach that they could appreciate the situation as I saw it and they came to my help. Then, again, once on coming out of gaol I received a letter, telling me that the leaders had left and asking me what I could do by myself. But lo! 20,000 men were afire without there being anyone to lead them—such is the experience I have had. What did it matter if all had left? If, therefore, you desire to work for the good of India, give primary education to its three hundred million people, not the kind of education that goes by that name at present but such education as will impart to them the knowledge that is required in these times. Teach them why it is that India is growing more and more abject. The poor and the illiterate should know that this is happening because they are being deprived of everything. In consequence of this abject attitude, men are in a constant state of fear and are afraid of anyone in authority, even a policeman. There is so much of fear in India today that a father and a son distrust each other and cannot exchange ideas. We should, therefore, spread the right kind of knowledge in order that we might end this state of affairs. I came by such knowledge in 1896 in a *mantra*[1] I learnt from the late Mr. Gokhale. Surat is a city of heroes. Blessed by the poet Narmad[2], it enjoys immortal fame. It has suffered frequently from the ravages of fire and flood but it continues on its even course, fair to all. From the very same city of Surat came Ahmad Mahomed[3] and Sorabji Shapurji[4], who carried on a brave fight in South Africa and were imprisoned

[1] Phrase with magical efficacy, accompanying rituals; here, an effective rule of conduct

[2] The first poet of the New Age in Gujarat

[3] Cachalia

[4] Adajania; Parsi public worker and passive resister who suffered imprisonment and deportation during the satyagraha campaign in South Africa; *vide* Vol. XI, p. 7 *fn.*

again and again but did not lose heart in the least. Such are the heroes who belong to Surat and I have great respect for this town. When I returned to India, I wanted that my first visit should be to Surat but unforeseen circumstances prevented this. I am extremely grateful to the people of this city for the affection they have showered on me today. I hope that you will continue to give me the same love and help me whenever I need your services. I don't propose to spend away what I have saved from my earnings, for I am a *bania*. I shall use the amount in the service of the place where I earned it. I don't ask for any money from you for my own purpose. But I only hope that anything that I may ask for a public cause, you will be generous enough to give. What I want from you is some contribution to the Memorial Fund for the late Mr. Gokhale. I have been able to collect thirteen to fourteen thousand from towns in Kathiawar and I hope I shall get a good sum from a city like Surat. I have heard that Surat has done nothing in this matter. I called today on Mr. Adwani, the District Judge, and mentioned the matter to him. He told me that nothing had been done about it, but that he would be happy if something was done, that he encouraged such an effort and would agree to put down Rs. 50/- as his contribution. You know how very important this project is. It is necessary to preserve Mr. Gokhale's legacy. And so let everyone, from the highest to the lowest, give anything he thinks fit. It has been said of Surat that it is slow to be roused but that, when need arises, it wakes up and does what no other city will be able to do. Once again, I thank the people of Surat for the great love they have shown me and beg leave to resume my seat.

[From Gujarati]

Gujarat Mitra ane Gujarat Darpan, 9-1-1916

156. SPEECH AT MAHOMEDAN ASSOCIATION, SURAT[1]

January 3, 1916

This gathering reminds me of South Africa, where the Hindus, Parsis and Muslims had become one. I find here in Surat the same bond of brotherhood between Hindus and Muslims which I have found wherever I have moved in India. From among my old friends in South Africa whom I have met here, Abdul Kadir Bawazeer shared much suffering with me. If I were to speak about that, I would take long and I don't have all that time. I shall, therefore, tell you in brief that I returned to India with the desire to render equal service to both the communities, Hindus and Muslims. We shall accomplish the tasks that face us in India only when my Hindu, Muslim and Parsi brethren feel that they are all one. It would be best if the community that happened to be in the majority [at any place] realized that it was for that community to see that there were no quarrels. The leaders of each community should regard themselves as belonging to both communities and lead any movement accordingly. With the growth of brotherly relations between these two communities, you will have better zeal for work. In South Africa, Hindus and Muslims live as brothers. In a right cause, a community can win even if it fights single-handed. It is the same God, service to whom ensures our salvation; if, then, our two communities live in harmony, we shall have all that we want dropping into our hands, so to say. To ensure this, we must behave with no fear in our hearts, and with a mind that is ever the same. Finally, I thank you for the kind things you have said in your address and in the speeches and pray to God that I may make no distinction of Hindu and Muslim and may ever serve both. May you also pray likewise.

[From Gujarati]

Gujarat Mitra ane Gujarat Darpan, 9-1-1916

[1] In repliy to an address by Saiyadpura Mahomedan Association and Islamia Library

157. SPEECH AT KATHOR[1]

January 4, 1916

The places of birth of satyagrahis are for me places of pilgrimage, and so I am here on a pilgrimage. It would be greatly for India's good if our people were like the late Mr. Hoosen Dawad[2]. You can achieve much if you follow his example. When in Surat, I called on Mr. Hudson, the Collector. On my requesting him to be of help to the Indians going to South Africa, he asked me how he could help those who wanted to secure false certificates on the basis of incorrect statements. I would advise you, therefore, not to follow such practices. Going to South Africa is likely to bring you no great profit. We should rather strive to earn honestly whatever we can here in India. I shall value the honour you are now doing me only if I find when I visit this place again that you have followed my advice.

In conclusion, Gandhiji exhorted the Hindus and the Muslims to work unitedly.

[From Gujarati]

Gujarat Mitra ane Gujarat Darpan, 9-1-1916

158. SPEECH AT MOTA VARACHHA[3]

January 4, 1916

I have come here to see an old friend of mine. Hindus and Muslims should become united; that is the desire I have expressed at every place. I hope both these communities will help me. When I started from Kathor in a small bullock-cart, I was in a hurry and as I wished, for the sake of my personal convenience, to reach here early, I did not mind when bullocks were struck with a goad. Hinduism, however, teaches us that we should not hurt cows and bullocks. The sacred book of Islam stresses the

[1] Small town near Surat in Gujarat, native place of Dawad Mahomed, President of Natal Indian Congress

[2] Son of Dawad Mahomed, whom Gandhiji held in great regard. (*vide* Vol. XII, pp. 222-4) When on his death-bed, he had expressed a wish that Gandhiji should visit Kathor some time.

[3] A village near Surat in Gujarat

importance of compassion. I felt that it was cruel to strike bullocks with a goad. In England, this is a punishable offence, but here no action is taken in the matter. The scriptures of both the religions lay down that we should not inflict cruelty on even the meanest of creatures. I also will have to answer for this in the court of the Almighty. When I come here again, it will make me happy to see that the sticks are no longer spiked. If I do not find that you have done so, I shall prefer going on foot rather than in the bullock-cart. We should not strike animals which happen to be weak. Let us remember that if any person strikes us, we abuse him. Finally, I thank you for the kindness shown to me.

[From Gujarati]

Gujarat Mitra ane Gujarat Darpan, 9-1-1916

159. SPEECH AT NAVSARI

January 5, 1916

Gentlemen, I am sorry I could not be here before you yesterday and you had all, therefore, to go back disappointed.[1] We, satyagrahis, can have our way in everything on which we set our heart, but in the face of an accident we are helpless. I am grateful to you all for your being so full of love and respect for me. The credit for the work done by me in South Africa should go to Fakira Koli[2] and others who helped me. What I did there was to explain clearly to my countrymen the new laws enacted there and get them amended through satyagraha. My efforts were for the most part successful. I could guide the people there along the right path. In India, I find things are different. Here, if I asked people to go through some suffering, they would turn their back in fear. I pray to God to give me strength that I might do some little service to my country and my countrymen. Navsari[3] owes much to its Parsi population. I congratulate this small community, which plays a leading part in every field. Relatively to other [Indian] communities in South Africa, this community is so small that its members are as the little stones found in a heap of wheat. Even so, the Parsis played their part very bravely, and

[1] As the newspaper report says, the cart carrying him had been overturned and he had missed the train in consequence.

[2] He was with Gandhiji for a number of years.

[3] A place on coastal Gujarat

Parsee Rustomjee especially deserves great honour.[1] I express my thanks to you all for the great honour the members of the Koli community and other gentlemen have done me.

Refusing the silver casket presented along with the address, Gandhiji said:

I do not keep with me such valuable articles. I want to put it to sale and use the proceeds for some good work.[2]

[From Gujarati]

Gujarat Mitra ane Gujarat Darpan, 9-1-1916

160. LETTER TO V. S. SRINIVASA SASTRI

AHMEDABAD,
January 13, 1916

DEAR MR SHASTRIAR,

You have anticipated me. I had told Dr. Deva that I would place my conclusions before you, if possible, during the Congress week. I was unable to do so. Now, however, that the members have already begun to consider the question, perhaps it is unnecessary for me to set forth my conclusions. The members are coming to a just decision in not having me as a member. Whilst there is possibility of co-operation when we are working independently, I can see that I would, as a member, become a disturbing factor. The methods of the Society as such are so totally different from mine in many respects. Our common discipleship would constitute an indissoluble bond though we would be following out Mr. Gokhale's work from different view-points.[3]

I am,
Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

Letters of the Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri

[1] The *Times of India* report adds here: "He (Gandhiji) declared himself highly satisfied with the work of the Daboo Parsi General Hospital and appealed to the Parsi community to help handsomely this institution."

[2] The casket, auctioned on the spot, was bought on behalf of the community for Rs. 145.

[3] Gandhiji writes in *The Story of My Experiments with Truth*: "I saw clearly that, when there was such a sharp division amongst the members of the Society over admitting me, by far the best course for me was to withdraw my application for admission and save those opposed to me from a delicate situation. Therein I thought lay my loyalty to the Society and Gokhale. . . .The withdrawal of my application made me truly a member of the Society." Part V, Ch. VI.

161. *LETTER TO SONJA SCHLESIN*[1]

AHMEDABAD,
January 16, 1916

MY DEAR DAUGHTER,

You have at last favoured me with a letter. Even six letters in a year you do not call a brilliant performance. Do you? However I must be content with what you may give me.

You might at least have given me the credit for uttering no such nonsense as Mrs. Besant's correspondent attributed to me. Natarajan[2] apologised for reproducing the calumny. What I did say bore a totally different construction. I made use of a Gujarati proverb in defence of my proposition that man continually did an injustice to woman by using her for his lusts.

I have taken such vow as you attribute to me about anger. And if I had, I agree with you that it would lose all point by being disclosed.

I quite agree with you that Polak has done more during the past 18 months than what he did even in India. I would certainly feel delighted if Thambi[3] came. But it is not a nice thing to pay his debts out of the passive resistance funds.

Jeki[4] is with her father quite settled down to the humdrum life of the home.

From a photostat of the draft in Gandhiji's hand: S.N. 6262

162. *SPEECH AT BAVLA*[5]

January 17, 1916

I had no idea whatsoever that you had planned to present an address to me on the last day of the celebrations. I have never received from anywhere else as much money as has been presented

[1] A Jewish girl, steno-typist and Private Secretary to Gandhiji for many years; made herself useful to *Indian Opinion*; was ardently interested in the Indian cause

[2] Kamakshi Natarajan, Editor of *Indian Social Reformer*, Bombay

[3] Naidoo, a leading passive resister during the South African struggle

[4] Jayakunvar, daughter of Dr. Pranjivan Mehta

[5] In reply to an address presented to Gandhiji on the third day of the celebrations arranged by Janahitartha Karyalaya

to me here at Bavla[1]. Hereafter, I shall have occasions to accept such funds and they will always be rightly used. I have so far done no work in this country and yet the affection showered on me is beyond measure. Serving the motherland is not possible as long as one's heart is not purified. Even those who fight with weapons are required to give up their attachment to life. Similarly, if we have some disease, we have to sacrifice our bodies for the sake of our souls.

After stressing the need for rousing the spirit of national service, Gandhiji concluded by saying:

I have no almirah in which to keep things like this casket, etc., and so I shall use the amount that will be realized from its sale for the purposes of the Ashram. It would be more convenient if people gave me money rather than such articles.

[From Gujarati]
Prajabandhu, 23-1-1916

163. MESSAGE OF GOKHALE'S LIFE[2]

[Before *February 4, 1916*]

All that you do, and all you enjoy,
What you offer in sacrifice, what you give in charity,
All austerities that you go through,
Render up everything to me.[3]
When, smiling and playing my way through life,
I see Hari revealed to me, a visible presence,
Then shall I consider my life
To have attained its true end.
Muktanand's[4] Lord, who sports with us,
O Odha[5] ! He is the thread of our lives.

The counsel Shri Krishna addressed to Arjuna was, as it were, addressed by Lady India to Mahatma Gokhale and taken to heart by the latter, such was the manner of life of this great, departed soul. It is a fact known to everyone that all his activities, all his

[1] A small town in Ahmedabad district

[2] The article was originally published in *Bhagini Samaj Patrika*. *Vide* also the following item.

[3] *Bhagavad Gita*, IX, 27

[4] A Gujarati poet

[5] A friend of Shri Krishna. The lines are spoken by the *gopis*.

joys and the sacrifices he made, all the suffering he went through, were dedicated to Mother India.

The state of Odhava's mind[1] with regard to Shri Krishna, as depicted by Muktanand, was that of the late Gokhale with regard to India.

What is the message of a life such as this? The Mahatma did not leave even this unsaid. When dying, he sent for the members of the Servants of India Society who were then present and told them: "Do not occupy yourselves with writing my biography or spend your time in putting up my statues. If you are true servants of India, dedicate your lives to the fulfilment of our aims, to the service of India." We know, too, what he felt in his heart about the meaning of that service. The Congress should of course be kept alive, the true condition of the country should be placed before the people through speeches and writings and efforts made to have education provided to every Indian. What was the aim behind all this? And how was it to be realized? In answering these questions, we get to know his point of view. Framing a constitution for the Servants [of India] Society, he laid down that the duty of its members would be to spiritualize political life in India. This embraces everything. His was a religious life. My soul stands witness that, in all that he did, at all times, he acted wholly in the spirit of religion. Some twenty years ago, this Mahatma's sentiments sometimes appeared to be those of an atheist. He said once: "I don't have Ranade's[2] faith. How I should like to have it!" Even at that time, however, I could see a religious bent of mind in his actions. It would not be wrong to say that his very doubt proceeded from such a bent of mind. He who lives in the manner of a sadhu, whose desires are simple, who is the image of truth, is full of humility, who represents the very essence of truth and has wholly renounced his ego, such a one is a holy soul, whether he knows it or not. Such a one was Mahatma Gokhale, as I could see from my twenty years' acquaintance with him.

In 1896, I discussed [with leaders] in India the question of indentured labour in Natal. At that time, I knew the Indian leaders only by name. This was the first occasion when I had contact with the leaders at Calcutta, Bombay, Poona and Madras. The late Gokhale was then known as a follower of Ranade. He had already at this time dedicated his life to the Fergusson College. I was a

[1] Evidently, Gandhiji understood the verse in a different sense.

[2] 1842-1901, Indian judge, social reformer, author and one of the founders of the Indian National Congress

mere youth, with no experience. The bond which developed between us on the occasion of our very first meeting in Poona never came to exist between any other leader and me. Sure enough, all that I had heard about Mahatma Gokhale was confirmed by my own experience; but especially the effect which the soft expression on his lotus-like face had on me has still not vanished from my mind. I instantly recognized him as dharma incarnate. I had an audience with Shri Ranade, too, at that time, but I could get no glimpse into his heart. I could only see him as Gokhale's mentor. Whether it was that he was much senior to me in age and experience or that there were some other reasons, whatever the reason, I could not understand Shri Ranade as well as I could Gokhale.

After this contact with him in 1896, Gokhale's political life became my ideal. That very time he took possession of my heart as my guru in matters political. He edited the Quarterly of the Sarvajanik Sabha, he made Fergusson College illustrious by teaching there. He gave evidence before the Welby Commission[1] and demonstrated his true worth to India. He created so fine an impression on Lord Curzon[2] by his ability that the latter, who feared none, feared him. By his performance in the Central Legislative Assembly, he brought credit to India. At the risk of his life, he served on the Public Service Commission. He did all this and much more. Others have given a far better account of these things than I could hope to. Moreover, one cannot claim that his message, as I have understood it and defined it here, may be clearly deduced from these actions of his. I, therefore, propose to conclude this article by relating what I have myself known and what exemplifies his message.

The satyagraha struggle made so profound an impression on his mind that, though his health absolutely forbade it, he decided to pay a visit to South Africa. He went there in 1912. The Indians in South Africa gave him a right royal welcome. On the very next day after his arrival in Cape Town, there was a meeting in the local Town Hall. The Mayor was in the chair. Gokhale was in no condition to attend meetings and make speeches. But he left intact all the countless and taxing engagements that had been fixed. Following this decision, he attended the meeting in the Town Hall. At that very first appearance, he conquered the hearts

[1] The Royal Commission on Expenditure (popularly known as the Welby Commission) appointed in 1894 to consider the question of apportionment of military expenditure between England and India

[2] (1859-1925), Viceroy of India, 1899-1905

of the whites in Cape Town. Everyone felt that a great soul was visiting South Africa. Mr. Merriman[1], a prominent leader in South Africa and a man of character and liberal views, had this to say when they met: "Sir, a visit by a person like you brings a breath of fresh air into this land of ours."

As the late Mr. Gokhale's tour progressed, this first impression became stronger. At every place the distinction between whites and Coloureds was forgotten for the moment. There were meetings in all places like the one held in Cape Town. The whites and Indians sat in the same rows at these meetings and, according equal honour to the late Mr. Gokhale, earned similar honour for themselves. There was a dinner in his honour in Johannesburg. It was attended by nearly three hundred prominent whites. The Mayor was in the chair. The whites in Johannesburg are not likely to be awed by anyone. If they have some multi-millionaires among them, they have also men who know people's worth. These vied with one another in shaking hands with Mr. Gokhale. There was only one reason for this. In his speeches, the audiences saw Gokhale's overflowing love for his motherland and a sense of fairness, at the same time. He wanted his country to be treated with the fullest respect and honour but did not want that any other country should be humiliated. If he was anxious to see all the rights of his countrymen preserved, he was equally anxious to see that the rights of others were not jeopardized in the process. Because of this, everyone felt a genuine sweetness in his utterances.

Mr. Gokhale believed that he delivered in Johannesburg his best speech[2] in South Africa. It lasted more than three quarters of an hour but I never felt that anyone in the audience was bored. How did he make this speech? He started preparing for it six days in advance. He acquainted himself with the history of the question, as much as was necessary for his purpose, posted himself with the relevant figures and, sitting up late the preceding night, got ready with his language. The result was as I have stated. He satisfied both the whites and his own people.

I shall never forget while I live the pains he took to prepare himself for his meeting with Generals Botha and Smuts in Pretoria, the capital of South Africa. On the day before the interview, he closely examined Mr. Kallenbach and me. He got up at three o'clock and woke us up. He had finished with the literature he had

[1] (1841-1926), M.L.A., Union of South Africa
[2] In 1912

been supplied and now wanted to cross-examine me, in order to make sure whether he was fully prepared. I told him politely that he need not have exerted himself so much, that we would fight it out if we obtained nothing then, but that we did not want him to be sacrificed for our sake. But how would a man, who had made it a rule to throw himself heart and soul into everything that he undertook, listen to my words? How shall I describe his manner of cross-examining [me]? How shall I praise his thoroughness? Such pains could have only one result. The cabinet promised Mr. Gokhale that a Bill conceding the satyagrahis' demands would be introduced in Parliament in the ensuing session and that the annual tax of £3 on the indentured labourers would be repealed.

The promises were not kept at the time mentioned. Did Mr. Gokhale hold his peace thereafter? Not for a moment. I am sure his exertions in 1913 to secure the fulfilment of the promises must have shortened his life by at least ten years. This is what his doctors believe. It is difficult to give an idea of the labour he went through in that year in rousing India and collecting funds. India was in an uproar about the issue of South Africa. The power which brought this about was Mr. Gokhale's. Lord Hardinge made a speech in Madras[1] which will go down in history. This too was owing to Gokhale. Those who were the nearest to him bear witness that, worrying himself over the South African issue, he became permanently bed-ridden. Even so, till the very last he refused to rest. He would receive, at midnight, telegrams from South Africa as long as letters. He attended to them immediately and drafted a reply on the instant. A telegram would be sent to Lord Hardinge the same moment and a statement for the Press prepared. In attending to the question, he delayed his meal and delayed going to bed, ignored the difference between

[1] Replying to addresses of welcome of the Mahajan Sabha and Madras Provincial Conference Committee at Madras on November 24, 1913, Lord Hardinge said:

"Recently your compatriots in South Africa have taken matters into their own hands by organising what is called passive resistance to laws which they consider invidious and unjust—an opinion which we who watch their struggle from afar cannot but share. They have violated as they intend to violate those laws with full knowledge of the penalties involved and ready with all courage and patience to endure those penalties. In all this they have the sympathy of India deep and burning and not only of India but of all those who, like myself, without being Indians themselves, have feelings of sympathy for the people of this country." *Vide* also Vol. XII, Appendix XVI.

day and night. Such single-minded and selfless devotion would be possible only to an elevated soul.

On the Hindu-Muslim question, too, his approach was ever the most religious. Once a man dressed as a sadhu went to see him, claiming to speak for Hindus. He would have the Muslims treated as inferior and the Hindus as superior. When Mr. Gokhale refused to play this game, he was accused of wanting in pride as a Hindu. Knitting his brows, he replied in a voice that pierced the heart: "If Hinduism consists in doing what you say, I am not a Hindu. Please leave me." One sannyasi left another and walked off.

Mr. Gokhale possessed in an eminent degree the quality of fearlessness. Among the qualities that make for the religious way of life, this occupies almost the first place. There was a reign of terror in Poona after the assassination of Lieutenant Rand[1]. Mr. Gokhale was in England at that time. He made a famous speech there in defence of Poona. Some of the statements he made in that speech could not subsequently be proved. After some time, he returned to India. He apologized to the British troops against whom he had levelled charges. This action even displeased a section of the Indian people. Some persons advised the Mahatma to retire from public life. A few ignorant Indians did not even hesitate to accuse him of pusillanimity. To all of them, he replied in words at once earnest and gentle: "What I have undertaken at no one's order, I can abandon at no one's order. I should be happy to have popular opinion on my side while performing my duty; should I not be so fortunate, however, that too may be just as well." He believed that one's duty lay in working. I never observed that, while doing anything, he considered its effect on popular opinion from the point of view of his personal fortunes. If it ever became necessary to mount the gallows for the sake of the country, I believe he had the strength to do so fearlessly and with a smile on his face. I know that, often enough, mounting the gallows would have been a far easier thing for him than to be in the condition he had to pass through. He was in such painful situations more than once but he never gave way.

All these instances would seem to point to this lesson, that if we would learn anything from the life of this great patriot, it should be to emulate his religious attitude. All of us cannot go into the Central Legislative Assembly, nor do we always observe that

[1] In 1897, W. C. Rand, I.C.S., and Lieutenant Ayerst were assassinated in Poona while on plague duty. Damodar Hari Chapekar and his brother were tried and executed for the murder.

doing so necessarily means serving the nation. We all cannot join the Public Service Commission and all those who do are not patriots. We may not, everyone of us, acquire his learning, nor do we see that every learned person is a servant of the country. All of us, however, can cultivate virtues like fearlessness, truthfulness, fortitude, justice, straightforwardness, firmness of purpose, and dedicate them to the service of the nation. This is the religious way. This is what the *mahavakya*[1], that political life should be spiritualized, means. He who follows this line will always know the path he should take. He will earn a share in the legacy left by the late Shri Gokhale. It is the divine assurance that anyone acting in this spirit will come by all the other gifts he needs. The life of the late Shri Gokhale is an irrefutable proof of this.

[From Gujarati]

Mahatma Gandhini Vicharsrishti

164. LETTER TO KARSANDAS CHITALIA

KASHIJI,
Friday, February 4, 1916

BHAISHRI KARSANDAS,

I send with this a fresh article[2] altogether. I cannot write, at present at any rate, anything more or better than this. It is certainly better than what I sent earlier. If you find it difficult to decipher the handwriting, take help from Narandas Gandhi or Kalyandas. I shall correct the proofs if you send them to me. I shall reach Bombay on the morning of the 11th. I shall most probably go there *via* Ahmedabad.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS

[From Gujarati]

Bapujini Shital Chhayaman

[1] Memorable statement of a great truth, like *tattvamasi* (Thou art That) in the *Upanishads*

[2] *Vide* the preceding item.

165. SPEECH AT KASHI NAGARI PRACHARINI SABHA[1]

February 5, 1916

YOUR HIGHNESS AND BROTHERS,

I feel ashamed that before you I cannot speak well in Hindi. You know that I used to live in South Africa. It was there that I learnt a little Hindi while working with my Indian brethren. You will therefore forgive me my failing.

I had not thought that I would have to speak at this gathering. And I am not fit to deliver a speech. I have been told to say something. Although it is beyond my capacity to say much, I shall speak to you about a few things that come to my mind. You are perhaps not aware that I have with me thirty to thirty-five men and women. They have taken a pledge to use Hindi. I also corresponded with this body. I was in need of some books which I could not get. The Sabha has done something and I offer it my thanks and congratulations and pray to God that it may increase its membership every day. It should try to prepare the books that I wanted. Its office-holders are all M.A.'s and B.A.'s and LL.B.'s and they have read those books in English. From those of its office-holders who are lawyers, I want to know whether they do their court work in English or in Hindi. If they do it in English, I will say to them that they should do it in Hindi. To those young men who are students, I will say that they should take a vow to use Hindi for writing letters to one another.

Freedom cannot be gained without literature. People should therefore bring to the masses the advanced thoughts and new ideas that are available in English. Tomorrow Dr. J. C. Bose will be making a speech. If he speaks in Bengali, I will have no quarrel with him. I will have a quarrel with him if he speaks in English. It is the duty of the Nagari Pracharini Sabha to translate into Hindi the books that Dr. Bose has written in English. When a learned book is published in Germany, the very next week it is translated into English. That is why that language is so mature. It should be the same with Hindi. However much people may exalt their own language, real glory will belong only to the language which produces great scholars and that language alone will spread in the country. If Tamil produces great scholars, we shall

[1] Under the presidentship of the Maharaja of Kashmir

all begin to speak Tamil. The language in which a poet like Tulsidas wrote his poetry is certainly sacred and no language can stand before it. Our chief task is to learn Hindi, but even so we shall learn other languages also. If we learn Tamil, we shall be able to teach Hindi to Tamil-speakers also.

[From Hindi]

Mahatma Gandhi by Ramchandra Varma

166. SPEECH AT BENARES HINDU UNIVERSITY

February 6, 1916

The following is the full text of the speech delivered on February 4th[1] on the occasion of the opening of the Benares Hindu University. Gandhiji, who edited the report for G. A. Natesan, wrote:

I have merely removed some of the verbiage which in cold print would make the speech bad reading:

Friends, I wish to tender my humble apology for the long delay that took place before I was able to reach this place. And you will readily accept the apology when I tell you that I am not responsible for the delay nor is any human agency responsible for it. (Laughter.) The fact is that I am like an animal on show and my keepers in their over-kindness always manage to neglect a necessary chapter in this life and that is pure accident. In this case, they did not provide for the series of accidents that happened to us—to me, my keepers, and my carriers. Hence this delay.

Friends, under the influence of the matchless eloquence of the lady (Mrs. Besant) who has just sat down, pray, do not believe that our University has become a finished product and that all the young men who are to come to the University that has yet to rise and come into existence, have also come and returned from it finished citizens of a great empire. Do not go away with any such impression and if you, the student world to which my remarks are supposed to be addressed this evening, consider for one moment that the spiritual life, for which this country is noted and for which this country has no rival, can be transmitted through the lip, pray, believe me you are wrong. You will never be able merely through the lip to give the message that India, I hope, will one day deliver to the world. I myself have been "fed up" with speeches and lectures. I except the lectures that have been delivered here during

[1] Misprint for 6th

the last two days from this category, because they were necessary. But I do venture to suggest to you that we have now reached almost the end of our resources in speech-making, and it is not enough that our ears are feasted, that our eyes are feasted, but it is necessary that our hearts have got to be touched and that our hands and feet have got to be moved. We have been told during the last two days how necessary it is, if we are to retain our hold upon the simplicity of Indian character, that our hands and feet should move in unison with our hearts. But this is only by way of preface. I wanted to say it is a matter of deep humiliation and shame for us that I am compelled this evening under the shadow of this great college, in this sacred city, to address my countrymen in a language that is foreign to me. I know that if I was appointed an examiner to examine all those who have been attending during these two days this series of lectures, most of those who might be examined upon these lectures would fail. And why? Because they have not been touched. I was present at the sessions of the great Congress in the month of December. There was a much vaster audience, and will you believe me when I tell you that the only speeches that touched that huge audience in Bombay were the speeches that were delivered in Hindustani? In Bombay, mind you, not in Benares where everybody speaks Hindi. But between the vernaculars of the Bombay Presidency on the one hand, and Hindi on the other, no such great dividing line exists as there does between English and the sister-languages of India; and the Congress audience was better able to follow the speakers in Hindi. I am hoping that this University will see to it that the youths who come to it will receive their instruction through the medium of their vernaculars. Our language is the reflection of ourselves, and if you tell me that our languages are too poor to express the best thought, then I say that the sooner we are wiped out of existence, the better for us. Is there a man who dreams that English can ever become the national language of India? (Cries of "Never".) Why this handicap on the nation? Just consider for one moment what an unequal race our lads have to run with every English lad. I had the privilege of a close conversation with some Poona professors. They assured me that every Indian youth, because he reached his knowledge through the English language, lost at least six precious years of life. Multiply that by the number of students turned out by our schools and colleges and find out for yourselves how many thousand years have been lost to the nation. The charge against us is, that we have no initiative. How can we have any if we are to devote the precious years of our life to the mastery of

a foreign tongue? We fail in this attempt also. Was it possible for any speaker yesterday and today to impress his audience as was possible for Mr. Higginbotham? It was not the fault of the previous speakers that they could not engage the audience. They had more than substance enough for us in their addresses. But their addresses could not go home to us. I have heard it said that after all it is English-educated India which is leading and which is doing all the things for the nation. It would be monstrous if it were otherwise. The only education we receive is English education. Surely we must show something for it. But suppose that we had been receiving during the past fifty years education through our vernaculars, what should we have had today? We should have today a free India, we should have our educated men, not as if they were foreigners in their own land but speaking to the heart of the nation; they would be working amongst the poorest of the poor, and whatever they would have gained during the past 50 years would be a heritage for the nation. (Applause.) To-day even our wives are not the sharers in our best thought. Look at Professor Bose[1] and Professor Ray[2] and their brilliant researches. Is it not a shame that their researches are not the common property of the masses?

Let us now turn to another subject.

The Congress has passd a resolution about self-government and I have no doubt that the All-India Congress Committee and the Moslem League will do their duty and come forward with some tangible suggestions. But I, for one, must frankly confess that I am not so much interested in what they will be able to produce as I am interested in anything that the student world is going to produce or the masses are going to produce. No paper contribution will ever give us self-government. No amount of speeches will ever make us fit for self-government. It is only our conduct that will fit us for it. (Applause.) And how are we trying to govern ourselves? I want to think audibly this evening. I do not want to make a speech and if you find me this evening speaking without reserve, pray, consider that you are only sharing the thoughts of a man who allows himself to think audibly, and if you think that I seem to transgress the limits that courtesy imposes upon me, pardon me for the liberty I may be taking. I visited the Viswanath Temple last evening and as I was walking through those lanes, these were the thoughts that touched me. If a stranger drop-

[1] Sir J. C. Bose, F.R.S., botanist

[2] Sir P. C. Ray, chemist

ped from above on to this great temple and he had to consider what we as Hindus were, would he not be justified in condemning us? Is not this great temple a reflection of our own character? I speak feelingly as a Hindu. Is it right that the lanes of our sacred temple should be as dirty as they are? The houses round about are built anyhow. The lanes are tortuous and narrow. If even our temples are not models of roominess and cleanliness, what can our self-government be? Shall our temples be abodes of holiness, cleanliness and peace as soon as the English have retired from India, either of their own pleasure or by compulsion, bag and baggage?

I entirely agree with the President of the Congress that before we think of self-government, we shall have to do the necessary plodding. In every city there are two divisions, the cantonment and the city proper. The city mostly is a stinking den. But we are a people unused to city life. But if we want city life, we cannot reproduce the easy-going hamlet life. It is not comforting to think that people walk about the streets of Indian Bombay under the perpetual fear of dwellers in the storeyed buildings spitting upon them. I do a great deal of railway travelling. I observe the difficulty of third-class passengers. But the Railway Administration is by no means to blame for all their hard lot. We do not know the elementary laws of cleanliness. We spit anywhere on the carriage floor, irrespective of the thought that it is often used as sleeping space. We do not trouble ourselves as to how we use it; the result is indescribable filth in the compartment. The so-called better class passengers over-awe their less fortunate brethren. Among them I have seen the student world also. Sometimes they behave no better. They can speak English and they have worn Norfolk Jackets and therefore claim the right to force their way in and command seating accommodation. I have turned the searchlight all over and as you have given me the privilege of speaking to you, I am laying my heart bare. Surely we must set these things right in our progress towards self-government. I now introduce you to another scene. His Highness the Maharajah, who presided yesterday over our deliberations, spoke about the poverty of India. Other speakers laid great stress upon it. But what did we witness in the great *pandal* in which the foundation ceremony was performed by the Viceroy? Certainly a most gorgeous show, an exhibition of jewellery which made a splendid feast for the eyes of the greatest jeweller who chose to come from Paris. I compare with the richly bedecked noblemen the millions of the poor. And I feel like saying to these noblemen: "There is no salvation for

India unless you strip yourselves of this jewellery and hold it in trust for your countrymen in India." ("Hear, hear" and applause.) I am sure it is not the desire of the King-Emperor or Lord Hardinge that in order to show the truest loyalty to our King-Emperor, it is necessary for us to ransack our jewellery-boxes and to appear bedecked from top to toe. I would undertake at the peril of my life to bring to you a message from King George himself that he expects nothing of the kind. Sir, whenever I hear of a great palace rising in any great city of India, be it in British India or be it in India which is ruled by our great chiefs, I become jealous at once and I say: "Oh, it is the money that has come from the agriculturists." Over 75 per cent of the population are agriculturists and Mr. Higginbotham told us last night in his own felicitous language that they are the men who grow two blades of grass in the place of one. But there cannot be much spirit of self-government about us if we take away or allow others to take away from them almost the whole of the results of their labour. Our salvation can only come through the farmer. Neither the lawyers, nor the doctors, nor the rich landlords are going to secure it.

Now, last but not the least, it is my bounden duty to refer to what agitated our minds during these two or three days. All of us have had many anxious moments while the Viceroy was going through the streets of Benares. There were detectives stationed in many places. We were horrified. We asked ourselves: "Why this distrust? Is it not better that even Lord Hardinge should die than live a living death?" But a representative of a mighty Sovereign may not. He might find it necessary even to live a living death. But why was it necessary to impose these detectives on us? We may foam, we may fret, we may resent but let us not forget that India of to-day in her impatience has produced an army of anarchists. I myself am an anarchist, but of another type. But there is a class of anarchists amongst us, and if I was able to reach this class, I would say to them that their anarchism has no room in India if India is to conquer the conqueror. It is a sign of fear. If we trust and fear God, we shall have to fear no one, not Maharajahs, not Viceroys, not the detectives, not even King George. I honour the anarchist for his love of the country. I honour him for his bravery in being willing to die for his country; but I ask him: Is killing honourable? Is the dagger of an assassin a fit precursor of an honourable death? I deny it. There is no warrant for such methods in any scriptures. If I found it necessary for the salvation of India that the English should

retire, that they should be driven out, I would not hesitate to declare that they would have to go, and I hope I would be prepared to die in defence of that belief. That would, in my opinion, be an honourable death. The bomb-thrower creates secret plots, is afraid to come into the open, and when caught pays the penalty of misdirected zeal. I have been told: "Had we not done this, had some people not thrown bombs, we should never have gained what we have got with reference to the partition movement[1]." (Mrs. Besant: "Please stop it.") This was what I said[2] in Bengal when Mr. Lyons presided at the meeting. I think what I am saying is necessary. If I am told to stop, I shall obey. (Turning to the Chairman) I await your orders. If you consider that by my speaking as I am, I am not serving the country and the Empire, I shall certainly stop. (Cries of "Go on".) (The Chairman: "Please explain your object.") I am explaining my object. I am simply (Another interruption.) My friends, please do not resent this interruption. If Mrs. Besant this evening suggests that I should stop, she does so because she loves India so well, and she considers that I am erring in thinking audibly before you young men. But even so, I simply say this that I want to purge India of the atmosphere of suspicion on either side; if we are to reach our goal, we should have an empire which is to be based upon mutual love and mutual trust. Is it not better that we talk under the shadow of this college than that we should be talking irresponsibly in our homes? I consider that it is much better that we talk these things openly. I have done so with excellent results before now. I know that there is nothing that the students are not discussing. There is nothing that the students do not know. I am therefore turning the searchlight towards ourselves. I hold the name of my country so dear to me that I exchange these thoughts with you and submit to you that there is no reason for anarchism in India. Let us frankly and openly say whatever we want to say to our rulers and face the consequences if what we have to say does not please them. But let us not abuse. I was talking the other day to a member of the much-abused Civil Service. I have not very much in common with the members of that Service, but I could not help admiring the manner in which he was speaking to me. He said: "Mr. Gandhi, do you for one moment suppose that all we,

[1] The partition of Bengal, which took place in 1905, was annulled in December, 1911.

[2] *Vide* 'Speech at Students' Hall, Calcutta", 31-3-1915.

Civil Servants, are a bad lot, that we want to oppress the people whom we have come to govern?" "No", I said. "Then, if you get an opportunity, put in a word for the much-abused Civil Service." And I am here to put in that word. Yes, many members of the Indian Civil Service are most decidedly overbearing, they are tyrannical, at times thoughtless. Many other adjectives may be used. I grant all these things and I grant also that after having lived in India for a certain number of years, some of them become somewhat degraded. But what does that signify? They were gentlemen before they came here, and if they have lost some of the moral fibre, it is a reflection upon ourselves. (Cries of "No".) Just think out for yourselves, if a man who was good yesterday has become bad after having come in contact with me, is he responsible that he has deteriorated or am I? The atmosphere of sycophancy and falsity that surrounds them on their coming to India demoralises them as it would many of us. It is well to take the blame sometimes. If we are to receive self-government, we shall have to take it. We shall never be granted self-government. Look at the history of the British Empire and the British nation; freedom-loving as it is, it will not be a party to give freedom to a people who will not take it themselves. Learn your lesson if you wish to from the Boer War. Those who were enemies of that Empire only a few years ago have now become friends.

[At this point there was an interruption and there was a movement on the platform to leave; the speech therefore ended here abruptly.]

Speeches and Writings of Mahatma Gandhi (4th Edit.), pp. 317-26

167. EXTRACT FROM LETTER TO MAHARAJA OF DARBHANGA[1]

February 7, 1916

Speaking last night at one of the lectures inaugurated in connection with the University week in Benares, Mr. Gandhi referred to the precautions taken by the authorities to protect the Viceroy while he was in Benares. Mr. Gandhi was asked to explain briefly what he was about to say. Eventually all the princes present left in a body, and, though Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya[2] explained that what Mr. Gandhi meant was that it was a shame to themselves

[1] This was published under the caption: "The Hindu University. A Remarkable Incident".

[2] (1861-1946), founder of the Benares Hindu University; member, Imperial Legislative Council; twice President of the Indian National Congress

that such a course was thought necessary because of the misdeeds of a few misguided youths, the meeting dispersed at once.

Mr. Gandhi, today, wrote a letter of explanation to the Maharaja of Darbhanga[1] in which, after expressing his regret at last night's incident, he says:

My sole object in referring to the Viceregal visit was to express the very strong views I hold against all acts of violence and so-called anarchy. In common with most of us, I felt deeply humiliated that extraordinary precautions should have been rendered necessary for the protection of the person of one of the noblest of Viceroys when he was, in a special sense, our honoured guest in this sacred city. My mission in life is to preach and assist in securing the utmost freedom for my country but never by violence to the person of any human being, even under the greatest provocation. My speech was conceived to instill this lesson into the hearts of young men.

The Maharaja of Darbhanga, who presided at the morning lectures today, at which almost all the princes now in Benares were present, made a brief reference to last night's incident. He observed that they had heard with grief and pain the remarks of Mr. Gandhi and he was sure they all disapproved the attitude Mr. Gandhi had taken up. (Voices: "We all disapprove.")

The Pioneer, 9-2-1916

168. INTERVIEW TO A.P.I. ON BENARES 'INCIDENT'

February 9, 1916

Mr. Gandhi, who arrived in Bombay yesterday afternoon from Benares, being interviewed about the incident which interrupted his speech at Benares, said that he was unable to say what particular remarks of his were objected to, nor did Mrs. Besant point out any such remarks. She only appealed to the Chairman to stop him. Mr. Gandhi said his speech that evening was practically a repetition, in so far as it related to anarchism, of what he had said[2] at the Calcutta meeting last year of which the Hon. Mr. Lyons was Chairman. At this point, the audience wanted the speaker to go on, but Mr. Gandhi said that he would not do so unless he received the Chairman's permission to continue. He also asked the audience not to resent, as it was inclined, Mrs. Besant's interruption, as anybody who might feel aggrieved against the speaker's remarks had a right to ask for a ruling from the Chair.

Continuing, Mr. Gandhi said:

And I proceeded with my speech only after the Maharaja of Darbhanga's permission, which he gave after considering the matter

[1] Who was in the chair at the meeting on February 6

[2] *Vide* "Speech at Students' Hall, Calcutta", 31-3-1915.

for a while and cautioning me to explain matters briefly. I proceeded, but still noticed a stir on the platform, and that Mrs. Besant was whispering to the Princes who were sitting near her that I was neither withdrawing nor explaining and saying that they ought not to stay.[1] The next thing I observed was that the Princes rose one after another and as the Chairman also left, I could not finish my speech.

In reply to a question whether he would like to withdraw any of the remarks he had made at the meeting, Mr. Gandhi emphatically declared that every word was well-considered and well-weighed. Continuing, he said:

That I could ever endorse methods of violence is unthinkable. I was not eager to speak at all. I did so under great pressure from friends, as I was credited with having some influence over the student population of the country. I was asked to speak about the violence which has unfortunately been the creed of some impulsive youths, owing to which we had to witness the humiliating spectacle of extraordinary precautions having to be taken for the protection of the life of our honoured guest from ourselves. Throughout the whole of my remarks, there was not a word of endorsement of violent deeds. I did give the misguided youths credit for patriotic motives, but I showed that the action was all the worthier of condemnation, in that it did irreparable harm in the long run. In fact, the whole of my speech was intended to direct the searchlight towards ourselves and to show that for many of our difficulties, we were alone responsible. It is my firm belief that, but for Mrs. Besant's hasty and ill-conceived interruption, nothing would have happened and my speech in its completed state would have left no room for any doubt as to my meaning.

Questioned as to whether it was a fact that the Hon. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya apologised to the meeting after the incident had occurred, Mr. Gandhi replied:

Mr. Malaviya did address the meeting. But I could trace no apology in his remarks. He merely said that I had spoken at his special request and my sole intention was to show how suicidal methods of violence were.

The Bombay Chronicle, 10-2-1916

[1] *New India*, 10-2-1916, published along with the report of this interview, Mrs. Besant's statement: "I did not suggest to the Princes to leave." *Vide* Appendix I.

169. SPEECH ON SWADESHI AT MISSIONARY CONFERENCE, MADRAS[1]

February 14, 1916

It was not without much diffidence that I undertook to speak to you at all. And I was hard put to it in the selection of my subject. I have chosen a very delicate and difficult subject. It is delicate because of the peculiar views I hold upon swadeshi, and it is difficult because I have not that command of language which is necessary for giving adequate expression to my thoughts. I know that I may rely upon your indulgence for the many shortcomings you will no doubt find in my address, the more so when I tell you that there is nothing in what I am about to say that I am not either aleady practising or am not preparing to practise to the best of my ability. It encourages me to observe that last month you devoted a week to prayer in the place of an address. I have earnestly prayed that what I am about to say may bear fruit and I know that you will bless my words with a similar prayer.

After much thinking, I have arrived at a definition of swadeshi that perhaps best illustrates my meaning. Swadeshi is that spirit in us which restricts us to the use and service of our immediate surroundings to the exclusion of the more remote. Thus, as for religion, in order to satisfy the requirements of the definition, I must restrict myself to my ancestral religion. That is the use of my immediate religious surroundings. If I find it defective, I should serve it by purging it of its defects. In the domain of politics, I should make use of the indigenous institutions and serve them by curing them of their proved defects. In that of economics, I should use only things that are produced by my immediate neighbours and serve those industries by making them efficient and complete where they might be found wanting. It is suggested that such swadeshi, if reduced to practice, will lead to the millennium. And as we do not abandon our pursuit after the millennium because we do not expect quite to reach it within our time, so may we not abandon swadeshi even though it may not be fully attained for generations to come.

[1] Text of the paper read by Gandhiji. It was reprinted in *Young India*, 21-6-1919

Let us briefly examine three branches of Swadeshi as sketched above. Hinduism has become a conservative religion and therefore a mighty force because of the Swadeshi spirit underlying it. It is the most tolerant because it is non-proselytising, and it is as capable of expansion today as it has been found to be in the past. It has succeeded not in driving, as I think it has been erroneously held, but in absorbing Buddhism. By reason of the swadeshi spirit, a Hindu refuses to change his religion not necessarily because he considers it to be the best, but because he knows that he can complement it by introducing reforms. And what I have said about Hinduism is, I suppose, true of the other great faiths of the world, only it is held that it is specially so in the case of Hinduism. But here comes the point I am labouring to reach. If there is any substance in what I have said, will not the great missionary bodies of India, to whom she owes a deep debt of gratitude for what they have done and are doing, do still better and serve the spirit of Christianity better, by dropping the goal of proselytising but continuing their philanthropic work? I hope you will not consider this to be an impertinence on my part. I make the suggestion in all sincerity and with due humility. Moreover, I have some claim upon your attention. I have endeavoured to study the Bible. I consider it as part of my scriptures. The spirit of the Sermon on the Mount competes almost on equal terms with the *Bhagavad Gita* for the domination of my heart. I yield to no Christian in the strength of devotion with which I sing, "Lead, kindly Light" and several other inspired hymns of a similar nature. I have come under the influence of noted Christian missionaries belonging to different denominations. And I enjoy to this day the privilege of friendship with some of them. You will perhaps therefore allow that I have offered the above suggestion not as a biased Hindu but as a humble and impartial student of religion with great leanings towards Christianity. May it not be that the "Go Ye unto All the World" message has been somewhat narrowly interpreted and the spirit of it missed? It will not be denied, I speak from experience, that many of the conversions are only so called. In some cases, the appeal has gone not to the heart but to the stomach. And in every case, a conversion leaves a sore behind it which, I venture to think, is avoidable. Quoting again from experience, a new birth, a change of heart, is perfectly possible in every one of the great faiths. I know I am now treading upon thin ice. But I do not apologise, in closing this part of my subject, for saying that the frightful outrage that is just going on in Europe, perhaps, shows that the message of Jesus of Nazareth, the Son of Peace, has been little

understood in Europe, and that light upon it may have to be thrown from the East.

I have sought your help in religious matters, which it is yours to give in a special sense. But I make bold to seek it even in political matters. I do not believe that religion has nothing to do with politics. The latter divorced from religion is like a corpse only fit to be buried. As a matter of fact, in your own silent manner, you influence politics not a little. And I feel that if the attempt to separate politics from religion had not been made, as it is even now made, they would not have degenerated, as they often appear to do. No one considers that the political life of the country is in a happy state. Following out the swadeshi spirit, I observe the indigenous institutions and the village panchayats hold me. India is really a republican country, and it is because it is that that it has survived every shock hitherto delivered. Princes and potentates, whether they were Indian-born or foreigners, have hardly touched the vast masses except for collecting revenue. The latter in their turn seem to have rendered unto Cæsar what was Cæsar's and for the rest have done much as they have liked. The vast organisation of caste answered not only the religious wants of the community, but it answered too its political needs. The villagers managed their internal affairs through the caste system, and through it they dealt with any oppression from the ruling power or powers. It is not possible to deny of a nation that was capable of producing the caste system its wonderful power of organisation. One had but to attend the great Kumbha Mela at Hardwar last year to know how skilful that organisation must have been, which without any seeming effort, was able effectively to cater for more than a million pilgrims. Yet is it the fashion to say that we lack organising ability. This is true, I fear, to a certain extent, of those who have been nurtured in the new traditions. We have laboured under a terrible handicap owing to an almost fatal departure from the swadeshi spirit. We the educated classes have received our education through a foreign tongue. We have therefore not reacted upon the masses. We want to represent the masses, but we fail. They recognise us not much more than they recognise the English officers. Their hearts are an open book to neither. Their aspirations are not ours. Hence there is a break. And you witness not in reality failure to organise, but want of correspondence between the representatives and the represented. If during the last fifty years we had been educated through the vernaculars, our elders and our servants and our neighbours would have partaken of our knowledge; the discoveries of a Bose or a Ray would have been household treasure as are the

Ramayan and the *Mahabharat*. As it is, so far as the masses are concerned, those great discoveries might as well have been made by foreigners. Had instruction in all the branches of learning been given through the vernaculars, I make bold to say that they would have been enriched wonderfully. The question of village sanitation, etc., would have been solved long ago. The village panchayats would be now a living force in a special way, and India would almost be enjoying self-government suited to its requirements and would have been spared the humiliating spectacle of organised assassination on its sacred soil. It is not too late to mend. And you can help if you will, as no other body or bodies can.

And now for the last division of swadeshi. Much of the deep poverty of the masses is due to the ruinous departure from swadeshi in the economic and industrial life. If not an article of commerce had been brought from outside India, she would be today a land flowing with milk and honey. But that was not to be. We were greedy and so was England. The connection between England and India was based clearly upon an error. But she (England) does not remain in India in error. It is her declared policy that India is to be held in trust for her people. If this be true, Lancashire must stand aside. And if the swadeshi doctrine is a sound doctrine, Lancashire can stand aside without hurt, though it may sustain a shock for the time being. I think of swadeshi not as a boycott movement undertaken by way of revenge. I conceive it as a religious principle to be followed by all. I am no economist, but I have read some treatises which show that England could easily become a self-sustained country, growing all the produce she needs. This may be an utterly ridiculous proposition, and perhaps the best proof that it cannot be true is that England is one of the largest importers in the world. But India cannot live for Lancashire or any other country before she is able to live for herself. And she can live for herself only if she produces and is helped to produce everything for her requirements within her own borders. She need not be, she ought not to be, drawn into the vortex of mad and ruinous competition which breeds fratricide, jealousy and many other evils. But who is to stop her great millionaires from entering into the world competition? Certainly, not legislation. Force of public opinion, proper education, however, can do a great deal in the desired direction. The handloom industry is in a dying condition. I took special care during my wanderings last year to see as many weavers as possible, and my heart ached to find how they had lost, how families had retired from this once-flourishing and honourable occupation. If we follow the swadeshi doctrine, it would

be your duty and mine to find out neighbours who can supply our wants and to teach them to supply them where they do not know how to, assuming that there are neighbours who are in want of healthy occupation. Then every village of India will almost be a self-supporting and self-contained unit exchanging only such necessary commodities with other villages where they are not locally producible. This may all sound nonsensical. Well, India is a country of nonsense. It is nonsensical to parch one's throat with thirst when a kindly Mahomedan is ready to offer pure water to drink. And yet thousands of Hindus would rather die of thirst than drink water from a Mahomedan household. These nonsensical men can also, once they are convinced that their religion demands that they should wear garments manufactured in India only and eat food only grown in India, decline to wear any other clothing or eat any other food. Lord Curzon set the fashion for tea-drinking. And that pernicious drug now bids fair to overwhelm the nation. It has already undermined the digestive apparatus of hundreds of thousands of men and women and constitutes an additional tax upon their slender purses. Lord Hardinge can set the fashion for swadeshi and almost the whole of India will foreswear foreign goods. There is a verse in the *Bhagavad Gita*, which, freely rendered, means masses follow the classes. It is easy to undo the evil if the thinking portion of the community were to take the swadeshi vow even though it may for a time cause considerable inconvenience. I hate interference in any department of life. At best, it is the lesser evil. But I would tolerate, welcome, indeed plead for, stiff protective duty upon foreign goods. Natal, a British colony, protected its sugar by taxing the sugar that came from another British colony, Mauritius. England has sinned against India by forcing free trade upon her. It may have been food for her, but it has been poison for this country.

It has often been urged that India cannot adopt swadeshi in the economic life at any rate. Those who advance this objection do not look upon swadeshi as a rule of life. With them, it is a mere patriotic effort not to be made if it involved any self-denial. swadeshi, as defined here, is a religious discipline to be undergone in utter disregard of the physical discomfort it may cause to individuals. Under its spell, the deprivation of a pin or a needle, because these are not manufactured in India, need cause no terror. A swadeshi will learn to do without hundreds of things which to-day he considers necessary. Moreover, those who dismiss swadeshi from their minds by arguing the impossible forget that swadeshi, after all, is a goal to be reached by steady effort. And we

would be making for the goal even if we confined swadeshi to a given set of articles, allowing ourselves as a temporary measure to use such things as might not be procurable in the country.

There now remains for me to consider one more objection that has been raised against swadeshi. The objectors consider it to be a most selfish doctrine without any warrant in the civilized code of morality. With them, to practise Swadeshi is to revert to barbarism. I cannot enter into a detailed analysis of the proposition. But I would urge that Swadeshi is the only doctrine consistent with the law of humility and love. It is arrogance to think of launching out to serve the whole of India when I am hardly able to serve even my own family. It were better to concentrate my effort upon the family and consider that through them I was serving the whole nation and, if you will, the whole of humanity. This is humility and it is love. The motive will determine the quality of the act. I may serve my family regardless of the sufferings I may cause to others, as, for instance, I may accept an employment which enables me to extort money from people. I enrich myself thereby and then satisfy many unlawful demands of the family. Here I am neither serving the family nor the State. Or I may recognise that God has given me hands and feet only to work with for my sustenance and for that of those who may be dependent upon me. I would then at once simplify my life and that of those whom I can directly reach. In this instance, I would have served the family without causing injury to anyone else. Supposing that everyone followed this mode of life, we would have at once an ideal State. All will not reach that state at the same time. But those of us who, realising its truth, enforce it in practice will clearly anticipate and accelerate the coming of that happy day. Under this plan of life, in seeming to serve India to the exclusion of every other country, I do not harm any other country. My patriotism is both exclusive and inclusive. It is exclusive in the sense that in all humility I confine my attention to the land of my birth, but it is inclusive in the sense that my service is not of a competitive or antagonistic nature. *Sic utere tuo ut alienum non laedas*[1] is not merely a legal maxim, but it is a grand doctrine of life. It is the key to a proper practice of ahimsa or love. It is for you, the custodians of a great faith, to set the fashion and show by your preaching, sanctified by

[1] This Latin legal maxim means: "Use your property in such a way as not to damage that of others." *Vide* also *An Autobiography*, Part I, Ch. XXV.

practice, that patriotism based on hatred "killeth" and that patriotism based on love "giveth life".

The Hindu, 28-2-1916

170. SPEECH ON 'ASHRAM VOWS' AT Y. M. C. A., MADRAS[1]

February 16, 1916

MR. CHAIRMAN AND DEAR FRIENDS,

I have so often said that I am not myself fond of hearing my own voice and I assure you that this morning also I retained the same position. It was only, if you will believe me, my great regard for the students, whom I love, whom I respect and who I consider are the hope of future India that moved me to accept this invitation to speak to you this morning. I did not know what subject to choose. A friend has handed me a slip here asking me whether I would enlighten the students on the Benares incident. ("Hear, hear".) I fear I shall have to disappoint that friend and those of you who associate yourselves with that view. I don't think that you need lay any stress upon that incident. These are the passing waves which will always come and go. I should therefore this morning fear rather if I can possibly do so and pour my soul out to you with reference to something which I treasure so much above everything else.[2]

To many of the students who came here last year to converse with me, I said[3] I was about to establish an institution—an Ashram —somewhere in India, and it is about that place that I am going to talk to you this morning. I feel and I have felt during the whole of my public life that what we need, what any nation needs, but we perhaps of all the nations of the world need just now, is nothing else and nothing less than character-building. And this is

[1] With Rev. George Pittendrigh of the Madras Christian College in the chair. This was published with the following note by the Editor, *Indian Review*:

> We have received several enquiries from our readers regarding Mr. Gandhi's new organisation, the Satyagrahashram. We are glad to be able to give the following account of the Ashram from a special report of the speech that Mr. Gandhi delivered sometime ago in Madras. The report has since had the benefit of Mr. Gandhi's revision and may, therefore, be taken as an authoritative exposition of the aims and objects of Mr. Gandhi's Satyagrahashram.

[2] This paragraph is from *The Hindu*, 16-2-1916.

[3] *Vide* "Speech at Gokhale Club, Madras", 20-4-1915.

the view propounded by that great patriot, Mr. Gokhale. (Cheers.) As you know, in many of his speeches, he used to say that we would get nothing, we would deserve nothing unless we had character to back what we wished for. Hence his founding of that great body, the Servants of India Society. And as you know, in the prospectus that has been issued in connection with the Society, Mr. Gokhale has deliberately stated that it was necessary to spiritualise the political life of the country. You know also that he used to say so often that our average was less than the average of so many European nations. I do not know whether that statement by him, whom, with pride, I consider to be my political guru, has really foundation in fact, but I do believe that there is much to be said to justify it in so far as educated India is concerned; not because we, the educated portion of the community, have blundered, but because we have been creatures of circumstances. Be that as it may, this is the maxim of life which I have accepted, namely, that no work done by any man, no matter how great he is, will really prosper unless he[1] has a religious backing. But what is religion? the question will be immediately asked. I, for one, would answer, not the religion which you will get after reading all the scriptures of the world; it is not really a grasp by the brain, but it is a heart-grasp. It is a thing which is not alien to us, but it is a thing which has to be evolved out of us. It is always within us, with some consciously so; with others, quite unconsciously. But it is there; and whether we wake up this religious instinct in us through outside assistance or by inward growth, no matter how it is done, it has got to be done if we want to do anything in the right manner and anything that is going to persist.

Our scriptures have laid down certain rules as maxims of life and as axioms which we have to take for granted as self-demonstrated truths. The shastras tell us that without living according to those maxims, we are incapable even of having a reasonable perception of religion. Believing in these implicitly for all these long years and having actually endeavoured to reduce to practice these injunctions of the shastras, I have deemed it necessary to seek the association of those who think with me in founding this institution. And I shall venture this morning to place before you the rules that have been drawn up and that have to be observed by everyone who seeks to be a member of that Ashram.

Five of these are known as *Yamas*, and the first and the foremost is, the

[1] "it" in *New India*

Vow of Truth

Not truth simply as we ordinarily understand it, that as far as possible we ought not to resort to a lie, that is to say, not truth which merely answers the saying, "Honesty is the best policy"—implying that if it is not the best policy, we may depart from it. But here Truth, as it is conceived, means that we have to rule our life by this law of Truth at any cost. And in order to satisfy the definition, I have drawn upon the celebrated illustration of the life of Prahlad[1]. For the sake of Truth, he dared to oppose his own father, and he defended himself, not by retaliation by paying his father back in his own coin, but in defence of Truth, as he knew it, he was prepared to die without caring to return the blows that he had received from his father or from those who were charged with his father's instructions. Not only that: he would not in any way even parry the blows. On the contrary, with a smile on his lips, he underwent the innumerable tortures to which he was subjected, with the result that at last, Truth rose triumphant, not that Prahlad suffered the tortures because he knew that some day or other in his very life-time he would be able to demonstrate the infallibility of the law of Truth. That fact was there; but if he had died in the midst of torture, he would still have adhered to Truth. That is the Truth that I would like us to follow. There was an incident I noticed yesterday. It was a trifling incident, but I think these trifling incidents are like straws which show which way the wind is blowing. The incident was this: I was talking to a friend who wanted to talk to me aside, and we were engaged in a private conversation. A third friend dropped in and he politely asked whether he was intruding. The friend to whom I was talking said: "Oh, no, there is nothing private here." I felt taken aback a little, because, as I was taken aside, I knew that so far as this friend was concerned, the conversation was private. But he immediately, out of politeness, I would call it over-politeness, said there was no private conversation and that he (the third friend) could join. I suggest to you that this is a departure from my definition of Truth. I think that the friend should have, in the gentlest manner possible, but still openly and frankly, said: "Yes, just now, as you properly say, you would be intruding" without giving the slightest offence to the person if he was himself a gentleman—and we are bound to consider everybody to be a gentleman unless he proves to be otherwise. But I may be told that the incident,

[1] Prahlad was a devotee of God persecuted by his unbelieving father, the demon-king, Hiranyakashipu. Gandhiji often spoke of him as an ideal satyagrahi.

after all, proves the gentility of the nation. I think that it is overproving the case. If we continue to say these things out of politeness, we really become a nation of hypocrites. I recall a conversation I had with an English friend. He was comparatively a stranger. He is a Principal of a College and has been in India for several years. He was comparing notes with me, and he asked me whether I would admit that we, unlike most Englishmen, would not dare to say "No" when it was "No" that we meant. And I must admit that I immediately said "Yes". I agree with that statement. We do hesitate to say "No", frankly and boldly, when we want to pay due regard to the sentiments of the person whom we are addressing. In this Ashram, we make it a rule that we must say "No" when we mean "No", regardless of consequences. This, then, is the first rule. Then we come to the

Doctrine of Ahimsa

Literally speaking, ahimsa means non-killing. But to me it has a world of meaning and takes me into realms much higher, infinitely higher, than the realm to which I would go, if I merely understood by ahimsa non-killing. Ahimsa really means that you may not offend anybody, you may not harbour an uncharitable thought even in connection with one who may consider himself to be your enemy. Pray notice the guarded nature of this thought; I do not say "whom you consider to be your enemy", but "who may consider himself to be your enemy". For one who follows the doctrine of ahimsa, there is no room for an enemy; he denies the existence of an enemy. But there are people who consider themselves to be his enemies, and he cannot help that circumstance. So, it is held that we may not harbour an evil thought even in connection with such persons. If we return blow for blow, we depart from the doctrine of ahimsa. But I go further. If we resent a friend's action or the so-called enemy's action, we still fall short of this doctrine. But when I say we should not resent, I do not say that we should acquiesce; but by resenting I mean wishing that some harm should be done to the enemy, or that he should be put out of the way, not even by any action of ours, but by the action of somebody else, or, say, by Divine agency. If we harbour even this thought, we depart from this doctrine of ahimsa. Those who join the Ashram have to literally accept that meaning. That does not mean that we practise that doctrine in its entirety. Far from it. It is an ideal which we have to reach, and it is an ideal to be reached even at this very moment, if we are capable of doing so. But it is not a proposition in geometry to be learnt by heart:

it is not even like solving difficult problems in higher mathematics; it is infinitely more difficult than solving those problems. Many of you have burnt the midnight oil in solving those problems. If you want to follow out this doctrine, you will have to do much more than burn the midnight oil. You will have to pass many a sleepless night, and go through many a mental torture and agony before you can reach, before you can even be within measurable distance of this goal. It is the goal, and nothing less than that, you and I have to reach if we want to understand what a religious life means. I will not say much more on this doctrine than this: that a man who believes in the efficacy of this doctrine finds in the ultimate stage, when he is about to reach the goal, the whole world at his feet, not that he wants the whole world at his feet, but it must be so. If you express your love—ahimsa—in such a manner that it impresses itself indelibly upon your so-called enemy, he must return that love. Another thought which comes out of this is that, under this rule, there is no room for organised assassinations, and there is no room for murders even openly committed, and there is no room for any violence even for the sake of your country, and even for guarding the honour of precious ones that may be under your charge. After all, that would be a poor defence of honour. This doctrine of ahimsa tells us that we may guard the honour of those who are under our charge by delivering *ourselves* into the hands of the man who would commit the sacrilege. And that requires far greater physical and mental courage than the delivering of blows. You may have some degree of physical power—I do not say courage—and you may use that power. But after that is expended, what happens? The other man is filled with wrath and indignation, and you have made him more angry by matching your violence against his; and when he has done you to death, the rest of his violence is delivered against your charge. But if you do not retaliate, but stand your ground, between your charge and the opponent, simply receiving the blows without retaliating, what happens? I give you my promise that the whole of the violence will be expended on you, and your charge will be left unscathed. Under this plan of life, there is no conception of patriotism which justifies such wars as you witness today in Europe. Then there is the

Vow of Celibacy

Those who want to perform national service, or those who want to have a glimpse of the real religious life, must lead a celibate life, no matter if married or unmarried. Marriage but brings

a woman closer together [*sic*] with the man, and they become friends in a special sense, never to be parted either in this life or in the lives that are to come. But I do not think that, in our conception of marriage, our lusts should necessarily enter. Be that as it may, this is what is placed before those who come to the Ashram. I do not deal with that at any length. Then we have the

Vow of Control of the Palate

A man who wants to control his animal passions easily does so if he control his palate. I fear this is one of the most difficult vows to follow. I am just now coming after having inspected the Victoria Hostel. I saw there, not to my dismay, though it should be to my dismay, but I am used to it now, that there are so many kitchens, not kitchens that are established in order to serve caste restrictions, but kitchens that have become necessary in order that people can have the condiments, and the exact weight of the condiments, to which they are used in the respective places from which they come. And therefore we find that for the Brahmins themselves there are different compartments and different kitchens catering for the delicate tastes of all these different groups. I suggest to you that this is simply slavery to the palate, rather than mastery over it. I may say this: Unless we take our minds off from this habit, and unless we shut our eyes to the tea shops and coffee shops and all these kitchens, and unless we are satisfied with foods that are necessary for the proper maintenance of our physical health, and unless we are prepared to rid ourselves of stimulating, heating and exciting condiments that we mix with our food, we will certainly not be able to control the over-abundant, unnecessary, exciting stimulation that we may have. If we do not do that, the result naturally is, that we abuse ourselves and we abuse even the sacred trust given to us, and we become less than animals and brutes. Eating, drinking and indulging passions we share in common with the animals, but have you ever seen a horse or a cow indulging in the abuse of the palate as we do? Do you suppose that it is a sign of civilization, a sign of real life that we should multiply our eatables so far that we do not even know where we are; and seek dish after dish until at last we have become absolutely mad and run after the newspaper sheets which give us advertisements about these dishes? Then we have the

Vow of Non-thieving

I suggest that we are thieves in a way. If I take anything that I do not need for my own immediate use, and keep it, I thieve it

from somebody else. I venture to suggest that it is the fundamental law of Nature, without exception, that Nature produces enough for our wants from day to day, and if only everybody took enough for himself and nothing more, there would be no pauperism in this world, there would be no man dying of starvation in this world. But so long as we have got this inequality, so long we are thieving. I am no socialist and I do not want to dispossess those who have got possessions; but I do say that, personally, those of us who want to see light out of darkness have to follow the rule. I do not want to dispossess anybody. I should then be departing from the rule of ahimsa. If somebody else possesses more than I do, let him. But so far as my own life has to be regulated, I do say that I dare not possess anything which I do not want. In India we have got three millions of people having to be satisfied with one meal a day, and that meal consisting of a *chapati* containing no fat in it, and a pinch of salt. You and I have no right to anything that we really have until these three million are clothed and fed better. You and I, who ought to know better, must adjust our wants, and even undergo voluntary starvation in order that they may be nursed, fed and clothed. Then there is the vow of non-possession which follows as a matter of course. Then I go to the

Vow of Swadeshi

The vow of swadeshi is a necessary vow. But you are conversant with the swadeshi life and the swadeshi spirit. I suggest to you we are departing from one of the sacred laws of our being when we leave our neighbour and go out somewhere else in order to satisfy our wants. If a man comes from Bombay here and offers you wares, you are not justified in supporting the Bombay merchant or trader so long as you have got a merchant at your very door, born and bred in Madras. That is my view of swadeshi. In your village, so long as you have got your village-barber, you are bound to support him to the exclusion of the finished barber who may come to you from Madras. If you find it necessary that your village-barber should reach the attainment of the barber from Madras, you may train him to that. Send him to Madras by all means, if you wish, in order that he may learn his calling. Until you do that, you are not justified in going to another barber. That is swadeshi. So, when we find that there are many things that we cannot get in India, we must try to do without them. We may have to do without many things which we may consider necessary, but believe me, when you have that frame of mind, you will find a great burden taken off your shoulders, even as the Pilgrim did

in that inimitable book, *Pilgrim's Progress*: There came a time when the mighty burden that the Pilgrim was carrying on his shoulders unconsciously dropped from him, and he felt a freer man than he was when he started on the journey. So will you feel freer men than you are now, immediately you adopt this swadeshi life. We have also the

Vow of Fearlessness

I found, throughout my wanderings in India, that India, educated India, is seized with a paralysing fear. We may not open our lips in public; we may not declare our confirmed opinion in public; we may hold those opinions; we may talk about them secretly; and we may do anything we like within the four walls of our house,—but those are not for public consumption. If we had taken a vow of silence, I would have nothing to say. When we open our lips in public, we say things which we do not really believe in. I do not know whether this is not the experience of almost every public man who speaks in India. I then suggest to you that there is only one Being, if Being is the proper term to be used, Whom we have to fear, and that is God. When we fear God, we shall fear no man, no matter how high-placed he may be. And if you want to follow the vow of truth in any shape or form, fearlessness is the necessary consequence. And so you find, in the *Bhagavad Gita*, fearlessness is declared as the first essential quality of a Brahmin. We fear consequences, and therefore we are afraid to tell the truth. A man who fears God will certainly not fear any earthly consequence. Before we can aspire to the position of understanding what religion is, and before we can aspire to the position of guiding the destinies of India, do you not see that we should adopt this habit of fearlessness? Or shall we over-awe our countrymen even as we are over-awed? We thus see how important this "fearlessness vow" is. And we have also the

Vow Regarding the Untouchables

There is an ineffaceable blot that Hinduism today carries with it. I have declined to believe that it has been handed to us from immemorial times. I think that this miserable, wretched, enslaving spirit of "untouchableness" must have come to us when we were in the cycle of our lives, at our lowest ebb, and that evil has still stuck to us and it still remains with us. It is, to my mind, a curse that has come to us, and as long as that curse remains with us, so long I think we are bound to consider that every affliction that we labour under in this sacred land is a fit and proper

punishment for this great and indelible crime that we are committing. That any person should be considered untouchable because of his calling passes one's comprehension; and you, the student world, who receive all this modern education, if you become a party to this crime, it were better that you received no education whatsoever.

Of course, we are labouring under a very heavy handicap. Although you may realise that there cannot be a single human being on this earth who should be considered to be untouchable, you cannot react upon your families, you cannot react upon your surroundings, because all your thought is conceived in a foreign tongue, and all your energy is devoted to that. And so we have also introduced a rule in this Ashram that we shall receive our

Education through the Vernaculars

In Europe, every cultured man learns, not only his language, but also other languages, certainly three or four. And even as they do in Europe, in order to solve the problem of language in India, we, in this Ashram, make it a point to learn as many Indian vernaculars as we possibly can. And I assure you that the trouble of learning these lannguages is nothing compared to the trouble that we have to take in mastering the English language. We never master the English laguage; with some exceptions, it has not been possible for us to do so; we can never express ourselves as clearly as we can in our own mother tongue. How dare we rub out of our memory all the years of our infancy? But that is precisely what we do when we commence our higher life, as we call it, through the medium of a foreign tongue. This creates a breach in our life for bridging which we shall have to pay dearly and heavily. And you will see now the connection between these two things—education and untouchableness—this persistence of the spirit of untouchableness even at this time of the day in spite of the spread of knowledge and education. Education has enabled us to see the horrible crime. But we are seized with fear also and, therefore, we cannot take this doctrine to our homes. And we have got a superstitious veneration for our family traditions and for the members of our family. You say, "My parents will die if I tell them that I, at least, can no longer partake of this crime." I say that Prahlad never considered that his father would die if he pronounced the sacred syllables of the name of Vishnu[1]. On the contrary, he made the whole of that household ring, from one corner

[1] One of the Hindu trinity, regarded as Preserver of the Universe

to another, by repeating that name even in the sacred presence of his father. And so you and I may do this thing in the sacred presence of our parents. If, after receiving this rude shock, some of them expire, I think that would be no calamity. It may be that some rude shocks of the kind might have to be delivered. So long as we persist in these things which have been handed down to us for generations, these incidents may happen. But there is a higher law of Nature, and in due obedience to that higher law, my parents and myself should make that sacrifice, and then we follow

Hand-weaving

You may ask: "Why should *we* use our hands?" and say "the manual work has got to be done by those who are illiterate. I can only occupy myself with reading literature and political essays." I think that we have to realise the dignity of labour. If a barber or shoe-maker attends a college, he ought not to abandon the profession of barber or shoe-maker. I consider that a barber's profession is just as good as the profession of medicine.

Last of all, when you have conformed to these rules, I think then, and not till then, you may come to

Politics

and dabble in them to your heart's content, and certainly you will then never go wrong. Politics, divorced of religion, have absolutely no meaning. If the student-world crowd the political platforms of this country, to my mind it is not necessarily a healthy sign of national growth; but that does not mean that you, in your student-life, ought not to study politics. Politics are a part of our being; we ought to understand our national institutions, and we ought to understand our national growth and all those things. We may do it from our infancy. So, in our Ashram, every child is taught to understand the political institutions of our country, and to know how the country is vibrating with new emotions, with new aspirations, with a new life. But we want also the steady light, the infallible light, of religious faith, not a faith which merely appeals to the intelligence, but a faith which is indelibly inscribed on the heart. First, we want to realise that religious consciousness, and immediately we have done that, I think the whole department of life is open to us, and it should then be a sacred privilege of students and everybody to partake of that whole life, so that, when they grow to manhood, and when they leave their colleges, they may do so as men properly equipped to battle with

life. Today what happens is this: much of the political life is confined to student life; immediately the students leave their colleges and cease to be students, they sink into oblivion, they seek miserable employments, carrying miserable emoluments, rising no higher in their aspirations, knowing nothing of God, knowing nothing of fresh air or bright light, and nothing of that real vigorous independence that comes out of obedience to these laws that I have ventured to place before you.

CONCLUSION

I am not here asking you to crowd into the Ashram, there is no room there. But I say that every one of you may enact that Ashram life individually and collectively. I shall be satisfied with anything that you may choose from the rules I have ventured to place before you and act up to it. But if you think that these are the outpourings of a mad man, you will not hesitate to tell me that it is so, and I shall take that judgment from you undismayed. (Loud cheers.)[1]

The Indian Review, February, 1916

171. SPEECH AT MADRAS SOCIAL SERVICE LEAGUE[2]

February 16, 1916

I have been asked to speak to you this evening about social service. If this evening you find that I am not able to do sufficient justice to this great audience, you will ascribe it to so many engagements that I hastily and unthinkingly accepted. It was my desire that I should have at least a few moments to think out what I shall have to say to you but it was not to be. However, as our Chair Lady[3] has said, it is work we want and not speeches. I am aware that you will have lost very little, if anything at all, if you find at the end of this evening's talk that you have listened to very little.[4]

For social service, as for any other service on the face of the earth, there is one condition indispensable, viz., proper qualifications on the part of those who want to render that service. The question to be asked is whether those of us who are already

[1] This paragraph is from *New India*, 16-2-1916.
[2] At its annual meeting held in the Madras Christian College
[3] Mrs. Whitehead, who presided
[4] This paragraph is from Natesan's *Speeches and Writings of Mahatma Gandhi*.

engaged in this kind of service and those who aspire to render that service, possess the necessary qualifications; because you will agree with me that servants, if they can mend matters, can also spoil matters, and in trying to do service, however well-intentioned that service might be, if they are not qualified for that service, they will be rendering not service but disservice. What are those qualifications? I imagine I should almost repeat to you the qualifications that I described this morning to the students in the Y.M.C.A. Hall,[1] because they are of universal application and are necessary for any class of work, much more in social service at this time of the day in our national life in our dear country. It seems to me that we do require truth in one hand and fearlessness in the other hand. Unless we carry the torchlight of truth, we shall not see the stall[2] in front of us and unless we carry the quality of fearlessness we shall not be able to give the message that we might want to give and on proper occasion. When the occasion for testing us comes—and such occasions do not occur to men so often as they might imagine, they come but rarely, they are special privileges—when that supreme final test comes, unless we have this fearlessness in the other hand, I feel sure we shall be found wanting. But let me remind you also that these two qualities may be trained in us[3] in a manner detrimental to ourselves and to those with whom we may come in contact. This is a dangerous statement almost to make, as if truth could be ever so handled, and in making that statement I would like you also to consider that truth comes not as truth but only as truth so called.[4] You will recall the instance of Ravana and Rama and that of Lakshman and Indrajit in that inimitable book the *Ramayana*. Lakshman and Indrajit both possessed the same qualities. Both had performed austerities, both had attained a certain amount of self-control. It was therefore most difficult to conquer Indrajit. We find what Indrajit possessed was mere dross and what Lakshman possessed was of great assistance not only to him, not only to the side on whose behalf he was fighting, but to us, to whom he has left a treasure to cherish and to value. What was that additional quality that Lakshman possessed? Lakshman was divinely guided. He had religious perception. His life was guided upon[5] principle

[1] *Vide* the preceding item.
[2] Natesan has "step".
[3] These two words are from Natesan.
[4] This sentence is from Natesan.
[5] Natesan has "by".

and based upon religion, and the life of Indrajit upon irreligion. Indrajit knew not where he was going. Life without religion is life without principle and life without principle is like a ship without a rudder. Just as a ship without a rudder and the helmsman will be tossed about from place to place and will never reach its destination, so will a man without religious backing, without the hard[1] grasp of religion, be tossed about on this stormy ocean of the world without ever reaching its destined goal. So I suggest to every social servant not to run away with the idea that he will be able to serve his fellow-countrymen without these two qualities duly sanctified by religious perception and divine guidance. Immediately we have these two qualities, even our mistakes which we would still commit will not be mistakes that would redound to our discredit or injure the cause that we may handle or the persons of the communities we may want to serve.

Our Chair Lady was good enough to take me to the Pariah Village just behind the compound of the Bishop's house and described to me the condition that little village was in before this League commenced its operations there. After seeing the village, I make bold to state that it is a model of cleanliness and order and it is much cleaner than some of the busiest and the most central parts of Madras. That is undoubtedly a creditable piece of work on the part of the Social Service League; and if the League can penetrate into the recesses of Madras and do the same kind of work, certain things which I have noticed in Madras will be conspicuous by their absence when I next pay my visit to this great city. (Cheers.) These things stare us in the face and have got to be remedied. When our Pariah brethren are amenable to reason and persuasion, shall we say that the so-called higher classes are not equally amenable to reason and persuasion and are not amenable to hygienic laws which are indispensable in order to live the city life? We may do many things with immunity but when we immediately transfer ourselves to crowded streets where we have hardly air to breathe, the life becomes changed, and we have to obey another set of laws which immediately come into being. Do we do that?[2] It is no use saddling the Municipality with responsibilities for the condition in which we find not only the central parts of Madras, but of every city in India without exception. No municipality in the world will be able to override the habits of a class of people which have been handed to them from generation to generation. It is a work

[1] Natesan has "heart".

[2] These two sentences are from Natesan.

that can be done only by patient toil and divine guidance. With these two immutable weapons in our hands, it can be done only by such bodies as Social Service Leagues. We are pulsating with a new life and a new vision which will add dignity to our nationality and will carry the banner of progress forward. The question of sanitary reform in big cities is practically a hopeless task if we expect our municipalities to do this unaided by this voluntary work. Far be it from me to absolve the municipalities from their own responsibilities. There is a great deal still left to be done by them. Only the other day I read with a great degree of pain a report about the proceedings of the Bombay Municipality, and the deplorable fact in it is that a large part of the time of the Municipality was devoted to talking over trifles while they neglected matters of great moment.[1] Municipalities will be able to do very little unless there is a demand for further improvement from the people themselves. In one of the model principalities in India, officials and others complained that in spite of their ceaseless vigilance and efforts, it was not possible for them to turn the people away from the ways they had adopted and which had become part of their being. Still the principality showed signs of visible progress. The Dewan of the place assured him that had it not been for the valuable assistance rendered by the Social Service League, people would not have done half of what they had done. Terrorism of officials is of no avail. I agree with that celebrated saint who said: "It is far better that people should even remain drunkards rather than that they should become sober at the point of the sword." If a man, after an appeal is made to his heart and after due effort is made to redeem him from bad ways, continues to believe he must drink himself to death, I am afraid we must allow him to do so; we cannot help it; we are not going to heap evil upon evil. It is no use doing physical harm to the man. He may cease to drink for the time being, but he will return to it again and again. There is little merit in the physical denial when there is no mental co-operation. The streets of Kashi, the most sacred place for the Hindus, are dirty. The same dirt was to be seen even in the sanctuary where the din and noise was very great. In such a place there should be perfect orderliness, peace, silence, gentleness and humility. All these things, I regret to say, were conspicuous by their absence. The priests do not accept anything less than a rupee from the devotees. That could not have been the position of Kashi Viswanath in ages gone by. When people are transported to Kashi in a railway Express by

[1] This sentence is from Natesan.

millions and when the surroundings are altered, one condition of orderly progress is that people should respond to the new conditions. What is true of Kashi Viswanath is true in the majority of cases in our holy temples. Here is a problem for the Social Service League. It must not be a problem for Government or municipality. Immediately you begin going to schools, you leave temples alone. Before we fit ourselves for this work, we should revolutionise the educational system. We are today in a false position and I promise that we shall incur the curse of the next generation for this great tragedy enacted before us. It is a matter for thinking and redressing. The task may be Herculean, but this reward will be adequate.

I have placed a few thoughts before you at random and I hope that they will sink deep into you and exercise your hearts. You should never rest satisfied until you have put your shoulder to the wheel and assisted to the best of your ability to bring about the necessary reform.

One other word of advice to the students who travel in third class compartments. Do not dominate those who wrongly think they are your inferiors, seeing your constume. If you do so, you will be disqualified for rendering social service.

The Hindu, 17-2-1916

172. REPLY TO MRS. BESANT

[Before *February 17, 1916*]

Mr. M. K. Gandhi writes to us:

Mrs. Besant's reference in *New India* and certain other references to the Benares Incident perhaps render it necessary for me to return to the subject, however disinclined I may be to do so. Mrs. Besant denies my statement with reference to her whispering to the Princes.[1] I can only say that if I can trust my eyes and my ears, I must adhere to the statement I have made. She occupied a seat on the left of the semi-circle on the other side of the Maharaja of Darbhanga, who occupied the chair, and there was at least one Prince, perhaps, there were two who were sitting on her side. Whilst I was speaking, Mrs. Besant was almost behind me. When the Maharaja rose, Mrs. Besant had also risen. I had ceased speaking before the Rajahs actually left the platform. She was discussing

[1] *Vide* Appendix I.

the incident with a group round her on the platform. I gently suggested to her that she might have refrained from interrupting, but that if she disapproved of the speech after it was finished, she could have then dissociated herself from my sentiments. But she, with some degree of warmth, said, "How could we sit still when you were compromising everyone of us on the platform? You ought not to have made the remarks you did." This answer of Mrs. Besant's does not quite tally with her solicitude for me which alone, according to her version of the incident, prompted her to interrupt the speech. I suggest that if she merely meant to protect me, she could have passed a note round or whispered into my ears her advice. And, again, if it was for my protection, why was it necessary for her to rise with the Princes and to leave the hall as I hold she did along with them?

So far as my remarks are concerned, I am yet unable to know what it was in my speech that seems to her to be open to such exception as to warrant her interruption. After referring to the Viceregal visit and the necessary precautions that were taken for the Viceroy's safety, I showed that an assassin's death was anything but an honourable death, and said that anarchism was opposed to our shastras and had no room in India. I said then where there was honourable death, it would go down history as men who died for their conviction. But when a bomb-thrower died, secretly plotting all sorts of things, what could he gain? I then went on to state and deal with the fallacy that had not bomb-throwers thrown bombs, we should never have gained what we did with reference to the Partition Movement. It was at about this stage that Mrs. Besant appealed to the chair to stop me. Personally, I will desire a publication of the whole of my speech[1] whose trend was a sufficient warrant for showing that I could not possibly incite the students to deeds of violence. Indeed it was conceived in order to carry on a rigorous self-examination.

I began by saying that it was a humiliation for the audience and myself that I should have to speak in English. I said that English having been the medium of instruction, it had done a tremendous injury to the country, and as I conceive I showed successfully that had we received training during the past 50 years in higher thought in our own vernaculars, we would be to-day within reach of our goal. I then referred to the self-government Resolution passed at the Congress and showed that whilst the All-India

[1] *Vide* "Speech at Benares Hindu University", 6-2-1916.

Congress Committee and the All-India Moslem League would be drawing up their paper about the future constitution, their duty was to fit themselves by their own action for self-government. And in order to show how short we fell of our duty, I drew attention to the dirty condition of the labyrinth of lanes surrounding the great temple of Kashi Viswanath and the recently erected palatial buildings without any conception as to the straightness or the width of the streets. I then took the audience to the gorgeous scene that was enacted on the day of the foundation and suggested that if a stranger not knowing anything about Indian life had visited the scene, he would have gone away under the false impression that India was one of the richest countries in the world—such was the display of jewellery worn by our noblemen. And turning to the Maharajas and the Rajahs, I humorously suggested that it was necessary for them to hold those treasures in trust for the nation before we could realise our ideals, and I cited[1] the action of the Japanese noblemen who considered it a glorious privilege, even though there was no necessity for them, to dispossess themselves of treasures and lands which were handed to them from generation to generation. I then asked the audience to consider the humiliating spectacle of the Viceroy's person having to be protected from ourselves when he was our honoured guest. And I was endeavouring to show that the blame for these precautions was also on ourselves, in that they were rendered necessary because of the introduction of organised assassination in India. Thus I was endeavouring to show, on the one hand, how the students could usefully occupy themselves in assisting to rid the society of its proved defects and, on the other, wean themselves even in thought from methods of violence.

I claim that with twenty years' experience of public life in the course of which I had to address on scores of occasions turbulant audiences, I have some experience of feeling the pulse of my audience. I was following closely how the speech was being taken and I certainly did not notice that the student world was being adversely affected. Indeed some of them came to me the following morning and told me that they perfectly understood my remarks which had gone home. One of them, a keen debater, even subjected me to cross-examination and seemed to feel convinced by a further development of the argument such as I had advanced in the course of my speech. Indeed I have spoken now to thousands of students and others of my countrymen throughout South Africa, England and India; and by precisely the arguments that I used

[1] Not found in the available version of the speech

that evening, I claim to have weaned many from their approval of anarchical methods.

Finally, I observe that Mr. S. S. Setlur, of Bombay, who has written on the incident to *The Hindu* in no friendly mood towards me, and who I think in some respects totally unfairly has endeavoured to tear me to pieces, and who was an eye witness to the proceedings, gives a version different from Mrs. Besant's. He thinks that the general impression was not that I was encouraging the anarchists but that I was playing the role of an apologist for the Civilian bureaucrat. The whole of Mr. Setlur's attack upon me shows that if he is right I was certainly not guilty of any incitement to violence and that the offence consisted in my reference to jewellery, etc.

In order that the fullest justice might be done both to Mrs. Besant and myself, I would make the following suggestion. She says that she does not propose to defend herself by quoting the sentence which drove the Princes away and that that would be playing into the enemies' hands; according to her previous statement, my speech is already in the hands of detectives so that, so far as my safety is concerned, her forbearance is not going to be of the slightest use. Would it not therefore be better that she should either publish a verbatim report if she has it or reproduce such sentiments in my speech as in her opinion necessitated her interruption and the Princes' withdrawal?

I will, therefore, conclude this statement by repeating what I have said before;[1] that but for Mrs. Besant's interruption, I would have concluded my speech within a few minutes and no possible misconception about my views on anarchism would have arisen.

The Hindu, 17-2-1916

[1] *Vide* "Interview to A.P.I. on Benares 'Incident'", 9-2-1916.

173. LETTER TO "NEW INDIA" ON BENARES 'INCIDENT'

[MADRAS,]
February 17, 1916

In your editorial note of even date, you suggested that I have reverted to the Benares incident under missionary influence. May I say that the missionaries had absolutely nothing to do with my statement[1], and that there has not been any conversation about it between any missionary and myself?

New India, 18-2-1916

174. SPEECH ON VERNACULARS AND EDUCATION, MADRAS

[*February 17, 1916*]

Last evening at the Anderson Hall, Madras, under the auspices of the Christian College Associated Societies, a joint debate was held on the subject, "Shall the Vernaculars be the Media of Instruction in our Schools and Colleges?" with Mr. M. K. Gandhi in the chair.

Mr. A. S. Rajam opened the debate on the subject in a short speech. . . .

The Chairman then wound up the debate and said that certainly the question of racial difference would not occur if vernaculars were to be made the media of instruction in schools and colleges. In our country, they were one Nation, and even before the English advent, they did form one Nation and had one common religion. There were histories to show that our sacred sages had travelled from one part of the country to another in those days for the purpose of religious gatherings, and thus brotherly feelings always existed among the people. For the real progress of the country and for the welfare of the masses, this problem ought to be solved by the authorities concerned at an early date. These objections against the introduction of vernaculars were all baseless and the best thing was for the people themselves to solve this question, and educate the masses of the country through the media of vernaculars. The rulers themselves would then have to learn the vernaculars of the country in the interests of proper administration.

A hearty vote of thanks to the Chairman terminated the proceedings.

New India, 18-2-1916

[1] *Vide* the preceding item.

175. SPEECH AT POONA ON GOKHALE ANNIVERSARY

February 19, 1916

A meeting to celebrate the anniversary of the late Mr. Gokhale's death was held in the Kirloskar Theatre, Poona City, on the 19th instant.

There were about 2,000 persons present.

Mr. H. W. Wadia, Bar-at-Law, presided.

Mr. Gandhi, who came down to Poona at the invitation of the Deccan Sabha, hoped that the anniversary would be celebrated with due regularity and it would take the form of stock-taking on the part of those who revered the memory of the deceased and wanted to show their reverence by taking some part of the activity of the deceased.[1] Mr. Gokhale's work in the Imperial Council and on the Public Service Commission showed great ability and patriotism. He worked on the South African question regardless of his health and it had, in Mr. Gandhi's opinion, cost him ten years of his life. The speaker suggested that behind all the work of Mr. Gokhale lay his great spirituality. It was because Mr. Gokhale felt it necessary to spiritualise the political life of the country that he had brought the Servants of India Society into being. Mr. Gokhale once said to the speaker that there were moments when he doubted the efficacy of much of the political work and was distressed by severe disappointments, but he was saved from such a situation by a consciousness of the faith that he had deep down in him in the existence of the permanent element and it was this faith, thought Mr. Gandhi, which made him triumph over all disappointments and persist in the work.[2]

The speaker said that he had toured the country during the past year in accordance with the wishes of Mr. Gokhale, and now without his advice to guide him, he was at a loss to know whether he was drifting in the right or the wrong direction. In the course of his travels, he found that the country was vibrating with a passionate spirit of patriotism, but the bugbear of "fear" loomed large on the horizon. Social endeavour was impeded by the overawing power of spiritual authority, and in the path of political activity lay the barrier of political authority. They were the slaves of circumstances, but they were themselves to blame. It had become impossible for them to voice in public the opinions uttered in their homes. The spiritual liberty of the people was usurped by the priests; in politics they were afraid to give expression to their views. This was a regrettable state of affairs and showed that they were lacking in backbone. Until they had driven out this craven spirit from

[1] *New India*, 21-2-1916, adds here: "and the speaker emphasised the fact that the deceased statesman was worthy of such activity on their part".

[2] This paragraph is from *The Bombay Chronicle*, 21-2-1916.

their hearts, they were unworthy of undertaking the great charge bequeathed to them. The heroes of the past were still with them in spirit. Faith in the lives of the great departed, sincerity, humanity and patriotism would enable them to weather the storm and establish their country in its destined place among the nations of the world.

The president in thanking Mr. Gandhi for his address said that he was not prepared to say anything about the apprehensions and hopes which Mr. Gandhi had spoken of, but would merely mention that he did not agree with him. He had considerable experience of politics and entertained the brightest hopes for India. . . .

The Hon'ble Mr. R. P. Paranjpe proposed a vote of thanks to Mr. Gandhi and the Chairman.

The Bombay Chronicle, 21-2-1916 and Bombay Secret Abstracts, 1916, p. 130

176. SPEECH ON INDIAN WOMEN'S UNIVERSITY[1]

February 23, 1916

Everyone here knows the gentleman who will soon address us. Hence I need not speak at length by way of introducing him. He has taken up the mission of founding a university for Indian women. The task will entail the revival of different regional languages. He proposes to start in June an examining and teaching university. It is said that in our society as it is today men suffer from *ardhangavayu*[2] and this charge is by and large well founded because we are not able to make our 'better halves' keep pace with us. Circumstances are chiefly responsible for this state of affairs. Prof. Karve has undertaken this work in order to improve the condition of women and has set about it briskly. I must indeed admit that his enthusiasm is matchless. If I may introduce him in the words of Mr. Gokhale, he is truth incarnate. We are therefore confident that, even if his work is not crowned with all the success one may hope for, no harm is likely to result from it any time. He has devoted twenty years of service to the Fergusson College and has been managing a widows' home for as many years. Now, at the age of 59, he has started on a new venture, a mark of the highest self-sacrifice and zeal. In Gujarat, we do not have the spirit of

[1] Being the introductory and concluding remarks as Chairman on the occasion of a public lecture in Ahmedabad by Prof. D. K. Karve (1858-1962), founder of the University

[2] Paralysis of one side of the body

self-sacrifice that we find in Poona. This should make us feel ashamed of ourselves; Gujarat has, therefore, much to learn from the life of Prof. Karve.

Concluding the proceedings, Gandhiji said:

Mrs. Vidyagauri['s[1] speech] invites some comments. We shall accept equality of rights for women, but I think their education should differ from men's, as their nature and functions do. In progressive countries, women receive the very highest education but, after it is over, they do not have to perform the same duties as men and in our country women have never to compete with men for a livelihood. The help this institution receives from us, whatever it be, will not go unavailing to us. When we start a school or a college here, we shall get back a part of what we donate. It is my earnest request, therefore, that we should give the best help we can to this institution.

[From Gujarati]

Prajabandhu, 27-2-1916

177. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL GANDHI

AHMEDABAD,
Maha Vad 5 [February 23, 1916][2]

CHI. CHHAGANLAL,

I have just returned, having been to Madras, where I saw Chi. Maganlal and Jamnadas, and to Bombay, where I saw Shri Khushalbhai and others. Santok and the two girls have come away with me, for their work there was over and Maganlal had to be all over Madras. I have advised him to return after completing his study of Tamil. He tells me he has done a good job of learning weaving. Jamnadas and his wife will stay on in Madras. One can't say that Jamnadas's health is normal again. The rest are flourishing.

Khushalbhai and all of us wish that you should now come away[3]. It seems improper for you to engage in business there. Do what you think best about the house and the small farm. I don't think anyone can be sent over from here just now, nor has

[1] Vidyagauri R. Nilkanth, a social worker

[2] Gandhiji returned from Madras on this date in 1916. Maganlal Gandhi referred to in the letter was there at the time.

[3] From South Africa

there been any such demand. Rather, Mr. Pragji writes to say that, if anyone were to be sent, Bhaga would have to be relieved.

You need not be much concerned about your coming over here. It is but natural that I should want you to be with me. If you wish, however, I shall make other arrangements. Once you are here, everything will be managed.

I find that Khushalbhai and Devbhabhi[1] have taken very well to Bombay. There is no limit to what I get from them, as though they owe a debt to me. I am not even allowed to feel that we are only cousins.

As to what happened in Kashi[2], I could fill pages with my reflections on it all, but I have no time. You will know when you are here.

Blessings from
MOHANDAS

Imam Saheb's[3] father is dead. Write a letter of condolence to him.

From a handwritten copy of the Gujarati original: C. W. 5692. Courtesy: Narandas Gandhi

178. INDENTURED LABOUR

The question of indentured labour is a seasonable subject for more reasons than one. Messrs Andrews and Pearson have just returned from Fiji after finishing their self-imposed labours for the sake of India which they have learnt to love as they love their motherland. Their report is about to be issued. There Mr. Malaviya has given notice for leave to move a resolution[4] in the Imperial Council which will, if adopted, commit the Government to a repeal of the system of indentured labour. Mr. Malaviya's resolution will be, it may be recalled, a continuation of the late Mr. Gokhale's work in 1912, when in a speech full of fervour and weighted with facts and figures, he moved his resolution demanding

[1] Addressee's mother

[2] The reference is to the 'incident' during Gandhiji's speech at the Benares Hindu University; *vide* "Speech at Benares Hindu University", 6-2-1916. Kashi is another name for Varanasi or Benares.

[3] Imam Abdul Kadir Bawazeer

[4] In March, 1916, Madan Mohan Malaviya moved a resolution in the Imperial Legislative Council for the abolition of the indenture system.

repeal of this form of labour. The deceased statesman's resolution was thrown out only by the force of official majority. The moral victory lay with Mr. Gokhale. The death-knell of the system was rung when that resolution was moved. The Government, as it could not then abolish the system, outvoted Mr. Gokhale but did not fail to note that they must hurry forward to do so at an early date. Mr. Malaviya's proposed resolution and the report of Messrs Andrews and Pearson, which latter, it is known, is to suggest total abolition of the system, will enable Lord Hardinge fittingly to close his most eventful viceroyalty removing this long-standing and acknowledged grievance.

These lines will be merely an attempt to give personal observations and to indulge in a few reflections upon the question. For facts and figures, the readers and the public workers must look up Mr. Gokhale's speech referred to above and Messrs Andrews and Pearson's forthcoming report.

Indentured labour is admittedly a remnant of slavery. The late Sir William Wilson Hunter, when his attention was drawn to it in 1895, was the first to call it a state 'perilously near to slavery'. Most legislation only partly reflects the public opinion of its time. Legislation abolishing slavery was really a bit in advance of public opinion, and that was a big bit. And its effect, like that of all such legislation, was largely neutralized by the dissatisfied slave-owner resorting to the dodge of indentured labour. The yoke, if it fell from the Negro's black neck, was transferred to the brown neck of the Indian. In the process of transfer, it had to be somewhat polished, it had to be lightened in weight and even disguised. Nevertheless, in all its essentials, it retained its original quality. The hideousness of the system was forcefully demonstrated when the curse descended upon South Africa in the shape of indentured labourers from China for working the gold mines. It was no mere election cry that the late Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman[1] had taken up when he made the British Isles from end to end ring with denunciation of the system. No cost was counted as too great for ridding South Africa of the evil. The great multi-millionaires of Johannesburg spared nothing to be enabled to hold on to the indentured Chinaman. They asked for breathing time. The House of Commons remained unmoved. Mine-owners had to shift for themselves. The interests of humanity overrode all other considerations. The mines were threatened to be closed. The House did not care.

[1] Prime Minister of England, 1905-8

The millions promised to Mr. Chamberlain[1] would not be forthcoming. The House laughed. Within six months of the passage of the measure for the abolition of Chinese indentured labour, every Chinese labourer had been repatriated bag and baggage. The mines survived the shock. They discovered other methods of life. And now be it said to the credit of the mine-owners as well as of the Conservatives who opposed the measure, that both these classes recognize that the abolition was a great deliverance.

Indian indentured labour is not less demoralising. It has persisted because its bitterness like that of a sugared pill has been cleverly though unconsciously concealed. The one great distinction between the two classes was that the Chinese were brought in without a single woman with them, whereas every hundred Indian labourers must include forty women among them. Had the Chinese remained, they would have sapped the very foundations of society. The Indian labourers confine the evil to themselves. This may be unimportant to non-Indians. But for us, the wonder is that we have allowed the sin to continue so long. This business about the women is the weakest and the irremediable part of the evil. It therefore needs a somewhat closer inspection. These women are not necessarily wives. Men and women are huddled together during the voyage. The marriage is a farce. A mere declaration by man and woman made upon landing before the Protector of Immigrants that they are husband and wife constitutes a valid marriage. Naturally enough, divorce is common. The rest must be left to the imagination of the reader. This is certain—that the system does not add to the moral well-being of India. And it is suggested that no amount of figures adduced to show that the labourer is far richer at the end of his contract of labour than when he entered upon it can be allowed to be any set-off against the moral degradation it involves.

There is another most powerful consideration to be urged against the continuance of this system. The relations between Englishmen and Indians in India are not of the happiest. The average Englishman considers himself to be superior to the average Indian and the latter is generally content to be so considered. Such a state of things is demoralizing to both and a menace to the stability of the British Empire. There is no reason why every Englishman should not learn to consider every Indian as his brother, and why every Indian should not cease to think that he is born to fear

[1] Joseph Chamberlain (1836-1914), British statesman; Secretary of State for the Colonies, 1895

every Englishman. Be that as it may, this unnatural relationship is reflected in an exaggerated form outside India when the artificial state of indentured service under the white employer is set up. Unless, therefore, the relation between the English and ourselves is put on a correct footing in India, any transference of Indian labourers to far-off lands, whether parts of the Empire or otherwise, even under a free contract must harm both employer and employed. I happen to have the privilege of knowing most humane employers of Indian labourers in Natal. They were their men. But they do not, they cannot, give them more than the most favoured treatment that their cattle receive. I use this language in no uncharitable spirit. The humanest of employers cannot escape the limitations of his class. He instinctively feels that the Indian labourer is inferior to him and can never be equal to him. Surely no indentured Indian, no matter how clever and faithful he may be, has ever inherited his master's state. But I know English servants who have risen to their master's state even as Indian servants have risen to their Indian master's state. It is not the Englishman's fault that the relationship with his Indian employees has not been progressive. It is beyond the scope of these lines to distribute the blame, if there is any, on either side, or to examine the causes for the existence of such a state of things. I have been obliged to advert to it to show that apart from all other considerations, the system of indentured labour is demonstrably so degrading to us as a nation that it must be stopped at any cost and that now.

The Leader, 25-2-1916

179. SPEECH AT RECEPTION IN HYDERABAD, SIND

February 26, 1916

About seven thousand people led by the Hon'ble Mr. Bhurgri and the Hon'ble Mr. Ghulam Hussein, both Mahomedan members of the Bombay Legislative Council, gave a public reception to Mr. Gandhi at Hyderabad and a procession of fifty carriages took three hours to pass through the crowded streets owing to numerous stops for Mr. Gandhi to be garlanded. A eulogistic address in a sandalwood casket was presented to Mr. Gandhi at a public meeting, where all the speeches were in English except that of Mr. Gandhi, who preferred to speak in Hindustani.

Mr. Gandhi said that his political guru, the late Mr. Gokhale, had imposed on him one year's silence and had bidden him to travel and see things. The period had passed now and he could speak. Self-government for India

was in the air. A scheme was to be framed by the Congress and the League leaders at Allahabad, but how many knew what was wanted? It could not be given and taken mechanically. They could only get as much of swaraj as they fitted themselves for, they had to fulfil certain conditions and they could fulfil them. One condition was that they should adopt swadeshi whole-heartedly. Swaraj and swadeshi must go together. Then their motto should be "Fear God rather than man, be the man King or Guru or Moulvi." Then they must treat their depressed and poor brethren as human beings. Mr. Gandhi also reminded his hearers that they could best honour their leaders by copying the virtues which they ascribed to those leaders. He concluded with an appeal for funds being raised for the Servants of India Society.

At the conclusion of his speech, he was loudly cheered. At the end "Vande Mataram" and another national song of the famous Digambar[1] were sung, the audience standing.

The Hindu, 29-2-1916

180. SPEECH AT HYDERABAD, SIND

February 27, 1916

On 27th February, 1916, Gandhiji unveiled before a large gathering the portrait of the late Mr. G. K. Gokhale in the Holmstead Hall, Hyderabad (Sind). The Collector was also amongst those present.

Mr. Gandhi, speaking in Hindustani, said that character was the cornerstone of Mr. Gokhale's work and success. Not only public men, but Government officials, traders, clerks, coolies and others could elevate and serve the country if duty, and not authority or self, was the ruling motive. Want of a sense of duty and the spirit of service caused their miseries. Mr. Gokhale founded the Servants of India Society for development of character and he wanted to spiritualise political life. The leaders must not seek praise but serve the country as a duty.

If I did not emulate the virtues of Mr. Gokhale, I would prove myself unworthy of this unveiling of his portrait. And if you would not emulate his virtues, you would prove yourself unfit for joining in this ceremony.[2]

In conclusion, Mr. Gandhi appealed for aid for the Servants of India Society.

The Bombay Chronicle, 29-2-1916

[1] Vishnu Digambar Paluskar

[2] These two sentences are from *Gujarati*, 5-3-1916.

181. SPEECH AT HYDERABAD ON VACCINATION

February 28, 1916

During the course of the day, Mr. Gandhi visited the Narishala, Navalrai Hiranand Academy, Nava Vidyalaya High School, and Kundanmal Girls' School. In the afternoon, Mr. Gandhi was the guest of the Gujarati and Deccani residents of Hyderabad, who had assembled in the house of Mr. P. C. Mankad in Hirabag. Mr. Gandhi was given an address and garlanded. After that he drove to the Central Jail accompanied by Diwan Wadhumal Belaram and his brothers, and strange to say that the request made to the Superintendent to allow Mr. Gandhi to see the inside of the Jail was ungraciously refused by him for reasons best known to him. Mr. Gandhi then went to the Holmstead Hall where he gave a short discourse on vaccination.

He said that he had not given special attention to the subject, but had bestowed some thought on it. He thought as the vaccine serum was obtained by a process which spelt torture to the cow, vaccination contravened the fundamental principle of Hinduism which is ahimsa. He said that orthodox Hindus objected to vaccination, since injection through the arm was tantamount to taking through the mouth. He then said that vaccination with human lymph was open to objection not only on the same grounds, but also because it involved the risk of contracting infectious diseases. He said that it was not a fact that all those who were not vaccinated were attacked with small-pox, nor that those who were so attacked succumbed to it. He further stated that it was left to the choice of every individual to go in for vaccination or not. But if the law of compulsory vaccination was in force in a place and if some person objected to vaccination on religious grounds, every Indian should stand by him, for compulsion in one form might lead to compulsion in other directions also.[1]

The Sind Journal, 1-3-1916, as quoted in Bombay Secret Abstracts

[1] *The Bombay Chronicle*, 1-3-1916, in its brief report had here: "He recommended passive resistance on the part of those having religious objection and said that the public should support those who were prepared for going to jail."

182. SPEECH IN REPLY TO ADDRESS, KARACHI

February 29, 1916

In reply to the welcome address presented by the Citizens' Association, Karachi, on February 29, 1916, Mr. Gandhi spoke in Hindi to the following effect:

I have been travelling in various parts of India, and in the course of my travels, I have been struck with the fact that throughout India the hearts of the people are in a special degree drawn towards me. All brothers of Hindustan without distinction of creed or caste have been showing this attachment. But I feel convinced that this remarkable attachment to me is meant not for me but as a fitting tribute of admiration to all those noble brothers and sisters of ours in South Africa, who underwent such immense trouble and sacrifices including incarceration in jails for the service of the Motherland. It is undoubtedly this consideration which leads you to be so very kind to me. It was they who won the struggle and it was by reason of their unflinching determination to "do or die" that so much was achieved. Hence I take it that whatever tribute is paid to me, is in reality and in truth paid to them.

In the course of my tour in India, I have been particularly struck with one thing and that is the awakening of the Indian people. A new hope has filled the hearts of the people, hope that something is going to happen which will raise the Motherland to a higher status. But side by side with this spirit of hope, I also had amongst my countrymen, awe not only of the Government but also of heads of castes and the priestly class. As a result of this, we are afraid to speak out what is in us. So long as this spirit remains, there will be, and there can be, no true progress. You know that at the last session of the Congress, a resolution was passed about self-government. For the attainment of that ideal, you and I, all of us, must work and persevere. In pursuance of that resolution, the Committees of the Congress and the Moslem League will soon meet together and they will decide what they think proper. But the attainment of self-government depends not on their saying or doing anything but upon what you and I do. Here in Karachi, commerce is predominant and there are many big merchants. To them, I wish to address a few words. It is a misapprehension to think that there is no scope in commerce for serving the Mother-country. If they are inspired by the spirit of truth, merchants can be immensely

useful to the country. The salvation of our country, remember, is not in the hands of others but of ourselves, and more in the hands of merchants in some respects than the educated people; for I strongly feel that so long as there is no swadeshism, there can be no self-government ("Hear, hear"), and for the spread of swadeshism Indian merchants are in a position to do a very great deal. The swadeshi wave passed through the country at one time. But I understand that the movement had collapsed largely because Indian merchants had palmed off foreign goods as swadeshi articles. By Indian merchants being honest and straightforward in their business, they could achieve a great deal for the regeneration and uplift of the country. Hence merchants should faithfully observe what Hindus call dharma and Mohammedans call *iman*[1] in their business transactions. Then shall India be uplifted. In South Africa, our merchants rendered valuable help in the struggle and yet because some of them weakened, the struggle was prolonged somewhat. It is the duty of the educated classes to mix freely with Indian merchants and the poor classes. Then will our journey to the common and cherished goal be less irksome. (Prolonged applause.)

Speeches and Writings of Mahatma Gandhi (4th Ed.), pp. 327-8

183. SPEECH AT KARACHI ON GOKHALE

February 29, 1916

Unveiling the portrait of Gokhale at the Khalihdina Hall, Karachi, on Tuesday the 29th February 1916, Mahatma Gandhi spoke as follows:

In Hyderabad, Sind, also, I was asked to unveil a portrait of Mr. Gokhale; and there I put to myself and to those present a question which I put to myself and to you now. That question is : What right have I to unveil the portrait of Mr. Gokhale and what right have you to join in the ceremony? Of course, to unveil a portrait or to join in it is nothing great or important in itself. But the question really involved in the ceremony is important, viz., are your hearts and is my heart in reality so much moved as to copy the glorious example of the great man? The function will have no real significance unless we follow in his footsteps. And if we do follow him, we shall be able to achieve a great deal. Of course, it is not possible for all of us to achieve what Mr. Gokhale did in the Imperial Legislative Council. But the way in which he

[1] Honesty

served the Motherland, the whole-hearted devotion with which he did it day and night without ceasing—all this it is in our power to do as the great one did. And I hope that when you leave this hall, you will bear in mind to follow him and thus give expression to your regard for him. You know that the best achievement of Mr. Gokhale according to himself was the establishment of the Servants of India Society. This great institution he has left behind him; and it lies with us to support it and continue its noble work. It would be best if we could join the Society. But that will involve the question of our being fit for it. But if we are not in a position to join the Society, we can all do the next best thing, viz., render pecuniary aid and swell the funds of the Society.

Speeches and Writings of Mahatma Gandhi (4th Ed.), p. 1013

184. SPEECH AT KARACHI[1]

February 29, 1916

I am very grateful to the friends from Gujarat for the honour they have done me today. Wherever I have gone, Gujaratis have welcomed me as they have done here. They are more my neighbours—though all the people in the country are my neighbours—and I wish therefore to be of special service to them. However, I must tour the whole of India and it would not be right for me, therefore, to stay in Gujarat all the time. I have observed that Gujaratis have spread out as far as Calcutta, to the Madras as well as the Bengal Presidency for purposes of business. Even in South Africa, the major part of the business community is from Gujarat. In Karachi, the Gujarati population is much larger than at any of these places, so much so that, though the Sindhis are in a majority here, Karachi being a part of Sind, at first sight it might appear that the Gujarati population in the city was larger than the Sindhi.

There are three communities in Gujarat—Gujarati Hindus, Gujarati Parsis and Gujarati Muslims, and all these three have spread over different parts of the country, most of them for business. It is not the right way for a business man merely to earn and lay by money and get rich anyhow by exploiting the poor. In that way, even the Pindaris used to get wealthy by robbing people. I see no difference between a man who cheats in business and one who slaps another and forces him to part with his money. Business

[1] In reply to an address from the Gujarati Hindus of Karachi

men should follow truth in their business and not bear hard on people through their operations. I don't mean to suggest that this is what you do in your business. Whenever you may have committed sins, you must have felt the fear of God as well and you must have done kindness, too, now and then. It should be the chief aim of a business man to study this virtue of kindness. Our education is no education if it only makes us physicians or lawyers. We should try to develop our business. One living example of this is provided by Sir Dorab[1] and Ratan Tata. Sir Dorab does not educate any of his sons for the profession of a physician or a lawyer. He will perhaps have quite a number of such physicians in his employment. You should rather emulate the part he has played in the development of trade in this country. India has none to equal this man. Mr. Chamberlain of Birmingham was also a true business man and, though he is no more, his memory is still cherished in the business world. Business men may protest and say that they only know business and do not meddle with other things. They should not, however, take up any such attitude. They, too, should be in tune with the atmosphere around them. In fact, the very scriptures of Muslims, Hindus and Parsis enjoin them to serve the people while they carry on their business. He is no worthy business man who, in times of famine, raises the prices so high that the people simply break down. This kind of thing ruins both the people and the business men. The failure of the swadeshi movement is also to be attributed to the business men. Everyone blames it on the Bombay Presidency where the people, keen only on making money, took no interest in promoting the sale of swadeshi goods. Just as the Kshatriya's duty is not killing [but protecting], so also the business man's duty is not amassing wealth.

[From Gujarati]

Gujarat Mitra ane Gujarat Darpan, 12-3-1916

[1] Sir Dorabji Jamshetji Tata (1859-1932), brother of Ratan Tata; elder son of Sir Jamshetji Nasarwanji Tata (1839-1904), industrial pioneer and philanthropist

185. *SPEECH AT KARACHI RECEPTION*[1]

March 2, 1916

Everyone should receive education through the mother tongue, giving to a foreign language the place merely of an optional subject. No other language can ever influence our life as powerfully as the mother tongue can.

[From Gujarati]

Gujarati, 12-3-1916

186. *INTERVIEW TO PRESS AT KARACHI*[2]

March 2, 1916

In the course of my tour, I have observed that there is more of public life in Poona [than anywhere else]. True, public life in Madras is quite on a large scale but this is due to the much greater student population there. In Poona, on the other hand, I saw that there were men who could identify themselves with the common people. It does not seem to be so in Madras. In the whole of India, it is in Poona that we come across persons from among whom a large number may emerge one day as leaders of the masses. In Bombay, things are so so. Public life there depends on only one or two gentlemen. It is the charge of outsiders against Sind that its people are apathetic. I don't think so. There is as much public spirit in this province as in any other. I think the public spirit in Sind will excel that of Bombay.

[From Gujarati]

Gujarati, 11-3-1916; also *Gujarat Mitra ane Gujarat Darpan*, 12-3-1916

[1] By Karachi Bandhu Mandal

[2] This interview was given to the representative of *Parsi Samsar*, a Gujarati periodical of Karachi

187. SPEECH AT RECEPTION AT BADIN, SIND

March 3, 1916

In the course of his reply, Mr. Gandhi quoted Sir Sayed Ahmed to the effect that India must see with both eyes, that is to say, both through the Mohammedan eye and the Hindu eye, otherwise she was partly blind.

Bombay Secret Abstracts, 1916, pp. 148-50

188. LETTER TO MAGANLAL GANDHI

Saturday [*March 11, 1916*][1]

CHI. MAGANLAL,

Herewith a letter[2] received here. Enclosed with it was an advertisement, which I need not send on. I shall leave on the 15th instead of on the 14th. I am thinking of taking along both Devdas and Prabhudas. Ramdas will of course be there.

You must put your heart in Tamil and get through with it. Shivram has left and there is no one to attend to Tamil now. I think, therefore, that the thing can be done only when one of us gets trained up. At present, I can only think of you. I have it in my mind to send others also to learn Tamil. It seems that Anna will not come at all.

Soyabeans are grown in India. I saw the grain in the farms in Sind. They sell there whatever seed we want.

Is Jamnadas quite all right now? Does he, too, go ahead with Tamil? Call on the Reverends Simon and Lazarus. I am sure you will find among the Christians someone who will be ready to teach. If you have gone far enough, make it a practice to read a newspaper. Krishnasami, it seems, lives there. He is penitent, indeed. See if you can get any help from him.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: C.W. 5693. Courtesy: Radhabehn Choudhri

[1] Gandhiji was in Sind from February 26, 1916 and in Karachi on March 2, 1916. He reached Hardwar on the 14th accompanied by Ramdas, Devdas and Prabhudas, Chhaganlal Gandhi's son. The letter seems to have been written a little before that date.

[2] Not available

189. SPEECH AT CONFERENCE FOR ELEVATION OF UNTOUCHABLES, GURUKUL

March 18, 1916

Even if Nanak Chand had not told us that the *gotras* of the Untouchables are the same as those of other Rajputs, even then we would not consider them untouchables. For it is our duty to love all. Sir Sankaran Nair told me we had lost India through inequity to the Untouchables. I believe it so. We shall realize it if someone else gave us the same disgraceful treatment. No, we have really sinned grievously. For the sake of our souls, our own good, must we repent and be restored. We must undergo a *prayaschit*. And what is the *prayaschit*? What is the practical solution? I can tell you that in a minute. First, we must clearly realize that we have to attain not their salvation but ours by treating them as equals, by admitting them to our schools, etc. We only copy the missionaries. To those responsible for the active working out of the question, I would suggest simply to think and act more seriously and sincerely and find out what ought to be done.

Vedic Magazine, April-May, 1916

190. SPEECH AT PRIZE DISTRIBUTION, GURUKUL[1]

March 20, 1916

These village schools have, I find, no common educational standard. Some are doing as good work as the schools for the rich but some impart very poor education. To be fair to the Untouchables, one must send one's own children to such schools for depressed classes and make sure that the educational standard is not allowed to fall low. But one thing more. Let not the education be such as to transform these village workers into *khansamas*, dirty hands, petty sub-clerks in unhealthy towns. Let the education enable them to follow the occupations of their fathers, to follow them more scientifically, to follow them with greater skill. Let the schools create an attachment for village life, for village crafts, for open air independence and for service among our own.

Vedic Magazine, April-May, 1916

[1] This is the available part of the speech.

191. SPEECH AT GURUKUL ANNIVERSARY

March 20, 1916

The following is the text of Mr. Gandhi's speech at the anniversary of the Gurukul, as written out by himself:

I propose to reproduce only as much of it as in my opinion is worth placing on record with additions where they may be found necessary. The speech, it may be observed, was delivered in Hindi. After thanking Mahatmaji Munshi Ram for his great kindness to my boys to whom he gave shelter on two occasions and acted as father to them and after stating that the time for action had arrived rather than for speeches, I proceeded:

I owe a debt of gratitude to the Arya Samaj. I have often derived inspiration from its activity. I have noticed among the members of the Samaj much self-sacrifice. During my travels in India, I came across many Arya Samajists who were doing excellent work for the country. I am therefore grateful to Mahatmaji, that I am enabled to be in your midst. At the same time, it is but fair to state that I am frankly a Sanatanist. For me Hinduism is all-sufficing. Every variety of belief finds protection under its ample fold. And though the Arya Samajists and the Sikhs and the Brahmo Samajists may choose to be classed differently from the Hindus, I have no doubt that at no distant future they will be all merged in Hinduism and find in it their fulness. Hinduism, like every other human institution, has its drawbacks and its defects. Here is ample scope for any worker to strive for reform, but there is little cause for secession.

Spirit of Fearlessness

Throughout my travels, I have been asked about the immediate need for India. And, perhaps, I would not do better than repeat this afternoon the answer I have given elsewhere. In general terms, a proper religious spirit is the greatest and most immediate need. But I know that this is too general an answer to satisfy anybody. And it is an answer true for all time. What, therefore, I desire to say is, that owing to the religious spirit being dormant in us, we are living in a state of perpetual fear. We fear the temporal as well as the spiritual authority. We dare not speak out our minds before our priests and our pandits. We stand in awe of the temporal power. I am sure that in so doing we do a disservice to them and us. Neither the spiritual teachers nor our

political governors could possibly desire that we should hide the truth from them. Lord Willingdon, speaking to a Bombay audience, has been saying recently that he had observed that we hesitated to say 'No' when we really meant it and advised his audience to cultivate a fearless spirit. Of course, fearlessness should never mean want of due respect or regard for the feelings of others. In my humble opinion, fearlessness is the first thing indispensable before we could achieve anything permanent and real. This quality is unattainable without religious consciousness. Let us fear God and we shall cease to fear man. If we grasp the fact that there is a divinity within us which witnesses everything we think or do and which protects us and guides us along the true path, it is clear that we shall cease to have any other fear on the face of the earth, save the fear of God. Loyalty to the Governor of governors supersedes all other loyalty and gives an intelligent basis to the latter.

Meaning of Swadeshi

And when we have sufficiently cultivated this spirit of fearlessness, we shall see that there is no salvation for us without true swadeshi, not the swadeshi which can be conveniently put off. Swadeshi for me has a deeper meaning. I would like us to apply it in our religious, political and economic life. It is not, therefore, merely confined to wearing on occasion swadeshi cloth. That we have to do for all time, not out of a spirit of jealousy or revenge, but because it is a duty we owe to our dear country. We commit a breach of the swadeshi spirit certainly if we wear foreign-made cloth, but we do so also if we adopt the foreign cut. Surely, the style of our dress has some correspondence with our environment. In elegance and tastefulness, it is immeasurably superior to the trousers and the jacket. An Indian, wearing a shirt flowing over his pyjamas with a waist-coat on it without a necktie and its flaps hanging loose behind, is not a very graceful spectacle. Swadeshi in religion teaches one to measure the glorious past and re-enact it in the present generation. The pandemonium that is going on in Europe shows that modern civilization represents forces of evil and darkness, whereas the ancient, i.e., Indian, civilization represents in its essence the divine force. Modern civilization is chiefly materialistic, as ours is chiefly spiritual. Modern civilization occupies itself in the investigation of the laws of matter, and employs human ingenuity in inventing or discovering means of production and weapons of destruction; ours is chiefly occupied in exploring spiritual laws. Our shastras lay down unequivocally that a proper observance of truth, chastity, scrupulous regard for all life, absten-

tion from coveting others' possessions and refusal to hoard anything but what is necessary for our daily wants is indispensable for a right life; that without it a knowledge of the divine element is an impossibility. Our civilization tells us with daring certainty that a proper and perfect cultivation of the quality of ahimsa which, in its active form means purest love and pity, brings the whole world to our feet. The author of this discovery gives a wealth of illustration which carries conviction with it.

The Doctrine of Ahimsa

Examine its result in the political life. There is no gift so valued by our shastras as the gift of life. Consider what our relations would be with our rulers if we gave absolute security of life to them. If they could but feel that, no matter what we might feel about their acts, we would hold their bodies as sacred as our own, there would immediately spring up an atmosphere of mutual trust, and there would be such frankness on either side as to pave the way for an honourable and just solution of many problems that worry us today. It should be remembered that in practising ahimsa, there need not be any reciprocation, though, as a matter of fact, in its final stages, it commands reciprocation. Many of us believe, and I am one of them, that through our civilization we have a message to deliver to the world. I render my loyalty to the British Government quite selfishly. I would like to use the British race for transmitting this mighty message of ahimsa to the whole world. But that can only be done when we have conquered our so-called conquerors; and you, my Arya Samaj friends, are perhaps specially elected for this mission. You claim to examine our scriptures critically; you take nothing for granted and you claim not to fear to reduce your belief to practice. I do not think that there is any room for trifling with or limiting the doctrine of ahimsa. You dare, then, to reduce it to practice regardless of immediate consequences which would certainly test the strength of your convictions. You would not only produce salvation for India, but you would render the noblest service that a man can render to humanity—a service, moreover, which you would rightly assert the great Swami[1] was born for. This swadeshi is to be considered as a very active force to be ceaselessly employed with an ever-increasing vigilance, searching self-examination. It is not meant for the lazy, but it is essentially meant for them who would gladly lay down their lives for the sake of truth. It is possible to dilate upon

[1] Dayanand Saraswati

several other phases of swadeshi, but I think I have said enough to enable you to understand what I mean. I only hope that you, who represent a school of reformers in India, will not reject what I have said without thorough examination. And, if my word has commended itself to you, your past record entitles me to expect you to enforce in your own lives the things of eternity about which I have ventured to speak to you this afternoon, and cover the whole of India with your activity.

Work of the Arya Samaj

In concluding my report of the above speech, I would like to state what I did not in speaking to that great audience and it is this. I have now twice visited the Gurukul. In spite of some vital difference with my brethren of the Arya Samaj, I have a sneaking regard for them, and it, and perhaps the best result of the activity of the Arya Samaj is to be seen in the establishment and the conduct of the Gurukul. Though it depends for its vitality entirely upon the inspiring presence of Mahatmaji Munshi Ram, it is truly a national and self-governing and self-governed institution. It is totally independent of Government aid or patronage. Its war chest is filled not out of monies received from the privileged few, but from the poor many who make it a point of honour from year to year to make a pilgrimage to Kangri and willingly give their mite for maintaining this National College. Here at every anniversary a huge crowd gathers and the manner in which it is handled, housed and fed evinces no mean power of organisation. But the most wonderful thing about it all is that the crowd consisting of about ten thousand men, women and children is managed without the assistance of a single policeman and without any fuss or semblance of force, the only force that subsists between the crowd and the managers of the institution is that of love and mutual esteem. Fourteen years are nothing in the life of a big institution like this. What the collegiates who have been just turned out during the last two or three years will be able to show, remains to be seen. The public will not and cannot judge men or institutions except through the results that they show. It makes no allowance for failures, it is a most exacting judge. The final appeal of the Gurukul as of all popular institutions must be to this judge. Great responsibility therefore rests upon the shoulders of the students who have been discharged from the college and who have entered upon the thorny path of life. Let them beware. Meanwhile those who are well-wishers of this great experiment may derive satisfaction from the fact that we have it as an indisputable rule of life, that as

the tree is, so will the fruit be. The tree looks lovely enough. He who waters it is a noble soul. Why worry about what the fruit is likely to be?

Industrial Training

As a lover of the Gurukul, I may be permitted to offer one or two suggestions to the Committee and the parents. The Gurukul boys need a thorough industrial training if they are to become self-reliant and self-supporting. It seems to me that in our country in which 85 per cent of the population is agricultural and perhaps 10 per cent occupied in supplying the wants of the peasantry, it must be part of the training of every youth that he has a fair practical knowledge of agriculture and hand-weaving. He will lose nothing if he knows a proper use of tools, can saw a piece of board straight and build a wall that will not come down through a faulty handling of the plumber's line. A boy who is thus equipped will never feel helpless in battling with the world and never be in want of employment. A knowledge of the laws of hygiene and sanitation as well as the art of rearing children should also form a necessary part of [the training of] the Gurukul lads. The sanitary arrangements at the fair left much to be desired. The plague of flies told its own tale. These irrepressible sanitary inspectors incessantly warned us that in point of sanitation all was not well with us. They plainly suggested that the remains of our food and excreta needed to be properly buried. It seemed to me to be such a pity that a golden opportunity was being missed of giving to the annual visitors practical lessons on sanitation. But the work must begin with the boys. Then the management would have at the annual gathering three hundred practical sanitary teachers. Last but not least, let the parents and the Committee not spoil their lads by making them ape European dress or modern luxuries. These will hinder them in their afterlife and are antagonistic to *brahmacharya*. They have enough to fight against in the evil inclinations common to us all. Let us not make their fight more difficult by adding to their temptations.

Speeches and Writings of Mahatma Gandhi (4th Ed.), pp. 329-35

192. SPEECH AT HARDWAR

March 23, 1916

The Dayanand Anglo-Vedic School boys were taken to the Arya Samaj hall in the evening and Mr. Gandhi addressed them for a short time only as he was feeling unwell.

He exhorted the audience to have the courage of their convictions, and in copying or imitating those who directed or ruled, not to be guided by outward show, such as styles, dress, or by customs, such as meat-eating. He exhorted them to be true to themselves and then they would be true to India.

Bombay Secret Abstracts, 1916, pp. 243-4

193. LETTER TO J. B. PETIT

March 30, 1916

DEAR MR. PETIT,

I have your letter covering check for Rs. 500 on a/c of passive resistance expenses for which I thank you.

I enclose herewith statement required by you. It is not [the] final list. For instance, the widows sometimes require travelling expenses. These are allowed when necessary. Such expenses were incurred only two months ago.

Imam Saheb has just lost his father and he was paid Rs. 300. He has not only lost all he had but he has incurred much odium from his erstwhile friends. The result is that he has lost the trade he used to carry on. He is now here. Until he is suited it may be necessary to give him help from time to time.

Maganlal Gandhi and his brothers are my nephews. They are training under me for national service. One of the brothers[1] who is free is earning but not enough to bear the whole burden of supporting the parents.

Maganbhai Patel's is a similar case. Moreover, he is a chronic sickbed. Then there is the case of Sorabji Adajania. He holds from a friend a scholarship. But owing to unforeseen circumstances he may need additional help up to say [Rs.] 500.

[1] Narandas

The above exhausts the list of Passive Resisters for whom provision may have to be made at this end. What the requirements will be in South Africa I shall ascertain and let you know as soon as I receive the estimate.

I need hardly say that the information I am giving you is confidential. It relates to some public-spirited men who are accepting support after pressure from me. The rule has been never to disclose the names of those who have been receiving maintenance money. The only person apart from the few intimate co-workers in S.A. who knew anything about the support given was Mr. Gokhale. I have no objection to the Committee having the information but beyond them it ought not to march.

Yours sincerely,

	Age	Rs.
Ayamal	35	15 for life
Arulmayee	35	10 for life
Naransamy	14	15 „ 10 [yrs.]
Puroh	12	15 „
Bala	10	15 „
Shivpujan	20	15 „
Sibparsad	5	15 „ 15 yrs.
Maganbhai	28	15 „ 5 yrs.
Revashankar	18	15 „ 10 yrs.
Chhotam	7	15 „ 15 [yrs.]
Maganlal	25	
Jamnadas	20	15 „ 5 [yrs.]
Imamsaheb	40	
Sorabji	35	

From the draft in Gandhiji's hand: S.N. 6306

194. APPLICATION FOR MEMBERSHIP, GUJARAT VERNACULAR SOCIETY[1]

[AHMEDABAD,
April 14, 1916][2]

TO
THE HONORARY SECRETARY
GUJARAT VERNACULAR SOCIETY
AHMEDABAD

SIR,

As I desire to be enrolled a life-member of the Gujarat Vernacular Society, I hope my name will be placed before the Committee and I shall be so enrolled.

I send herewith a sum of Rs. 25/- (rupees twenty-five only) as fee for life-membership, which please acknowledge.

Name: Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi

Signature: Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi

Age: 46 years

Education: Passed qualifying examination for enrolment as barrister

Address: (Permanent) Satyagraha Ashram
(Present) Near Kochrab
Ahmedabad

Being a teacher living on my labour, I think I may count as one with a pay of less than thirty rupees a month. Accordingly, I send Rs. 25/-[3]

[From Gujarati]

Buddhi Prakash, January-March, 1948

[1] The application was made on a printed form.

[2] The sum of Rs. 25 accompanying the application is found credited to the Deposits Account in the Society's books under this date. The deposit was refunded on April 26 after the Managing Committee had,by a special resolution passed at a meeting held on the 19th, nominated Gandhiji an honorary life member.

[3] A footnote to the printed form says that women and teachers with pay of less than thirty rupees a month will be enrolled life-members on payment of Rs. 25. The ordinary subscription for life-membership was Rs. 50.

195. SPEECH AT CONDOLENCE MEETING, AHMEDABAD[1]

April 16, 1916

Mr. Patil was one of the ornaments of Ahmedabad. If Ahmedabad had appreciated this, the people would have filled this hall to crowding. When I received the invitation to settle in Ahmedabad, leaving Bombay, one of my friends assured me that, Mr. Patil being one of the signatories to the invitation, it was safe to accept it. This showed that Mr. Patil was true to his word and modest as well. Next, as for the premature death of Mr. Patil, I would suggest that we should inquire[2] why political leaders die at an early age. In my opinion, such deaths are due to their neglecting their health.

[From Gujarati]

Prajabandhu, 23-4-1916

196. LETTER TO "PRAJABANDHU"[3]

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM,
AHMEDABAD,
Chaitra Vad 2, Thursday, April 20, 1916

THE EDITOR
PRAJABANDHU

SIR,

I write this hoping that you will permit me to place before your readers some of the many reflections which have occurred to me, and still occur, by reason of Bhai Govindrao Appaji Patil's death at a premature age.

I have purposely used the adjective 'premature' to denote the age of the deceased. Any age below 50 should be considered premature, and Bhai Govindrao died before he was 50. It is a matter of no small grief that the untimely death of our best leaders deprives us of the benefit of their ripest years. It seems we suffer

[1] On the death of Govindrao Appaji Patil, a lawyer and social worker

[2] *Vide* the following item.

[3] Published under the caption, "Why Do We Die Prematurely?"

from a kind of vanity. We and our leaders seem to believe that there is some virtue in remaining more or less ailing and, accordingly, if the leaders leave us in their premature age, we see an especial virtue in the fact. I think our leaders, and others too, but particularly our leaders, should consider it a sin to be taken ill or to remain ill, even if illness should come to them while serving the public. If we go over all such cases among the leaders, right from the late Justice Telang[1] down to Bhai Govindrao, we shall find that the illness of many of them was such as could have been prevented. It is the duty of every one of us, especially of our leaders, to know how to maintain sound health.

I know from experience that we ourselves, in many cases, sow the seeds of premature death in our very childhood and, in some measure, our parents do this for us out of their ignorance and inordinate affection. We generally depart from physical *brahmacharya*, through marriage, or even otherwise, right in our childhood. We choose many articles of food merely for their taste or only for the purpose of putting on fat. The diet of those who have to use mental energy and who lead a sedentary life should differ in its composition from that of others. As a matter of fact, the diet of such people is seldom chosen in the light of this consideration. I believe that, in a climate like that of Ahmedabad, excessive use of ghee is sure to damage the health of those who work only with the brain. They should use pulses in very small quantities. Those who have to do physical labour cannot do without a liberal use of pulses, but to others who do little physical work, too much of pulses will be like poison. Almost all students complain of constipation, the reason being that they have in their diet an excessive quantity of spices, pulses and such other things, which are bound to lead to constipation. They then damage their stomach by taking castor oil, Epsom salt or fruit salt, and ultimately fall a prey to death. Our normal diet does not contain the vitamins which fresh fruits provide. If we regularly ate fresh fruits in place of the usual diet, on a particular day of the week, constipation would disappear and our blood would become pure. I do not suggest that a major change should be introduced in our diet at once. I realize that our people would not agree to do so. But they can, in order to ensure good health, reduce the quantity of spices, make a cautious use of pulses and begin taking fruits, etc. It cannot be argued that this will

[1] Of the Bombay High Court, one of the founders of the Indian National Congress

require any very strenuous efforts. The habit of taking tea or cocoa is really very dangerous. I think those who insist on having tea would do well to study what the people of the tea-drinking countries do and how they prepare tea. But we have made no such study. I do not know if people elsewhere consume all the tannin in tea, as we do here. The Chinese do not allow tea leaves to remain in boiling water for more than half a minute; they strain the tea soon after adding the leaves. The colour of the mixture would show that very little tannin had been absorbed in the water. It should not be allowed to become more yellow than blades of hay, and never reddish in any case. This is the kind of tea which millions of Chinese drink. They never use milk in their tea. They do not know what it is to milk cows. They rarely use sugar in their tea. If at all tea can be prepared so as to cause no harm, this is the way. Here is what a man, highly experienced and famous, Doctor Cantlie by name, has to say. He believes that the Chinese take tea because it is the easiest way of drinking pure water. Below the boiling point, water cannot absorb the colour of tea, and so they take tea in place of simple water; that is, they use water which has been tested [for its temperature].

We are as careless about exercise as about diet. To stroll one or two miles at a leisurely pace is no exercise. To hit a billiard ball one or two hundred times with a cue is also no exercise. When exercise is taken in this manner in a room with foul-smelling air, the effect is bound to be harmful. In our predicament, when no other form of exercise is convenient, walking is the best exercise. But exercise is worth the name only if one can walk six miles at a stretch in the morning and again in the evening. The walking should be done briskly, at a speed of four miles an hour. Thoreau used to walk for eight hours daily when he wrote his best book. Tolstoy testifies to the fact that while writing his best books he never used to sit at his desk before he had had plenty of exercise. He always used to work on a farm. [Some people say:] "I cannot spare a minute from the clients' work or from public work, and take exercise." Such talk is sheer vanity. It would seem to proceed from a belief that but for us public work would go to the dogs. The Grand Old Man of India, Dadabhai[1], has been observing all the general rules of hygiene and has never departed from his routine of exercise, etc. Hence, we see him alive to this day, and it would

[1] Naoroji

be in no way surprising if this *rishi* were to live a hundred years like those of old times. We violate one of the precepts of the *Gita* and suffer dire consequences. It says that a person who eats without performing *yajna* is a thief;[1] the true meaning of *yajna* here is physical labour on a farm. If we would make it a rule to work hard, to work, that is, with a shovel for four hours every day in a field, for the purpose of digesting our food, and would observe other rules [of hygiene], premature deaths might be far fewer among us.

When we begin to feel ashamed of falling ill, we shall undoubtedly acquire good health. In my humble opinion it is the person, whether man or woman, that has discovered, by experiments, the rules to be followed in order to preserve his or her health even while engaged in public work, who can render any great service to the country.

Yours
MOHANDAS KARAMCHAND GANDHI

[From Gujarati]
Prajabandhu, 23-4-1916

197. LETTER TO GANGADHARRAO DESHPANDE[2]

[Before *April 29, 1916*][3]

Nothing but death can prevent me from going to Belgaum and attending the Conference.[4]

Majhi Jivan Katha

[1] *Vide Bhagvad Gita*, III.12.

[2] A political worker of Karnatak, popularly known as "Lion of Karnatak"

[3] Gandhiji arrived in Belgaum on April 29 to attend the Bombay Provincial Conference.

[4] Gandhiji had accepted the invitation to attend the Conference but later on there were rumours that he might not attend it. On an enquiry from the addressee, Gandhiji wrote this reply.

198. SPEECH AT BELGAUM

April 30, 1916

A large gathering of people (about 1,000) assembled in Khotibis Wada in Raviwar Peth, Belgaum, on the night of the 30th of April, to hear Mr. M. K. Gandhi speak on the subject of "The Depressed Classes". The audience was mainly composed of Lingayats and "Untouchables". R. S. Shivmurti Swami Kanabargi presided. . . .

Mr. Gandhi then rose and said that as he was ill, he would only speak to them for a minute. He deprecated their opposition to the holding of the Provincial Conference in Belgaum. The principal object for the holding of the Conference was to effect a reconciliation between the two political parties.[1] Home Rule must be granted to India and all classes should present a united front in demanding it. If Home Rule should be granted, no particular class would dominate, otherwise it would not be Home Rule. He for one would oppose any party or class that wanted to set itself above the others. He made no distinction between the higher and the lower classes and did not look with disdain upon a man simply because he was a sweeper or a barber, nor did he look up to anyone merely because he was a Brahmin. His religion taught him to consider all men alike, without distinction of class or creed. Home Rule would not be granted so long as there were differences between them. He promised to do all in his power to remove their disabilities.

Bombay Secret Abstracts, 1916, p. 330

199. SPEECH AT BOMBAY PROVINCIAL CONFERENCE AT BELGAUM[2]

May 1, 1916

Mr. Gandhi spoke as follows in Hindustani. . . . He was an outsider in the sense that he was not a member of the nationalist party or for that matter of any party. He had no mental desire for listening to the speeches or to his own voice but he had felt it his duty as an aspirant for national service to

[1] *Vide* the following item.

[2] This Conference, held from 29th April to 1st May, was attended by leading Nationalists from Bombay, C.P. and Berar and was held after the Poona meeting of January 16, 1916, which had postponed settlement of the question of limitation on the number of delegates from political bodies of two years' standing which had received automatic affiliation after the amendment of the Congress constitution in 1915.

study all the institutions he could and hence it was that he found himself at the Belgaum Conference. He was desirous of being present there as he was anxious to see the inauguration of an era of peace between the two great parties which, he was assured, would take place at Belgaum. It was a matter to him, therefore, of great pleasure that the foundation for unity was being laid at the Conference. He heartily supported the resolution[1] moved by Mr. Tilak. He was sure he was not expected to endorse every word of the resolution on the report that was adopted. It should be enough that he found himself in agreement with the main draft of the resolution. Had the wording of the resolution been in his own hand, he would probably have omitted some expressions. Mr. Tilak's speech left nothing to be desired and he if worked as he was sure he would, and the nationalist party as a whole also worked truly in the spirit of the resolution and Mr. Tilak's remarks, he was sure that the coming union would be a great blessing to the motherland. It was for that reason that he found himself in disagreement with Mr. Baptista, who seemed to be so much in tune with the pleaders. If they approached the question in the pleaders' spirit they would be constantly picking holes. What was needed was to approach the national question as common men. They would then overlook the faults and defects in their erstwhile opponents but would ever seek points of agreement and contact. Indeed if the party returned to the Congress fold with an absolutely honest and selfless spirit, ever thinking of the country and its cause and never thinking of party or personal gain, God would be with them and with God with them the nation could then [go] forward in the face of the world's opposition. . . .

The Bengalee, 3-5-1916

[1] Tilak's resolution, carried unanimously, read as follows:

"That this conference adopts the reports of Messrs Belvi, Baptista and Tilak, and as in the interest of our Motherland under the present circumstances it is desirable to unite, resolves to accept the constitution of the Congress as amended at its last sessions, though the amendment is highly unsatisfactory, and appoints a Committee composed of the following gentlemen, to do further work from within: G. S. Khaparde, J. Baptista, D. V. Belvi, B. G. Tilak and N. C. Kelkar (Secretary)." *Vide Source Material for a History of the Freedom Movement in India* (Bombay Government), Vol. II, pp. 240-1.

200. LETTER TO STUDENTS OF BHAVNAGAR JAIN BOARDING HOUSE[1]

AHMEDABAD,
Vaishakh Sud 11 [*May 13, 1916*][2]

I am sending some wheat-powder to be taken in place of tea. How it may be prepared is explained in my book on Health.[3] It has been only recently published by the Sastun Sahitya.[4] Trusting that you will consult it, I do not say anything about the matter here.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS

From the original postcard in Gujarati in Gandhiji's hand: C.W. 5703. Courtesy: Pramod Virchand Shah

201. LETTER TO KOTWAL

AHMEDABAD,
Vaishakh Vad 4 [*May 21, 1916*][5]

BHAISHRI KOTWAL,

There is not a single letter of yours which I have not answered. It is not a rule with me to write about happenings in the Ashram myself and so it didn't occur to me to write about Fakiri. His death was sublime.

Anna is lost to us for the present. He says that he will not be able to come over for at least a year and that he doesn't know what he will do thereafter. Maganbhai is also leaving, having found it difficult to follow the Ashram rules. Mama[6] continues here.

[1] Sent in reply to Virchand Shah's enquiry as to what can be taken as a substitute for tea

[2] From the postmark

[3] *Vide* Vol. XI, p. 483.

[4] Sastun Sahityavardhak Karyalaya, Ahmedabad, founded by Bhikshu Akhandanand to publish low-priced, good-quality books.

[5] Anna and Maganbhai Patel referred to in the letter left the Ashram at this time.

[6] Mamasaheb Phadke, a teacher of the Ganganath Vidyalaya, Baroda, who joined Gandhiji along with Anna *alias* Harihar Sharma

I am glad you have found a job, and sorry, too, in equal measure. You have succumbed to a bad temptation. I wish you could save yourself from that. There is only one way. While in service, make the ultimate good your only concern : indulge in no pleasures and, as much as you can, render disinterested service to others; so, you will have some inward peace. Reflect constantly on Bharata's life.

Rest assured there is not an hour when you are out of our minds.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS

Mr. Shyamji Sahay may certainly come over and bring his wife. There will be no harm if other students also come. As for going to Indore, I don't know when it will be possible.

From a photostat of the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: G.N. 3609

202. LETTER TO VIRCHAND SHAH

AHMEDABAD,
Vaishakh Vad 6 [May 25, 1916]

DEAR SHRI VIRCHAND PANACHAND SHAH,

They are good questions[1] you have asked me.

There must be occasions when I feel agitated.

I do get the unworthy thought sometimes that it would have been better if events had followed a different course from what they did. Regret I feel often enough.

I may be guilty of partiality sometimes, but so rarely that I don't recollect any such instance.

I am not able to do everything I want to.

I see my imperfections every moment and am constantly struggling to get rid of them.

[1] The addressee in his letter dated May 20, 1916 had asked:
"(1) Do you ever get agitated?
(2) Do you ever feel that it would have been better had events taken a different course than they did? Do you ever feel regret?
(3) Do you ever become partial?
(4) Are you able to do all that you want to (in matters not dependent on others but concerning your own plans on which you have made up your mind)?
(5) Do you observe any particular imperfections in you? If yes, do you strive to get rid of them?"

You may ask me any further questions you think fit.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS GANDHI

From a photostat of the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: C.W. 5702. Courtesy: Pramod Virchand Shah

203. SPEECH AT CONFERENCE OF COMMUNITIES, AHMEDABAD[1]

June 4, 1916

I am tired of conferences and speeches and now of hearing my own voice as well. When Lord Buddha decided to work for the emancipation of the world, he did not convene a conference and get it to pass resolutions. Nor did Jesus Christ do anything of the sort. But not being blessed with such greatness, we convene such conferences because, I think I am right in this, we lack the requisite strength for our work. This happens all over the country; and so I don't say that yours is the only instance.

There is something novel about the origin of this conference and its procedure of work. I believe at the same time that it does serve a useful purpose. The work here is not done through long speeches. I am glad to see that everyone speaks to the point and keeps himself to the subject. We must have formed the habit of speaking briefly and to the point through the business atmosphere of Gujarat. In the changes taking place today in our communities, we have observed [their] rise and fall through their own actions and deserts. Champaneri *Banias* were once *Vaniks*[2]; then by vocation they became *Ghanchis*[3]. In the caste set-up of India, it is in no way impossible that through better education and economic advance they may again become *Vaniks* or attain even a higher status, or that they may be degraded to a level lower than that of *Ghanchi*.

Our sin in despising the *Antyajas*[4] degrades the entire Hindu society. Dhulabhai[5] Dhed, who stays with me and who has accompanied me here, once asked a woman for some water. On the woman inquiring about his caste, Dhulabhai replied that he was

[1] At the Conference of Friendly Associations of Communities

[2] Members of a Hindu caste traditionally engaged in trade, commerce and banking

[3] Those who make and sell seed-oils

[4] Lowest caste among Hindus traditionally charged with sanitary duties

[5] Probably a misprint for Dudabhai, who had joined the Ashram on September 26, 1915; *vide* "Diary for 1915".

a *Dhed*. The lady said : "I don't believe it. You are quite well dressed and clean; you do not look like a *Dhed*. Here is water for you." So saying she gave him water to drink. But Dhulabhai, after drinking the water, told her again that he was a *Dhed* and that he did not wish to deceive her. In bearing with the abuses she then showered on him, Dhulabhai showed courage and strength of mind. In just the same way, the entire Hindu society despises the *Dhed* people and, as long as this does not change, we shall not be able to convince the whites of South Africa and elsewhere of the utter injustice of the aversion they show for us. Today I take a pledge that, if I am wrong in any belief of mine and if someone from amongst you proves it, I will accept the correction in all humility. But, at the same time, I also take another pledge that I will not rest till I make you change this wrong belief of yours in regard to the *Antyajas*.

[From Gujarati]
Gujarati, 11-6-1916

204. SPEECH ON CASTE SYSTEM, AHMEDABAD[1]

June 5, 1916

I am in India to learn what I ought to do and I cannot say how long I shall take to do so. Even in standing now before you to speak, my aim is to learn something. I have not come prepared to speak on the subject; I thank you all the same for this opportunity to express my ideas. Newspapers report my speeches, but sometimes I am not rightly understood and my meaning is distorted, which is not good for a satyagrahi which I claim to be. I shall be happy, therefore, if reports of my speeches are shown to me before they are published : this is my request. I was quite pleased with the work of the Conference yesterday, for people spoke briefly and to the point. I for one believe that the time for conferences is long past and the time has now come for us to show some results and hold our peace; our words, when they follow such action, will have an effect all their own. This was the way of the divinely-inspired Buddha, Jesus, Mahomed and others, and of Martin Luther likewise. I have devoted much thought to the subject of the caste system[2] and come to the conclusion that Hindu society cannot dispense with it, that it lives on because of the discipline of caste.

[1] On the second day of the Conference, *vide* the preceding item.
[2] *Vide* also "The Hindu Caste System", pp. 301-3.

Societies all over the world are organized on the principle of caste or *varnavyavastha*[1]. Our society was organized in this manner for the purpose of self-control, that is, for self-denial. Certainly, there is a difference between *varnavyavastha* in the West and among us; but there is *varnavyavastha* everywhere, all the same. So long as there are among human beings impulses which tend to a godly life and those which tend to a demoniac life, so long will the division of society into communities remain. It is a vain effort to replace this structure by one single community. Communities, too, may be born and may die. Mr. Lyall has affirmed in a book of his not only that among Hindus communities have made their appearance and died out, but also that, while outsiders may have joined the Hindu fold, there is no evidence that the Hindu society converted others to the Hindu faith as Christians did to theirs. Members of non-Hindu faiths and sects became Hindus in course of time. The status of a community depends on its function in society and not on the scriptures. It need not be imagined that caste rests on the idea that members of a community may eat together and marry among themselves. If friendly relations depended on eating together and inter-marriage, the German and the British would not be fighting against each other. The Rajputs[2] of Kathiawar do sit together at meals and marry among themselves but have no end of internecine strife and fighting. Of course, these caste restrictions have something of value in them. It is but natural that a father and daughter want to remain in the same social group and hence communities or groups naturally come to have their distinctive organizations. But the evils which have found their way into the various communities must be eradicated without delay. Though it is important that we apply our minds to the social problems concerning unmarried girls, widows, widowers, etc.,—and they do require capacity to think —this has nothing to do with a knowledge of letters. There are 60 million untouchables in our country. It is necessary to improve their condition, because this is a blot on Hindu society, one which India will have to atone for at a heavy price. During my campaigns in South Africa, the whites used to ask me what right we had to demand better treatment from them when we were guilty of ill-treating the untouchables among us. The late Mr. Gokhale and Sir Sankaran Nair[3] held the same view about the imperative need

[1] Division of society into classes on the basis of vocations

[2] Community which formed the ruling class in medieval India

[3] Sir Chettur Sankaran Nair (1857-1934); President, Indian National Congress, 1897; Judge of the Madras High Court; appointed Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council in 1915

for the uplift of this down-trodden class. In the Punjab, people treat the untouchables fairly well when they need their services but, when the need is over, they return to their old ways. Conduct of this kind has nothing religious in it. We must maintain good relations with these classes all the time; success will assuredly be ours in anything we do from a religious motive.

[From Gujarati]

Prajabandhu, 11-6-1916

205. LETTER TO NARHAR SHAMBHURAO BHAVE[1]

[AHMEDABAD,
After *June 7, 1916*][2]

Your son Vinoba[3] is with me. Your son has acquired at so tender an age such high-spiritedness and asceticism as took me years of patient labour to do.

[M. K. GANDHI]

Life of Vinoba, p. 8

206. LETTER TO A. H. WEST

AHMEDABAD,
June 15 [*1916*][4]

MY DEAR WEST,

We must agree to differ as to the accounts. All I want is passive resistance expenditure after the date of the last account published and bank balance. Surely this is all in your books. I should despair if you told me that we had no passive resistance a/c in our ledgers. I know that this is not so. Will you kindly send me these items?

So much for the business part. Your conversational letter I have. It is naturally full of you as I have known you. I never

[1] Acharya Vinoba's father, then at Baroda

[2] Vinoba met Gandhiji at the Kochrab Ashram on June 7.

[3] Vinoba Bhave (1895-), "Saint on the march", Sarvodaya leader, founder of the *Bhoodan* movement, author of *Talks on the Gita* and other works

[4] From the reference to the passive resistance accounts in the letter, it could have been written either in 1915 or 1916. In 1915 Gandhiji was not in Ahmedabad on June 15.

doubted that you would be able to make your way among the officials by your very bluntness. The novelty of resistance may shock them at first but pleases them afterwards. Even they must get tired of 'nodders' if one may coin that noun. And you will have to continue to do that work whether the people appreciate it or not or rather want it or not. Appreciation need not be looked for. Do please send me all the correspondence you wish to. I promise to go through it all. Do not think that South Africa disappears from my mind. How can it? I owe much to S.A., i.e., to friendships formed there. In my moments of sadness, recollection of friends working there is no small comfort. Your successes and your failures are alike matters of deepest interest to me.

Is your little school still going on? How is Granny[1] doing? Is she still as fresh as before? The very thought of her and her working away is an inspiration. Just now I am reading to the Ashram at prayer time *Pilgrim's Progress*. I often think of Mrs. West's sweet voice and want her to sing to us "When I survey the wondrous cross"! The whole of Phœnix rises before us whenever we sing our favourite hymns.

With love to you all,

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat of the original in Gandhiji's hand: C.W. 4419. Courtesy: A. H. West

207. SPEECH AGAINST PRESS ACT[2]

June 24, 1916

A public meeting of the citizens of Bombay was held in the Empire Theatre on the evening of Saturday, the 24th June 1916, 'to uphold the liberty of the Press and protest against the Press Act of 1910, under the auspices of the 'Indian Press Association'. Mr. B. G. Horniman, Editor of the *Bombay Chronicle*, presided.

It was a very largely-attended meeting. There were not a few Hindu—Deccani and Gujarati—ladies among the audience. Principal among them was the wife of the Honourable Mr. Chimanlal Setalvad with her daughters and daughters-in-law.

[1] Mother-in-law of A. H. West whom everyone in Phœnix called "Granny" and "felt that she was really related so to him". *Vide Satyagraha in South Africa* Ch. XXIII.

[2] A brief report of this appeared in *The Bombay Chronicle*, 26-6-1916.

Messrs Gandhi, Horniman and Jamnadas D. Dharamsey were received on arrival with loud cheers. In the case of Mr. Gandhi cheers were called for 'once more' by an occupant of one of the upper galleries.

Mr. Gandhi delivered his address in Gujarati, urging that that was the true way of being faithful to his motherland. . . .

Mr. Gandhi said:

MR. PRESIDENT, DEAR SISTERS AND BROTHERS,

I see that in this hall there are several persons laughing, because I have commenced to speak in Gujarati. (Laughter.) You see we want to have swaraj; and when we get it, I am sure you will agree with me that we ought to carry on our business in the Gujarati tongue. (Laughter.) Crores and crores of our people for whom the swaraj will have to be carried on, it is impossible to deal with in English, to which they are quite foreign. It is undoubtedly the fact that in this assembly we have to speak to a majority of English-speaking people, and to them I beg to tender an apology for venturing to address the meeting in my own native tongue. (Laughter.) It may be said that besides those who know English in this hall, there are not a few who speak Marathi. I know that there are those who speak that language, but to them I would respectfully say that hereafter they should learn the Gujarati language, so that when they have occasion to hear my Gujarati speech, they will be able to follow me somehow or other. (Laughter.) The resolution that is placed in my hands runs thus :

That this meeting of loyal and law-abiding Indian subjects of His Majesty the King-Emperor, believing the existence of a free public Press to be one of the first essentials of a healthy and progressive State and necessary to the proper development, political and moral, of civilized peoples; and further that the extension and maintenance of freedom in all departments of public life is the surest guarantee of popular progress and contentment and of mutual trust between the Government and the people, asks that the Press in this country should enjoy the utmost liberty of expression, subject to the legal restraints of the ordinary law and of penalties inflicted only after proper trial and conviction. (Cheers.)

(Mr. Gandhi explained the resolution in Gujarati.)

Up to now, this Press Act was considered to be innocent and innocuous, so far as the high-class journalists were concerned; in fact, that was the promise given by the Government at the time when this law was passed to the elected members of the Legislative Council of His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General. Those members accepted the enactment under that promise. They

were assured that the law would be made operative against only offending journalists. But from what has now happened in the case of *New India*, it may be said that the promise was illusory. We are here disillusioned now as to the real character of this law on account of the attack made by the Government against Mrs. Annie Besant. (Cheers.) That circumstance has awakened us to the true nature of the law. Where is the security from this law when *zulum*[1] is practised under it on respectable journalists? Remember that it is said that at this moment our Government are in a troublous condition. Remember also that we, the people of this country, say that what is a troublous condition of the Government is a troublous condition to us. ("Hear, hear.") And yet in the midst of this condition if Government are prepared to drag us into the clutches of these severe laws, what would be our fate after the war is over? What will then happen to us is on the knees of the gods. (Laughter.) What can we do now but to bear our fate with resignation? That is our only duty. We must take heart that our present fate will change for the better in the future. It must. I have no faith in these meetings and in these resolutions. (Laughter.) It is simply a waste of time to hold these meetings and carry these resolutions. But what else can we do? There is no alternative for us—the subject people—to do aught but place on record our view on a given subject. And, therefore, I have come here in response to an invitation. I feel that something should be done in this matter—something done so that our complaint may reach the ears of the Government. ("Hear, hear.") Whatever we may say here with a view to expressing our feelings on the subject, it is an undoubted fact that we cannot express a hundredth part of what we actually feel in our minds on account of this outrageous enactment. We read newspapers. Yes, we do. But are you sure that you read the real thoughts of the editor? I think not. Independent views of writers are not published. What is published is otherwise and, therefore, one can say that it is advisable to read the opposite into the words that appear in the newspapers. (Laughter.) I am not at all exaggerating. I have myself been editor of a newspaper for several years and can explain from personal experience the difficulties which the editor has to undergo in the true discharge of his duties. I am not disputing the fact that some restraint is necessarily to be exercised on newspapers, but there is this to be remembered that in the exercise of such a restraint, discretion and limit should not be lost sight of. It is only with unwarranted restraint that I

[1] Repression

quarrel. For flimsy reasons, Government officials ought not to exercise restraint on the people's right to express their views. (Cheers.) Restraint means inducement to indulge in fallacious or misleading thoughts. That leads one to become the enemy of my Government. (Laughter.) My genuine feelings are suppressed; I cannot give free vent to them; I write the reverse of what I feel. By reason of such enactments, there cannot be an unalloyed affection for our rulers among the 30 crores of our countrymen. There should be pure justice administered in India. (Cheers.) The Government are like our trustees or protectors. To speak the truth I do not like the word 'trustee'. India is no longer in a state of childhood, and, therefore, she does not require a trustee or a protector. India is one of the most ancient countries; she is one of the most experienced countries; can her subjects be said with propriety to be inexperienced or in a state of childhood? No; we Indians stand in no need of a protector. All that he need do for us is to dispense pure justice. We, the people of India, are as liberal in our views as we are innocent of any mischievous tendencies; all that we are is that we are despondent. But we will never be guilty of anything disloyal. Under these circumstances, I beg to appeal to the Government to do everything that is just and righteous; if that is done, there would be no necessity for these meetings. ("Hear, hear" and laughter.) That is a general request. My special request to them is on behalf of the newspaper writers. I say, 'Do not harass the respectable editors and proprietors.' I further say, 'Treat us as generously as you would the English people. We the people of India are not a race of hypocrites. (Laughter.) We are enlightened, good and civilized people.' ("Hear, hear.") To my newspaper-writer brethren I say, 'Say openly whatever you have to say.' ("Hear, hear.") That is our duty. We should rely on ourselves to expatiate on our grievances, but we must not forget that we have to do that under certain restrictions born of politeness and sobriety. Whenever we are face to face with a political catastrophe, we should never hesitate to say in as clear terms as possible what we feel and desire to say. ("Hear, hear.") For such plain-speaking and honest pleading of our cause if we are punished by the Government, well, let them do so. ("Hear, hear" and laughter.) What can they do if the worst comes to the worst? They will take our bodies at best. (Laughter.) Very well, if our bodies are taken away, our souls will become free. ("Hear, hear" and roars of laughter.)

Bombay Secret Abstracts, 1916, p. 506

208. LETTER TO C. F. ANDREWS

AHMEDABAD,
June 30 [*1916*]

MY DEAR CHARLIE,

It is no use having Tota Ram there. I have met him. He will not help. Indenture system has to go because it is bad in itself and is a remnant of slavery. If it can be done away with today, it should be without considering any interest whatsoever.

With love
MOHAN

From the original in Gandhiji's hand: C.W. 5734. Courtesy: Rajmohini Rudra, Allahabad

209. RAILWAY PASSENGERS[1]

[Before *July 26, 1916*][2]

No one doubts that railway passengers are put to many hardships. Against many of these, we have the remedy in our own hands. Unity is in the air all over India. If we did no more than resort to this, quite a few of the hardships could be overcome. This article makes some suggestions on how they could be. Those into whose hands this may fall are requested to read it carefully and afterwards to read it out to others who cannot read. The reader will easily guess that the cost of paper and printing must have been met by someone with a public spirit and, in view of that at any rate, he will realize that the article should not be treated lightly merely because he has got it free.

To the authorities, I shall say :

If you are a station master, you can remove many of the hardships of passengers.

Using courtesy in your dealings with poor passengers, you can set an example to your subordinates.

[1] This was published as a pamphlet and distributed gratis in Gujarat during 1916-17.

[2] A summary of this pamphlet appeared in *Kathiawar Times*, 26-7-1916.

If you are a ticket collector, with a little reflection you will realize that the poor should receive the same time and attention that you give to first-and second-class passengers.

The railways depend on the poor for their existence and you owe your salaries largely to the money received from them.

Some booking clerks abuse the poor, address them slightingly, and on top of that delay issuing tickets to them as long as they can. This is no way of showing one's importance. Issuing a ticket without delay to anyone asking for it saves the latter's time and you lose nothing by doing so.

If you are a policeman, you should refrain from accepting bribes, resolve not to shove the poor people about but behave towards them with kindness. You should understand that you are servants of the people and not their masters. It is your duty to help them out of their difficulties. That you should yourself become the cause of difficulties is sheer injustice.

To educated passengers, I shall say :

Most of you like showing that you are educated and that you have some patriotism in you. If you use your patriotism in doing good to the illiterate and poor passengers with whom you come into contact, you will be doing national service without having to search for an occasion.

For instance, if a passenger is being ill-treated, you can help him in a number of ways. Even if you do not generally travel third-class, your doing so occasionally just to get experience is likely to benefit the third-class passengers very much.

If you go in their midst, without disclosing your status, for purchasing tickets, etc., it will be easy for you to find a remedy for the difficulties you will experience in the process and the facilities offered to you will be available before long to the people at large.

Sometimes educated people themselves become the cause of injustice to third-class passengers. They are impatient to get their tickets first, may enjoy special facilities in trains and occupy more space than they need; the poor are put to difficulties in consequence. The educated class must certainly refrain from making itself a cause of injustice in this manner, if it can do nothing else.

It is your duty to write to the authorities about any deficiencies that you may observe on stations or trains.

To passengers in general, I shall say :

No matter what category of passengers you belong to, educated or uneducated, rich or poor, if you bear in mind the following suggestions, 75 per cent of the hardships of passengers will disappear in a moment :

1. You will lose nothing, and others will gain through your restraint, if, instead of pushing yourself forward when getting to the platform or boarding the train, you don't mind being the last and act accordingly.

2. Having taken your seat in the train, you should know that, up to the number indicated, others have as much right to a seat [in the compartment] as you. Hence, if you stop others from entering, you will violate the moral law through falsehood and will also break a Railway regulation.

3. If you have with you only as much luggage as third-class passengers are entitled to carry, others will be able to sit in comfort. If you can afford to carry more luggage, you had better put the excess in the luggage van and pay the additional charge.

4. Your luggage should be of a kind that can be easily stowed away under a bench or placed on the shelf.

5. If you are well-to-do and have no philanthropic intentions, you should seek your comfort by purchasing an upper-class ticket. By purchasing a third-class ticket out of sheer miserliness, you will make yourself a burden on the poor. But even if you do not want to travel upper-class, you should certainly not use your funds so as to make your luggage and yourself a nuisance to your fellow-passengers.

6. You should bear in mind that all long-distance passengers are entitled to some facility for sleeping; you can have, therefore, no more than your share of sleep.

7. If you are a smoker, you should consider that, being in a train, you can smoke only with others' permission and so as not to inconvenience them.

8. If, when you want to spit, you do so where the passengers rest their feet, the place will become extremely dirty and there is a risk of one contracting some disease; those other passengers, moreover, who are particular about rules of cleanliness will find your dirty habit intolerably painful.

9. If you use the railway lavatories with due care, everyone will be the happier for that. In using them carelessly, you take no thought of the passengers who may follow you.

10. Instead of making distinctions when you travel, such as that you are a brahmin or a Vaisya or a Sudra and someone else belongs to another class or that you are a Hindu and another a Muslim, or that you are from Bombay Presidency and another from Madras Presidency, and creating ill-will in consequence, if you think of all as children of India who have for the nonce assembled

under one roof, and cherish a brotherly feeling for all, you will be happy this very moment and bring glory to India.

[From Gujarati]

Mahatma Gandhini Vicharsrishti

210. SPEECH ON 'THE SECRET OF SATYAGRAHA IN SOUTH AFRICA'[1]

July 27, 1916

In brief, the significance of satyagraha consists in the quest for a principle of life. We did not say to anyone in so many words that our fight was in pursuance of this quest. If we had said so, the people there would only have laughed at us. We only made known the secondary aim of our movement, which was that the Government there, thinking us lowly and mean, was making laws to oust us from the country, and that it was right for us to defy these laws and show that we were brave. Suppose the Government passes a law saying that Coloured persons shall wear yellow caps; in fact, a law of this kind was made in Rome for the Jews. If the Government intended to treat us in a similar fashion and made a law that appeared to humiliate us, it was for us to make it clear to the Government that we would not obey such a law. If a child says to his father : 'Please put on your turban the wrong side up for me', the father understands that the child wants to have a laugh at his expense and at once obeys the command. But when someone else, with uncharitable motives, says the same thing, he clearly answers, 'Look, brother, so long as my head is on my shoulders, you cannot humiliate me in this manner. You conquer my head first and then make me wear my turban in any fashion you please.' The Government there in a similar way, thinking the Indians lowly, wanted to treat them as slaves and as far as possible to prevent their coming into the country. And with this end in view, it began inventing ever new laws, such as putting names of Indians in a separate register, making them give finger-prints in the manner of thieves and bandits, forcing them to live in particular areas, forbidding their movement beyond a specified boundary, making rules for them to walk on particular foot-paths and board specified carriages in trains, treating their wives as concubines if they could not produce marriage certificates, levying from them an annual tax of

[1] In reply to a question during a post-prayer meeting at Satyagraha Ashram near Kochrab, Ahmedabad

forty-five rupees per capita, etc., etc. Often a disease manifests itself in the body in various forms. The disease in this case, as has been explained, was the evil purpose of the Government of South Africa, and all the rules and regulations mentioned above were the various forms that it took. We, therefore, had to prepare ourselves to fight against these.

There are two ways of countering injustice. One way is to smash the head of the man who perpetrates injustice and to get your own head smashed in the process. All strong people in the world adopt this course. Everywhere wars are fought and millions of people are killed. The consequence is not the progress of a nation but its decline. Soldiers returning from the front have become so bereft of reason that they indulge in various anti-social activities. One does not have to go far for examples. In the Boer War, when the British won a victory at Mafeking, the whole of England, and London in particular, went so mad with joy that for days on end everyone did nothing but dance night and day! They freely indulged in wickednesses and rowdyism and did not leave a single bar with a drop of liquor in it. *The Times*, commenting, said that no words could describe the way those few days were spent, that all that could be said was that "the English nation went amafficking [a-Mafeking]".[1] Pride makes a victorious nation bad-tempered. It falls into luxurious ways of living. Then for a time, it may be conceded, peace prevails. But after a short while, it comes more and more to be realized that the seeds of war have not been destroyed but have become a thousand times more nourished and mighty. No country has ever become, or will ever become, happy through victory in war. A nation does not rise that way, it only falls further. In fact, what comes to it is defeat, not victory. And if, perchance, either our act or our purpose was ill-conceived, it brings disaster to both belligerents.

But through the other method of combating injustice, we alone suffer the consequences of our mistakes, and the other side is wholly spared. This other method is satyagraha. One who resorts to it does not have to break another's head; he may merely have his own head broken. He has to be prepared to die himself suffering all the pain. In opposing the atrocious laws of the Government of South Africa, it was this method that we adopted. We made it clear to the said Government that we would never bow to its outrageous laws. No clapping is possible without two hands to do it, and no

[1] The London crowds behaved extravagantly on the relief of Mafeking (May 17, 1900).

quarrel without two persons to make it. Similarly, no State is possible without two entities [the rulers and the ruled]. You are our sovereign, our Government, only so long as we consider ourselves your subjects. When we are not subjects, you are not the sovereign either. So long as it is your endeavour to control us with justice and love, we will let you to do so. But if you wish to strike at us from behind, we cannot permit it. Whatever you do in other matters, you will have to ask our opinion about the laws that concern us. If you make laws to keep us suppressed in a wrongful manner and without taking us into confidence, these laws will merely adorn the statute-books. We will never obey them. Award us for it what punishment you like, we will put up with it. Send us to prison and we will live there as in a paradise. Ask us to mount the scaffold and we will do so laughing. Shower what sufferings you like upon us, we will calmly endure all and not hurt a hair of your body. We will gladly die and will not so much as touch you. But so long as there is yet life in these our bones, we will never comply with your arbitrary laws.

It all began on a Sunday evening in Johanesburg when I sat on a hillock with another gentleman called Hemchandra. The memory of that day is so vivid that it might have been yesterday. At my side lay a Government *Gazette*. It contained the several clauses of the law concerning Indians. As I read it, I shook with rage. What did the Government take us for? Then and there I produced a translation of that portion of the *Gazette* which contained the said laws and wrote under it : "I will never let these laws govern me." This was at once sent for publication to *Indian Opinion* at Phœnix. I did not dream at the time that even a single Indian would be capable of the unprecedented heroism the Indians revealed or that the satyagraha movement would gain the momentum it did.

Immediately, I made my view known to fellow-Indians and many of them declared their readiness for satyagraha. In the first conflict, people took part under the impression that our aim would be gained after only a few days of suffering. In the second conflict, there were only a very few people to begin with but later many more came along. Afterwards when, on the visit of Mr. Gokhale, the Government of South Africa pledged itself to a settlement, the fight ceased. Later, the Government treacherously refused to honour its pledge; on which a third satyagraha battle became necessary. Gokhale at that time asked me how many people I thought would take part in the satyagraha. I wrote saying they would be between 30 and 60. But I could not find even that number. Only 16 of us took up the challenge.

We were firmly decided that so long as the Government did not repeal its atrocious laws or make some settlement, we would accept every penalty but would not submit. We had never hoped that we should find many fellow-fighters. But the readiness of one person without self-interest to offer himself for the cause of truth and country always has its effect. Soon there were twenty thousand people in the movement. There was no room for them in the prisons, and the blood of India boiled. Many people say that if Lord Hardinge had not intervened, a compromise would have been impossible. But these people forget to ask themselves why it was that Lord Hardinge intervened. The sufferings of the Canadian Indians were far greater than those of the South African Indians. Why did he not use his good offices there? Where the spiritual might of thousands of men and women has been mustered, where innumerable men and women are eager to lay down their lives, what indeed is impossible? There was no other course open for Lord Hardinge than to offer mediation and he only showed his wisdom in adopting it. What transpired later is well known to you: the Government of South Africa was compelled to come to terms with us. All of which goes to show that we can gain everything without hurting anybody and through soul-force or satyagraha alone. He who fights with arms has to depend on arms and on support from others. He has to turn from the straight path and seek tortuous tracks. The course that a satyagrahi adopts in his fight is straight and he need look to no one for help. He can, if necessary, fight by himself alone. In that case, it is true, the outcome will be somewhat delayed. If I had not found as many comrades in the South African fight as I did, all that would have happened is that you would not have seen me here in your midst today. Perhaps all my life would have had to be spent in the struggle there. But what of that? The gain that has been secured would only have been a little late in coming. For the battle of satyagraha one only needs to prepare oneself. We have to have strict self-control. If it is necessary for this preparation to live in forests and caves, we should do so.

The time that may be taken up in this preparation should not be considered wasted. Christ, before he went out to serve the world, spent forty days in the wilderness, preparing himself for his mission. Buddha too spent many years in such preparation. Had Christ and Buddha not undergone this preparation, they would not have been what they were. Similarly, if we want to put this body in the service of truth and humanity, we must first raise our soul by developing virtues like celibacy, non-violence and

truth. Then alone may we say that we are fit to render real service to the country.

In brief, the aim of the satyagraha struggle was to infuse manliness in cowards and to develop the really human virtues, and its field was the passive resistance against the Government of South Africa.

[From Hindi]

Mahatma Gandhi by Ramchandra Varma

211. *LETTER TO H. S. L. POLAK*

AHMEDABAD,
August 8, 1916

DEAR MR. POLAK,

This will introduce to you Mr. Kunverji V. Mehta whom I have known as a public worker chiefly devoting his time to the Patidar community. He is going to S. A. to collect [funds] for his Society[1] among the Patidars there. Please help him to enter the Union.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

H. S. L. POLAK, ESQ.
Box 6522
JOHANNESBURG

From a photostat of the original in Gandhiji's hand: G.N. 2664

212. *LETTER TO KUNVERJI MEHTA*

AHMEDABAD,
[*August 8, 1916*]

DEAR SHRI KUNVERJI,

You may use the enclosed letter[2].

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS GANDHI

From a photostat of the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: G.N. 2664

[1] Known as Patidar Mandal

[2] *Vide* the preceding item.

213. LETTER TO J. B. PETIT

[AHMEDABAD,]
August 19, 1916

DEAR MR. PETIT,

I have yours of the 11th instant. I have been a few days answering your letter as I have been able only today to spare a few minutes for going into a/cs. As a result I feel that the minimum required for the Passive Resisters here who are receiving support is likely to be Rs. 15,000.

In going through the accounts I observe that I have overdrawn on the Passive Resistance account more than Rs. 500. Will you therefore kindly favour me with the cheque for Rs. 1000 on a/c.

I have not received the balance from South Africa.[1] As I have already informed you,[2] disbursements have still to be made there. It will be some time before they would be able to say what sum they would require there in South Africa.

I am,
Yours sincerely,

From the draft in Gandhiji's hand: S.N. 6320

214. LETTER TO A. H. WEST

AHMEDABAD,
September 14, 1916

MY DEAR WEST,

I have your letter and copy of letter to Mr. Rustomjee. You know that my heart is with you. I will say nothing about your letter except to say that it hurts me to think that you felt so hurt. For once you have taken Mr. Rustomjee seriously. I know that you must soon after writing that letter have regained your usual gaiety and philosophic calm. In any event this is merely to say that you have the power to vote to yourself as much as you need per month. Please use it without hesitation. Funds you have there. I

[1] *Vide* the following item.
[2] *Vide* "Letter to J. B. Petit", 30-3-1916 .

shall answer for you and your use of them. I see nothing wrong in your using the funds. They were sent for the struggle. You and a few others now are in the struggle which must be maintained. I hope therefore that you will not argue with me again about the rightness of the act. Imam Saheb now sees the thing properly.

Mr. Petit has asked me more than once for the balance of the fund. What is the balance there now. Do please also send me the items of expenditure after the date up to which the accounts were rendered. We return only the balance which is left after providing for your losses there.

It is sad to think that Polak leaves South Africa. He is a big asset.

We are mad after handloom work. So more later. With love,

Yours,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat of the original in Gandhiji's hand: C.W. 4423. Courtesy: A. H. West

215. LETTER TO MRS. A. H. WEST

AHMEDABAD,
September 14, 1916

DEAR MRS. WEST,

You were right in writing to me and reminding me of my promise. You have never been out of [my] mind. I have not been a regular letter writer as other duties have claimed me almost exclusively.

My heart goes out to you all. You have my full sympathy and support. I entirely agree with you that you must have enough to maintain yourselves. Albert has the power in his own hands, and I am asking him to use it freely.

You will learn more from my letter[1] to Albert. Do let me have a cheerful letter in reply. I would ask you not to mind what Mr. Rustomjee or anybody else says.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat of the original in Gandhiji's hand: C.W. 4424. Courtesy: A. H. West

[1] *Vide* the preceding item.

216. *ON AHIMSA: REPLY TO LALA LAJPAT RAI*

October, 1916

Had Lala Lajpat Rai[1] first ascertained what I had actually said on ahimsa, his remarks[2] in *The Modern Review* for last July would not have seen the light of day. Lalaji rightly questioned whether I actually made the statements imputed to me. He says, that if I did not, I should have contradicted them. In the first place, I have not yet seen the papers which have reported the remarks in question or those wherein my remarks were criticised. Secondly, I must confess that I would not undertake to correct all the errors that creep into reports that appear in the public press about my speeches. Lalaji's article has been much quoted in the Gujarati newspapers and magazines; and it is perhaps as well for me to explain my position. With due deference to Lalaji, I must join issue with him when he says that the elevation of the doctrine of ahimsa to the highest position contributed to the downfall of India. There seems to be no historical warrant for the belief that an exaggerated practice of ahimsa synchronised with our becoming bereft of many virtues. During the past fifteen hundred years, we have as a nation given ample proof of physical courage, but we have been torn by internal dissensions and have been dominated by love of self instead of love of country. We have, that is to say, been swayed by the spirit of irreligion rather than of religion.

I do not know how far the charge of unmanliness can be made good against the Jains. I hold no brief for them. By birth I am a Vaishnavite[3], and was taught ahimsa in my childhood. I have derived much religious benefit from Jain religious works, as I have from scriptures of the other great faiths of the world. I owe much to the living company of the deceased philosopher Raja Chand Kavi[4] who was a Jain by birth. Thus though my views on ahimsa are a result of my study of most of the faiths of the world, they are now no longer dependent upon the authority of these

[1] (1865-1928), social reformer, writer and political leader; deported in 1907; founder of the Servants of People Society; President, Indian National Congress, 1920

[2] For the article "Ahimsa Paramo Dharmah—A Truth or a Fad", *vide* Appendix II.

[3] Follower of Vishnu (the Preserver)

[4] Shrimad Rajchandra; *vide* "Speech at Rajchandra Birth Anniversary", 21-11-1915.

works. They are a part of my life and if I suddenly discovered that the religious books read by me bore a different interpretation from the one I had learnt to give them, I should still hold to the view of ahimsa as I am about to set forth here.

Our shastras seem to teach that a man who really practises ahimsa in its fullness has the world at his feet, he so affects his surroundings that even the snakes and other venomous reptiles do him no harm. This is said to have been the experience of St. Francis of Assisi.

In its negative form, it means not injuring any living being, whether by body or mind. I may not therefore hurt the person of any wrong-doer, or bear any ill will to him and so cause him mental suffering. This statement does not cover suffering caused to the wrong-doer by natural acts of mine which do not proceed from ill will. It, therefore, does not prevent me from withdrawing from his presence a child whom he, we shall imagine, is about to strike. Indeed the proper practice of ahimsa required me to withdraw the intended victim from the wrong-doer, if I am in any way whatsoever the guardian of such a child. It was therefore most proper for the passive resisters of South Africa to have resisted the evil that the Union Government sought to do to them. They bore no ill will to it. They showed this by helping the Government whenever it needed their help. Their resistance consisted of disobedience of the orders of the Government, even to the extent of suffering death at their hands. Ahimsa requires deliberate self-suffering, not a deliberate injuring of the supposed wrong-doer.

In its positive form, ahimsa means the largest love, the greatest charity. If I am a follower of ahimsa, I must love my enemy. I must apply the same rule to the wrong-doer who is my enemy or a stranger to me, as I would to my wrong-doing father or son. This active *Ahimsa* necessarily includes truth and fearlessness. A man cannot deceive the loved ones; he does not fear or frighten him or her. अभयदान (Gift of life) is the greatest of all gifts. A man who gives it in reality disarms all hostility. He has paved the way for an honourable understanding. And none who is himself subject to fear can bestow that gift. He must therefore be himself fearless. A man cannot then practise ahimsa and be a coward at the same time. The practice of ahimsa calls forth the greatest courage. It is the most soldierly of a soldier's virtues. General Gordon[5] has

[5] Lord Gordon of Khartoum (1833-85), British soldier and administrator, a Governor-General of the Sudan; *vide* Vol. VIII, p. 107.

been represented in a famous statue as bearing only a stick. This takes us far on the road to ahimsa. But a soldier, who needs the protection of even a stick, is to that extent so much the less a soldier. He is the true soldier who knows how to die and stand his ground in the midst of a hail of bullets. Such a one was Ambarish who stood his ground without lifting a finger, though Durvasa did his worst. The Moors, who were being powdered by the French gunners, rushed into the guns' mouth with 'Allah' on their lips, showed much the same type of courage. Only theirs was the courage of desperation. Ambarish's was due to love. Yet the Moorish valour, readiness to die, conquered the gunners. They frantically waved their hats, ceased firing and greeted their erstwhile enemies as comrades. And so the South African passive resisters in their thousands were ready to die rather than sell their honour for a little personal ease. This was ahimsa in its active form. It never barters away honour. A helpless girl in the hands of a follower of ahimsa finds better and surer protection than in the hands of one who is prepared to defend her only to the point to which his weapons would carry him. The tyrant, in the first instance, will have to walk to his victim over the dead body of her defender, in the second, he has but to overpower the defender, for it is assumed that the canon of propriety in the second instance will be satisfied when the defender has fought to the extent of his physical valour. In the first instance, as the defender has matched his very soul against the mere body of the tyrant, the odds are that the soul in the latter will be awakened, and the girl will stand an infinitely greater chance of her honour being protected than in any other conceivable circumstance—barring, of course, that of her own personal courage.

If we are unmanly today, we are so, not because we do not know how to strike, but because we fear to die. He is no follower of Mahavira, the apostle of Jainism, or of Buddha or of the Vedas, who being afraid to die, takes flight before any danger, real or imaginary, all the while wishing that somebody else would remove the danger by destroying the person causing it. He is no follower of ahimsa (I agree with Lalaji) who does not care a straw if he kills a man by inches by deceiving him in trade, or who will protect by force of arms a few cows and make away with the butcher, or who in order to do a supposed good to his country does not mind killing off a few officials. All these are actuated by hatred, cowardice and fear. Here love of the cow or the country is a vague thing intended to satisfy one's vanity or soothe a stinging conscience.

Ahimsa, truly understood, is, in my humble opinion, a panacea for all evils mundane and extra-mundane. We can never overdo

it. Just at present, we are not doing it at all. Ahimsa does not displace the practice of other virtues, but renders their practice imperatively necessary before it can be practised even in its rudiments. Lalaji need not fear the ahimsa of his father's faith. Mahavira and Buddha were soldiers, and so was Tolstoy. Only they saw deeper and truer in their profession, and found the secret of a true, happy, honourable and godly life. Let us be joint sharers with these teachers and this land of ours will once more be the abode of gods.

M. K. GANDHI

The Modern Review, October, 1916

217. THE PRESENT SYSTEM OF EDUCATION[1]

The word 'education' is on everyone's lips these days. The schools—whether Government or private—are packed with students. There is not enough accommodation in colleges. A number of students seeking admission to Gujarat College had to go back disappointed. Despite this infatuation for education, hardly anyone pauses to consider what education really is, whether the education we have so far received has done us any good, or good commensurate with the effort put in. We think as little about the meaning of education, as about its aims and objects! For most people the main aim seems to be to qualify for some kind of a job. Usually, people belonging to different trades or vocations, on receiving this education, give up their traditional modes of earning a livelihood and look instead for jobs and, when they succeed, think that they have risen a step higher. In our schools we find boys belonging to various vocational communities such as masons, blacksmiths, carpenters, tailors, cobblers, etc. But, on receiving education, instead of improving the standards of their traditional vocations, they give them up as something inherently inferior and consider it an honour to become clerks. The parents too share this false notion. Thus, disloyal both to caste and to the functions most natural to us, we sink deeper into slavery. During my tours, I found this condition prevailing everywhere in India and it has often made my heart bleed.

Education is not an end in itself but only a means and that alone can be called education which makes us men of character. No one can claim that the education being given in our schools

[1] The translation is based on that in *The Problem of Education*, Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad.

produces this result. Rather, we shall come across many instances of young people having dissipated their character while at school. An impartial English writer has said that as long as there is no continuity between schools and homes in India, the pupils will not have the benefit of either. Our youths learn one thing from parents at home and from the general environment, and another at school. The pattern at school is often found incompatible with that in the home. The lessons in our readers are regarded as of little relevance to conduct. We cannot put the knowledge so acquired to any practical use in our daily life. The parents are indifferent to what is taught at school. The labour spent on studies is considered useless drudgery which has to be gone through that one might take the final examination, and once this is over we manage to forget as quickly as possible what we had studied. The charge levelled against us by some Englishmen that we are mere imitators is not entirely baseless. One of them, in his arrogance, has likened us to blotting-paper in relation to civilization. He believes that as blotting-paper absorbs the superfluous ink, even so we take in only the superfluities, that is, the evils of Western civilization. That, indeed, we must admit, is our condition to some extent. Thinking about the causes of this condition, I have come to the conclusion that the chief fault lies in education being imparted to us through the medium of English. It takes about twelve years to get the matriculation certificate. We acquire precious little of knowledge over this long period. Our main effort is not directed towards integrating any such knowledge with our work and putting it to practical use, but towards gaining, somehow, command of the English language. It has been stated by experts that, if what has to be taught to the students up to the matriculation class was imparted to them through their own mother tongue, there would be a saving of at least five years. At this rate, on ten thousand matriculates, the people are put to a loss of fifty thousand years! This is a very grave situation. Not only that, we also impoverish our own languages in this way. When I hear people say—as they often do—that "Gujarati is a poor language", it makes me feel indignant. If Gujarati, a beloved daughter of Sanskrit, is poor, the fault is not that of the language, but of ourselves who are its guardians. We have neglected it and despised it. How can it then acquire the lustre and strength which it ought to have? A gulf has been created between us and our families. To our parents, to others in our families, to our women, and to our domestics—with whom we live for the greater part of our time—our school education is as some hidden wealth. Its use is denied to them. It should be easy

enough for us to see that where conditions are so unnatural, the people can never hope to rise. If we were not mere pieces of blotting-paper, after fifty years of this education we should have witnessed a new spirit in our masses. But we have no bond of understanding with them. They look upon us as modernized and keep away from us and we look upon them as an uncivilized lot and despise them.

Turning to higher education being imparted in colleges, we find the same state of affairs. We waste a good deal of our time there, seeking to put our knowledge on a surer foundation. We begin there to grow indifferent to our own language. Many of us even develop a feeling of contempt towards the mother tongue. We communicate with one another in English, full of errors in pronunciation and grammar. We have not yet coined in our own languages correct technical terms for various sciences, and we do not fully understand the English terms. By the time we have done with our college education, our intelligence loses all vigour and our bodies their strength. The medicine bottle becomes our life-long companion. And yet the people think, and we too, that we are their ornament, their guardians and the makers of their future.

If the young men of Gujarat who pass out of various colleges seriously mean to become as guardians to the people, I should regard them as brave. Although I have drawn a very gloomy picture of our system of education, yet in this gloom lie seeds that may grow into hope. I do not mean to suggest in this article that no Indian should know English. Let us do what they have done in Russia and what they are doing in South Africa and Japan. In Japan, a few selected people acquire a high knowledge of English, translate whatever is worth importing from European civilization into their own language and so make it accessible to all, thus saving the people from the useless labour of having to learn English themselves. Quite a large number among us are familiar with English. They may further increase their knowledge of it. And those whose health allows it and whose mental vigour is still intact may undertake to translate into Gujarati such ideas from English and other foreign languages as are likely to do good to our masses. If we strive long enough, we can change the present trend of education and impart the knowledge of new sciences and new ideas only through the medium of Gujarati. It is not impossible to impart the knowledge of the sciences of medicine, navigation and electricity through Gujarati. It is absurd to think that one can have a knowledge of anatomy or perform an operation of bone surgery only after one has acquired a knowledge of English.

Not less than eighty-five per cent of India's population are engaged in agriculture. Ten per cent are engaged in various other crafts and a majority of them are weavers. The remaining five per cent belong to the various professions. If these latter really desire to serve the people, they must acquire some knowledge at least about the occupations of the ninety-five per cent of the people. And it should be the duty of the ninety-five per cent to acquire a proper knowledge of their traditional occupations. If this view be correct, our schools must provide for the teaching of these two occupations—agriculture and weaving—to the pupils from childhood onwards. In order to create the right conditions for imparting a good knowledge of agriculture and weaving, all our schools should be located, not in the densely populated parts of towns or cities, but in places where big farms may be developed and where classes may be conducted in the open air. In such schools, sports for the boys will consist in ploughing the fields. The idea that, if our boys and youths do not have football, cricket and such other games, their life should become too drab is completely erroneous. The sons of our peasants never get a chance to play cricket, but there is no dearth of joy or innocent zest in their life. Thus, it is not difficult to change the present trends in education. Public opinion must be in favour of this change. The Government then will have no option but to introduce changes. Those who like the above scheme should come forward to undertake experiments on these lines while public opinion is in the making. When the people see the happy results of these experiments, they will of their own accord want to take them up. I think such experiments will not entail much expenditure. I have not, however, written this article with a commercial mentality. My chief object was to ask readers to consider the meaning of real education and I shall hold my effort to have been duly rewarded if this article is of any help to them.

[From Gujarati]

Samalochak, October, 1916; also *The Problem of Education*

218. THE HINDU CASTE SYSTEM[1]

The Hindu social structure has endured, I believe, on the foundation of the caste system. Sir William Hunter says in his *History of India* that, thanks to the continuing existence of the institution of caste, there has been no need for any law for the poor (pauper law) in India. This seems to me a sound view. The caste system contains within it the seed of swaraj The different castes are so many divisions of an army. The general does not know the soldiers individually but gets them to work through the respective captains. In like manner, we can carry out social reform with ease through the agency of the caste system and order through it our religious, practical and moral affairs as we choose.

The caste system is a perfectly natural institution. In our country, it has been invested with a religious meaning; elsewhere, its utility was not fully realized and so it remained a mere form, with the result that the countries concerned did not derive much benefit from it. These being my views, I am opposed to the movements which are being carried on for the destruction of the system.

However, any defects in the caste system which we may find must certainly be removed and for that purpose we must first study its real nature. As I pointed out earlier, we have given a religious meaning to the system. It is merely an agency for ensuring self-control. The caste defines the limits within which one may enjoy life; that is to say, we are not free to seek any happiness outside the caste. We do not associate with members of other communities for eating or enter into marriage relationships with them. With an arrangement of this kind, there is a good chance that loose conduct will be kept down. The idea that coming together for purposes of eating promotes friendship is contradicted by experience. If it did, the great war being waged today in Europe would never have started. The bitterest quarrels are among relatives. We have needlessly exaggerated the importance of eating. The process of eating is as unclean as evacuation, the only difference being that, while evacuation ends in a sense of relief, eating, if one's tongue is not held in control, brings discomfort. Just as we attend to evacuation, etc., in private, we should likewise eat and perform other actions common to all animals always in private. The purpose

[1] The article was originally published in *Bharat Sevak*, a Marathi monthly, in its issue of October, 1916.

of eating is to sustain the body. If this statement is correct, obviously, the less ostentation we make about it, the better.

The same thing is true of marriage. Prohibition of marriage with anyone not belonging to one's community promotes self-control, and self-control is conducive to happiness in all circumstances. The larger the area over which the net is cast, the greater the risk. That is the reason why I see nothing wrong in the practice of choosing the husband or the wife from among persons of equal birth. Even in countries where class differentiation does not rest on religion, they guard against hybrid unions. This is the meaning of the phrase 'blue blood' in England. Lord Salisbury[1] used to boast that he belonged to the same stock as Elizabeth. It was a fact which seemed to him and the British people worth being proud of.

In this way, the restrictions in regard to eating and marriage are, as a general rule, wholesome. There is, of course, and there will always be, room for exceptions. This has been accepted by Hindu society, whether it knows the fact or not. Rightly considered, however, there are no exceptions. If I eat in the company of a *Bhangi*[2], there being, from my point of view, greater self-control in doing so, the community should have nothing to do in the matter. Or, if I fail to get a suitable bride from my own community and I am likely, if I remain unmarried, to contract vicious habits, it will, in these circumstances, be an act of self-control on my part to marry a girl of my choice from any community and hence my action will not be a violation of the fundamental principle of the caste system. It would be for me to demonstrate that my purpose in taking such a step in disregard of the general rule was discipline of the flesh, and this would appear from my subsequent conduct. Meanwhile, however, I should not resent being denied the usual privileges that go with membership of a community but ought to continue doing my duty by it.

The caste system has other laws besides those relating to eating and marriage. It has, ready at hand, the means for providing primary education. Every community can make its own arrangements for [such] education. It has machinery for election to the Swaraj Sabha (Parliament). Every community with some standing may elect its own representatives. It has ready provision for arbitration and tribunals to solve disputes. Each community should it-

[1] 1830-1903, Prime Minister of England, 1885-6, 1886-92, and 1895-1902

[2] Sweeper

self resolve disputes among its own members. If it becomes necessary to raise an army for war, we have already as many battalions as we have communities. The caste system has struck such deep roots in India that I think it will be far more advisable to try to improve it, rather than uproot it. Some may argue that, if these views about the caste system are right, one will have to admit that the more numerous the communities, the better it would be, and that, if that came about, every ten persons would form a community. There is no substance in this argument. The rise and disappearance of communities does not depend upon the will of particular individuals or groups. In Hindu society, communities have been formed, have disappeared and have gone through improvements according to the needs of the times and the process is taking place even today, visibly or invisibly. The Hindu caste system is not merely an inert, lifeless institution but a living one and has been functioning according to its own law. Unfortunately, today we find it full of evils like ostentation and hypocrisy, pleasure-seeking and quarrels. But this only proves that people lack character; we cannot conclude from it that the system itself is bad.

[From Gujarati]

Mahatma Gandhini Vicharsrishti

219. SPEECH AT BOMBAY PROVINCIAL CONFERENCE, AHMEDABAD[1]

October 21, 1916

I am grateful to the Reception Committee for giving me this privilege of proposing the election of the President today. When I was in Delhi some days ago, I happened to read a Persian couplet in the beautiful Divan-e-Am and Divan-e-Khas there[2]. The couplet means; "If there is a paradise anywhere on this earth, it is here, it is here, it is here." The thoughts which the couplet aroused in me then revive in my mind as I move this proposal. The words proceeded from the pride of kingly power and wealth. There can be no such paradise on this earth, because in the course of time even that place is bound to be destroyed. If, however, we turn to good use this occasion of our meeting, we may some time get into the paradise that is invisible. It is a matter of no little pride for us

[1] Held on October 21, 22 and 23. M. A. Jinnah presided.

[2] At the Red Fort, Delhi

that moderate and extremist leaders have met together today. India is a country situated in the temperate zone. We desire that this conference should give birth to a temperate party which would secure for us all that we demand. Ahmedabad is a commercial city and it is but natural that its business acumen should be manifest in every undertaking. It has chosen as President a person who holds a respected position in the eyes of both parties. It decided accordingly that it would be in the fitness of things to elect as President a learned Muslim gentleman. This is not for the first time that Ahmedabad has shown such wisdom. It has done so on many previous occasions. Our President, Mr. Jinnah, is an eminent lawyer; he is not only a member of the Legislature but also the President of the biggest Islamic Association in India. He has placed us under a great obligation by accepting the presidentship of this small conference. All of you must have rejoiced at it as much as I have done. We should feel, in regard to all, that they belong to us. The feeling which we outwardly show, that moderates or extremists, Surtis or Kathiawaris or Ahmedabadis, Hindus or Muslims, all are our brethren, should be there in our hearts. Muslims and others will then be so enslaved by our love that there will be no need to establish societies for the protection of animals. Instead, our Muslim brethren will of their own accord put a stop to animal slaughter in consideration of the religious susceptibilities of their Hindu brethren. If we develop such feeling, this occasion, indeed the whole movement, will yield the expected result as a matter of course. I know the President's job is like walking on the edge of a sword; let him utilize to the full the advantages he enjoys in virtue of the important position which he occupies. I pray to God to grant him the necessary strength, wisdom and ability to guide the work of this conference.

[From Gujarati]

Gujarati, 29-10-1916

220. SPEECH ON DEFENCE OF INDIA ACT

October 22, 1916

At the Bombay Provincial Conference held in Ahmedabad, Gandhiji moved, on October 22, 1916, the following resolution:

That this Conference views with deep concern and alarm the working of the Defence of India Act as exemplified in the recent cases of Mrs. Besant and others and strongly urges upon Government the immediate necessity of providing in connection with the Defence of India Act the same safeguards as exist in England in relation to the Defence of the Realm Act. It respectfully requests that Government may also be pleased to cancel at an early date the order prohibiting Mrs. Annie Besant from entering the limits of this Presidency.

Speaking in Gujarati, Mr. Gandhi said he thought the only thing Mrs. Besant seemed to have done was that she had been actively conducting the Home Rule agitation in India, and if that was the reason why the Bombay Government had prohibited her, then their late Viceroy Lord Hardinge was equally liable to be prohibited from entering the Presidency because it was His Lordship who had first raised this question. Apart from that, there were three other grounds on which they should stand by Mrs. Besant, viz., gallantry, pity, and self-interest. Government had, as it were, laid its hands on a lady and, as a nation noted for chivalry, they should do all they could do to remove the indignity. Then there was the question of pity. They felt pity for Government because, with all its powers to bring the offending person to justice under the existing laws, it had found it necessary to resort to this measure against a lady. Lastly, the question of self-interest lay in the fact that they wanted Mrs. Besant in their Presidency because nobody could carry on the agitation better than she. The fact that no reason was given for the Government order was significant. He warmly commended the resolution for acceptance.

The Bombay Chronicle, 24-10-1916

221. *RESOLUTION ON INDENTURE SYSTEM, AHMEDABAD*

October 23, 1916

On 23rd October, 1916, the third and concluding day of the Bombay Provincial Conference at Ahmedabad, Gandhiji moved the following resolution:

That this Conference strongly urges the necessity of abolition of the indenture system as early as possible, the system being a form of slavery which socially and politically debases labourers and is seriously detrimental to the economic and moral interests of the country.

Mr. Gandhi, in moving the resolution, spoke in Gujarati explaining the various difficulties existing at present.

The Bombay Chronicle, 24-10-1916

222. *SPEECH ON VIRAMGAM CUSTOMS CORDON*[1]

October 23, 1916

Gandhiji moved the following resolution:

This Conference brings to the special notice of Government the inconvenience, hardship and annoyance caused to persons coming from Kathiawar into British territory by levy of customs duties and especially by the stringency of the rules and the manner of their enforcement for such levy at the Viramgam Railway station and at other stations which border on Gujarat and earnestly prays for the removal of the levy at an early date.[2]

Moving the resolution, Gandhiji said:

The people of Kathiawar are under the authority of two governments. They are subjects of Indian Princes and the latter are subject to the authority of the British Government. The idea behind the levy was to prevent the smuggling of goods from foreign countries. Since arrangements for that purpose exist at the ports, why should the people have to bear this tax? A petition was made by Shri Gokuldas against the customs levy at Ranpur.

[1] At the Bombay Provincial Conference

[2] Reproduced from Bombay Secret Abstracts, 1916, p. 907

This levy is a source of great hardship to women. We have endured this kind of thing for twelve years.

[From Gujarati]

Kathiawar Times, 1-11-1916

223. LETTER TO AJIT PRASAD

AHMEDABAD,
November 1, 1916

DEAR MR. AJIT PRASAD,

I well remember having met you at Bombay.

I took action about Pandit Arjan Lal in the early part of the year but I understood then that the Government had positive proof in their possession of a damaging nature. Since then I have become lukewarm. I would like to discuss the matter further with you before taking further steps. I know the argument that we ask not for an unconditional discharge but for a proper trial. The most effective appeal can however be based only on real innocence of the party concerned. If I come to Lucknow during the Congress meet, we shall discuss the whole matter.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat of the original in Gandhiji's hand: G.N. 100

224. SPEECH ON RAJCHANDRA JAYANTI, WADHWAN[1]

November 9, 1916

Shrimad [Rajchandra] led his life in a spirit of the highest detachment. There are two classes of people in this meeting. In one class are those who look upon Shrimad Rajchandra with a feeling of devotion; and in the other those who are here only as spectators at a show. Whether or not this *jayanti* will be successfully celebrated depends essentially on the former. Those who revere Shrimad should show this reverence in their own dealings. If the followers of Shrimad show themselves virtuous in their behaviour, that would have a great effect on society. Religion rests on con-

[1] In Saurashtra

duct. If you can improve your manner of living, you will be able to improve society. Shrimad has had a profound influence on me. I would, therefore, say to his followers that Shrimad's name is in their hands. They should emulate, in the right spirit, the ideals and the conduct of Shrimad. Otherwise, an element of hypocrisy will creep into such *jayanti* celebrations. Strive as much as you can to avoid being hypocritical. If there is a true feeling of devotion in them, those who are here as mere spectators will go back infected by it. The success of a *jayanti* celebration depends essentially on the followers. And it is my humble request that they should prove themselves men of the purest character.

[From Gujarati]
Kathiawar Times, 12-11-1916

225. LETTER TO A. H. WEST

AHMEDABAD,
December 12, 1916

MY DEAR WEST,

This is not the draft letter that Polak refers to in his letter to you herewith. But what I am now saying is in substance what is in the draft letter.

We have all thought over your proposal and feel that we can no longer rely upon support from the P. R. fund. The Phœnix trustees are not all agreed upon the support being so received. The Committee here will at the most just tolerate the withdrawal of fund[s] for sustaining *Indian Opinion*. And the public there will also look upon such support with strong disfavour. In the circumstances, we can only fall back upon local support or failing that reduce the paper to any extent we choose. In this matter you should have absolute control. By you, I mean you, Devi[1] and Sam[2] and anyone who may be sent from here.

I observe that Pragji must now leave. He wants to. Bhaga too goes. Chhaganlal is ready to come over and work under you loyally. Or if you will not shoulder the responsibility, he will work the paper with your loyal co-operation. I do hope you will agree

[1] The addressee's sister, Ada West; Devi was the Indian name given to her by Gandhiji.

[2] "Sam" was Govindaswami, a machine foreman in the International Printing Press at Phœnix and a shikari.

to Chhaganlal's return. If you don't, Maganlal will come with his family to work on the same terms as above. And if you do not favour Maganlal's return, Manilal and Ramdas can be sent. They of course can only work under your directions. Manilal should find no difficulty in gradually editing the Gujarati part. For the time being, he will simply translate what you want him to.

If you favour Chhaganlal's return, cable simply 'Chhaganlal' and I shall know. If you want Maganlal, cable simply 'Maganlal'. And if you want Manilal and Ramdas, cable simply 'Manilal'. If you want only Manilal, you may cable 'Manilal without Ramdas'.

I shall write later about the accounts. We do not need to publish them now. I have only to inform Mr. Petit how we propose to deal with the balance. Transvaal Indian Women's Association funds are not with me. They are in the balance with you. Even if you disagree, you should bank the amount due separately in consultation with Miss Schlesin and hand the receipt to her. They want it banked to bear interest. And they are right.

Polak has gone to Madras. I am preparing for the Congress. I want to write on many matters, not about the press or Phœnix. But this must wait till after my return from Lucknow.

I wrote[1] to Pragji when he told me that you all did not want Chhaganlal, that I would not send him. So said Polak too. But after consultation with Chhaganlal and examining the situation here, I came to the conclusion that I must at least let you know it and let you decide one way or the other.

With love to you all,

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat of the original in Gandhiji's hand: C.W. 4425. Courtesy: A. H. West

[1] This letter is not available.

226. SPEECH AT MUIR COLLEGE ECONOMIC SOCIETY, ALLAHABAD[1]

December 22, 1916

Mr. M. K. Gandhi delivered an instructive lecture on 'Does economic progress clash with real progress?' at a meeting of the Muir Central College Economic Society held on Friday evening in the physical science theatre. The Hon. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya presided. There was a good gathering of ladies and gentlemen, European and Indian, besides a large number of students. Among those present were Dr. E. G. Hill, the Hon. Dr. Sundar Lal, the Hon. Mr. A. W. Pim, the Hon. Mr. H. C. Ferard, the Hon. Dr. Tej Bahadur Sapru, the Hon. Mr. E. H. Ashworth, Mr. H. S. L. Polak, Prof. Gidwani, Prof. Stanley Jevons, Prof. Higginbottom, the Hon. Mr. C. Y. Chintamani, Mr. B. H. Bourdillon, Mr. Mackenzie, Prof. Moody, Prof. Dunn, Prof. Redford, Pandit Baldeo Ram Dave, Mr. Lalit Mohan Banerji, Pandit Rama Kant Malaviya, Pandit Radha Kant Malaviya, Rai Braj Narain Gurtu, Mr. Kichlu, Mr. Shamnath Mushran, Mr. Iswar Saran, Babu Shiva Prasad Gupta, Prof. Sri Prakash, Prof. Ojha, Prof. Karwell, Prof. Thompson, Dr. M. C. Tandon, Mr. Purushottam Das Tandon, Mr. Jagjivan Nath Takru.

Dr. Hill proposed the Hon. Pandit Malaviya to the chair and welcomed Mr. Gandhi in their midst.

The Hon. Pandit Malaviya in introducing Mr. Gandhi said that his was a name honoured throughout India and wherever Indians lived. His name was also appreciated by a large number of Europeans who understood his character. It was always an instruction to him to read of the work he had done and of the life he had led.

[1] Amaranatha Jha's Diary has the following entries:
December 22, 1916
From 3 to 5 stayed at Malaviyaji's house, talking to Mr. Gandhi and Mr. Polak. Then to the college physics theatre where Mr. Gandhi read his paper before the Economic Society. I took his paper from him which was written on sheets on which was printed his South African address, "Tolstoy Farm, Johannesburg". He asked me to request Mr. Chintamani [Editor, *The Leader*] to send to him the proofs for correction.
December 23, 1916
From 11 to 4 stayed at Malaviyaji's house, talking to Mr. Gandhi and Mr. Polak, Ramdas Gandhi, Mr. Merh (who has been several times to jail for passive resistance). Mr. Chintamani sent the proofs of Mr. Gandhi's lecture for correction. I asked for and obtained from Mr. Gandhi the original manuscript. He said, "This lecture is worthier of the waste paper basket than your desk."—*Amaranatha Jha: A Memorial Volume*, Ed. K. K. Mehrotra.

Mr. Gandhi then delivered the following lecture:

When I accepted Mr. Kapildeva Malaviya's invitation to speak to you upon the subject of this evening, I was painfully conscious of my limitations. You are an economic society. You have chosen distinguished specialists for the subjects included in your syllabus for this year and the next. I seem to be the only speaker ill-fitted for the task set before him. Frankly and truly, I know very little of economics, as you naturally understand them. Only the other day, sitting at an evening meal, a civilian friend deluged me with a series of questions on my crankisms. As he proceeded in his cross-examination, I being a willing victim, he found no difficulty in discovering my gross ignorance of the matters. I appeared to him to be handling with a cocksureness worthy only of a man who knows not that he knows not. To his horror and even indignation, I suppose, he found that I had not even read books on economics by such well-known authorities as Mill, Marshall, Adam Smith and a host of such other authors. In despair, he ended by advising me to read these works before experimenting in matters economic at the expense of the public. He little knew that I was a sinner past redemption. My experiments continue at the expense of trusting friends. For, there come to us moments in life when about some things we need no proof from without. A little voice within us tells us, "You are on the right track, move neither to your left nor right, but keep to the straight and narrow way." With such help we march forward slowly indeed, but surely and steadily. That is my position. It may be satisfactory enough for me, but it can in no way answer the requirements of a society such as yours. Still it was no use my struggling against Mr. Kapildeva Malaviya. I knew that he was intent upon having me to engage your attention for one of your evenings. Perhaps you will treat my intrusion as a welcome diversion from the trodden path. An occasional fast after a series of sumptuous feasts is often a necessity. And as with the body, so, I imagine, is the case with the reason. And if your reason this evening is found fasting instead of feasting, I am sure it will enjoy with the greater avidity the feast that Rao Bahadur Pandit Chandrika Prasad has in store for you for the 12th of January.

Before I take you to the field of my experiences and experiments, it is perhaps best to have a mutual understanding about the title of this evening's address: *Does economic progress clash with real progress?* By economic progress, I take it, we mean material advancement without limit and by real progress we mean moral progress, which again is the same thing as progress of the permanent element in us. The subject may therefore be stated thus: "Does

not moral progress increase in the same proportion as material progress?" I know that this is a wider proposition than the one before us. But I venture to think that we always mean the larger one even when we lay down the smaller. For we know enough of science to realise that there is no such thing as perfect rest or repose in this visible universe of ours. If therefore material progress does not clash with moral progress, it must necessarily advance the latter. Nor can we be satisfied with the clumsy way in which sometimes those who cannot defend the larger proposition put their case. They seem to be obsessed with the concrete case of thirty millions of India stated by the late Sir William Wilson Hunter to be living on one meal a day. They say that before we can think or talk of their moral welfare, we must satisfy their daily wants. With these, they say, material progress spells moral progress. And then is taken a sudden jump : what is true of thirty millions is true of the universe. They forget that hard cases make bad law. I need hardly say to you how ludicrously absurd this deduction would be. No one has ever suggested that grinding pauperism can lead to anything else than moral degradation. Every human being has a right to live and therefore to find the wherewithal to feed himself and where necessary to clothe and house himself. But, for this very simple performance, we need no assistance from economists or their laws.

"Take no thought for the morrow"[1] is an injuction which finds an echo in almost all the religious scriptures of the world. In well-ordered society, the securing of one's livelihood should be and is found to be the easiest thing in the world. Indeed, the test of orderliness in a country is not the number of millionaires it owns, but the absence of starvation among its masses. The only statement that has to be examined is whether it can be laid down as a law of universal application that material advancement means moral progress.

Now let us take a few illustrations. Rome suffered a moral fall when it attained high material affluence. So did Egypt and so perhaps most countries of which we have any historic record. The decendants, kinsmen of the royal and divine Krishna, too, fell when they were rolling in riches. We do not deny to the Rockefellers and the Carnegies possession of an ordinary measure of morality but we gladly judge them indulgently. I mean that we do not even expect them to satisfy the highest standard of morality. With them material gain has not necessarily meant moral gain. In

[1] *St. Matthew*, VI, 34

South Africa, where I had the privilege of associating with thousands of our countrymen on most intimate terms, I observed almost invariably that the greater the possession of riches, the greater was their moral turpitude. Our rich men, to say the least, did not advance the moral struggle of passive resistance as did the poor. The rich men's sense of self-respect was not so much injured as that of the poorest. If I were not afraid of treading on dangerous ground, I would even come nearer home and show you that possession of riches has been a hindrance to real growth. I venture to think that the scriptures of the world are far safer and sounder treatises on laws of economics than many of the modern text-books. The question we are asking ourselves this evening is not a new one. It was addressed to Jesus two thousand years ago. St. Mark[1] has vividly described the scene. Jesus is in his solemn mood; he is earnest. He talks of eternity. He knows the world about him. He is himself the greatest economist of his time. He succeeded in economising time and space—he transcended them. It is to him at his best that one comes running, kneels down, and asks: "Good Master, what shall I do that I may inherit eternal life?" And Jesus said unto him: "Why callest thou me good? There is none good but one, that is God. Thou knowest the commandments. Do not commit adultery, Do not kill, Do not steal, Do not bear false witness, Defraud not, Honour thy father and mother." And he answered and said unto him: "Master, all these have I observed from my youth." Then Jesus beholding him, loved him and said unto him: "One thing thou lackest. Go thy way, sell whatever thou hast and give to the poor, and thou shalt have treasure in heaven—come take up the cross and follow me." And he was sad at that saying and went away grieved—for he had great possessions. And Jesus looked round about and said unto his disciples: "How hardly shall they that have riches enter into the kingdom of God." And the disciples were astonished at his words. But Jesus answereth again and saith unto them: "Children, how hard it is for them that trust in riches to enter into the kindgom of God. It is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle than for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of God!" Here you have an eternal rule of life stated in the noblest words the English language is capable of producing. But the disciples nodded unbelief as we do even to this day. To him they said as we say today: "But look how the law fails in practice. If we sell all and have nothing, we shall have

[1] Ch. X, *verses* 17-31

nothing to eat. We must have money or we cannot even be reasonably moral." So they state their case thus. "And they were astonished out of measure saying among themselves : 'Who then can be saved?'" And Jesus looking upon them saith : "With men it is impossible but not with God, for with God all things are possible." Then Peter began to say unto him : "Lo, we have left all, and have followed thee." And Jesus answered and said : "Verily I say unto you there is no man that has left house or brethren or sisters, or father or mother, or wife or children or lands for my sake and the Gospels, but he shall receive one hundred fold, now in this time houses and brethren and sisters and mothers and children and lands with persecutions and in the world to come eternal life. But many that are first shall be last and the last first." You have here the result or reward, if you prefer the term, of following the law. I have not taken the trouble of copying similar passages from the other non-Hindu scriptures and I will not insult you by quoting in support of the law stated by Jesus passages from the writings and sayings of our own sages, passages even stronger if possible than the Biblical extracts I have drawn your attention to. Perhaps the strongest of all the testimonies in favour of the affirmative answer to the question before us are the lives of the greatest teachers of the world. Jesus, Mahomed, Buddha, Nanak, Kabir, Chaitayna, Shankara, Dayanand, Ramkrishna were men who exercised an immense influence over and moulded the character of thousands of men. The world is the richer for their having lived in it. And they were all men who deliberately embraced poverty as their lot.

I should not have laboured my point as I have done, if I did not believe that, in so far as we have made the modern materialistic craze our goal, in so far are we going downhill in the path of progress. I hold that economic progress in the sense I have put it is antagonistic to real progress. Hence the ancient ideal has been the limitation of activities promoting wealth. This does not put an end to all material ambition. We should still have, as we have always had, in our midst people who make the pursuit of wealth their aim in life. But we have always recognised that it is a fall from the ideal. It is a beautiful thing to know that the wealthiest among us have often felt that to have remained voluntarily poor would have been a higher state for them. That you cannot serve God and Mammon is an economic truth of the highest value. We have to make our choice. Western nations today are groaning under the heel of the monster-god of materialism. Their moral growth has become stunted. They measure their progress in £. s. d. American wealth has become the standard. She [*sic*] is the envy of the other

nations. I have heard many of our countrymen say that we will gain American wealth but avoid its methods. I venture to suggest that such an attempt if it were made is foredoomed to failure. We cannot be 'wise, temperate and furious'[1] in a moment. I would have our leaders to teach us to be morally supreme in the world. This land of ours was once, we are told, the abode of the gods. It is not possible to conceive gods inhabiting a land which is made hideous by the smoke and the din of mill chimneys and factories and whose roadways are traversed by rushing engines dragging numerous cars crowded with men mostly who know not what they are after, who are often absent-minded, and whose tempers do not improve by being uncomfortably packed like sardines in boxes and finding themselves in the midst of utter strangers who would oust them if they could and whom they would in their turn oust similarly. I refer to these things because they are held to be symbolical of material progress. But they add not an atom to our happiness. This is what Wallace, the great scientist, has said as his deliberate judgement.

> In the earliest records which have come down to us from the past, we find ample indications that general ethical considerations and conceptions, the accepted standard of morality, and the conduct resulting from these were in no degree inferior to those which prevail to-day.

In a series of chapters, he then proceeds to examine the position of the English nation under the advance in wealth it has made. He says :

> This rapid growth of wealth and increase of our power over nature put too great a strain upon our crude civilization, on our superficial Christianity, and it was accompanied by various forms of social immorality almost as amazing and unprecedented.

He then shows how factories have risen on the corpses of men, women and children, how as the country has rapidly advanced in riches, it has gone down in morality. He shows this by dealing with insanitation, life-destroying trades, adulteration, bribery and gambling. He shows how, with the advance of wealth, justice has become immoral, deaths from alcoholism and suicide have increased, the average of premature births and congenital defects has increased, and prostitution has become an institution. He concludes his examination by these pregnant remarks :

> The proceedings of the divorce courts show other aspects of the result of wealth and leisure, while a friend who had been a good deal in

[1] "Who can be wise, amazed, temperate and furious,/Loyal and neutral, in a moment?/No man." —*Macbeth*, II, iii.

London society assured me that both in country houses and in London various kinds of orgies were occasionally to be met with which would hardly have been surpassed in the period of the most dissolute emperors. Of war, too, I need say nothing. It has always been more or less chronic since the rise of the Roman Empire; but there is now undoubtedly a disinclination for war among all civilized peoples. Yet the vast burden of armaments, taken together with the most pious declarations in favour of peace, must be held to show an almost total absence of morality as a guiding principle among the governing classes.

Under the British aegis, we have learnt much, but it is my firm belief that there is little to gain from Britain in intrinsic morality, that if we are not careful, we shall introduce all the vices that she has been a prey to, owing to the disease of materialism. We can profit by that connection only if we keep our civilization, and our morals, straight, i.e., if instead of boasting of the glorious past, we express the ancient moral glory in our own lives and let our lives bear witness to our past. Then we shall benefit her and ourselves. If we copy her because she provides us with rulers, both they and we shall suffer degradation. We need not be afraid of ideals or of reducing them to practice even to the uttermost. Ours will only then be a truly spiritual nation when we shall show more truth than gold, greater fearlessness than pomp of power and wealth, greater charity than love of self. If we will but clean our houses, our palaces and temples of the attributes of wealth and show in them the attributes of morality, we can offer battle to any combinations of hostile forces without having to carry the burden of a heavy militia. Let us seek first the kingdom of God and His righteousness and the irrevocable promise is that everything will be added with us. These are real economics. May you and I treasure them and enforce them in our daily life.

An interesting discussion followed in the course of which several students put questions to the lecturer. . . .

Prof. Jevons said . . . . It was necessary for economists to exist. It was not their business to lay down what the end should be. That was the business of philosophers. . . .

Prof. Gidwani, president of the society, thanked the lecturer for his address. . . .

Prof. Higginbottom said that there was no economic problem which could be separated from the moral problem. . . .

Mr. Gandhi in the course of his remarks referred to Mr. Jevons' remark about the need for economists and said that it was said that dirt was matter misplaced. So also when an economist was misplaced, he was hurtful. He certainly thought that the economist had a place in the economy of nature when he

occupied the humble sphere for which he was created. If an economist did not investigate the laws of God and show them how to distribute wealth so that there might not be poverty, he was a most unwelcome instrusion on the Indian soil. He would also suggest for the reflection of their economic students and professors that what might be good for England and America need not necessarily be good for India. He thought that most of the economic laws which were consistent with moral laws were of universal application, but there might be in their restricted application some distinction and difference. So he would utter the note of warning that Indian conditions being in some respects so essentially different from the English and American conditions, it was necessary to bring to bear on the matters that presented themselves to the economists a fresh mind. If they did so, both Indians and the economists would derive benefit. Mr. Higginbottom, he said, was studying the real economics that were so necessary for India and reducing his studies inch by inch to practice and that was the safest guide to follow, whether they were students or professors. Referring to a question by a student, he said that a man should not hoard money for selfish ends, but if he wished to hoard money as a trustee for the millions of India, he would say that he might have as much riches as he could. Ordinarily, economists prescribed laws for the rich people. It was against those economists that he would always cry out.

As regards another question, whether factories should not be replaced by cottage industries, Mr. Gandhi spoke approvingly of the suggestion but said that the economists should first of all examine with patience their indigenous institutions. If they were rotten, they must be wiped out and if there were remedies which could be suggested for their betterment, they should improve them.

As regards intercourse with other nations, he said that he did not think that they necessarily advanced one little bit in their moral growth by bringing their masses with others into physical contact and pointed to Indians in South Africa as an instance. The rapid locomotion such as steamers, trains and others dislocated so many of their ideals and created a great deal of mischief.

As regards the question what was the minimum and the maximum wealth a man should have—he would answer in the words of Jesus, Ramkrishna and others who said 'none'.

The Hon. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya in his concluding remarks offered a cordial vote of thanks to Mr. Gandhi for his excellent address. The ideals which Mr. Gandhi put before them, he said, were so high that he did not expect that all of them would be prepared to subscribe to all of them. But he was sure they would agree with the main object he put before them, namely, that they should go for the welfare of man as the test of all economic questions with which they dealt. . . .

The Leader, 25-12-1916

227. SPEECH AT ALLAHABAD ON EDUCATION, ANCIENT AND MODERN

December 23, 1916

Mr. Gandhi addressed in Hindi a public meeting at Allahabad at Munshi Ram Prasad's garden under the chairmanship of the Hon. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya. The gathering was a record one even for Munshi Ram Prasad's garden where some of the largest public meetings have been held.

Mr. Gandhi, who on rising was greeted with loud and prolonged cheers, said that that he should have felt difficulty—of which he was ashamed—in addressing the meeting in Hindi, was a striking commentary on the system of modern education which was a part of the subject of his lecture that evening. He would, however, prefer to speak in Hindi although he had greater facility of expression in English. Describing the modern system of education, he said that real education was considered to have begun at the college at the age of 16 or 17. The education received in school was not useful. For instance, an Indian student, while he knew well the geography of England, did not possess a sufficient knowledge of the geography of his own country. This history of India which they were taught was greatly distorted. Government service was the aim of their education. Their highest ambition was to become members of the Imperial Legislative Council. The boys abandoned their hereditary occupations, and forsook their mother tongue. They were adopting the English language, European ideas and European dress. They thought in English, conducted all their political and social work and all commercial transactions, etc., in English and thought that they could not do without the English language. They had come to think that there was no other road. Education through English had created a wide gulf between the educated few and the masses. It had created a gulf in the families also. An English-educated man had no community of feelings and ideas with the ladies of his family. And, as had been said, the aspirations of the English-educated men were fixed on Government service and at the most on membership of the Imperial Legislative Council. He for one could never commend a system of education which produced such a state of things and men educated under such system could not be expected to do any great service to the country. Mr. Gandhi did not mean that the English-educated leaders did not feel for the masses. On the other hand, he acknowledged that the Congress and other great public movements were initiated and conducted by them. But, at the same time, he could not help feeling that the work done during all these years would have been much more and much greater progress would have been made if they had been taught in their mother tongue. It was unfortunate, said the speaker, that a feeling had come over them that

there was no path to progress other than that which was being followed. They found themselves helpless. But it was not manliness to assume an attitude of helplessness.

Mr. Gandhi then described the ancient system of education and said that even elementary education imparted by the village teacher taught the students all that was necessary for their occupations. Those who went in for higher education became fully conversant with the science of wealth, *Artha Shastra*, ethics and religion, *Dharma Shastra*. In ancient times, there were no restrictions on education. It was not controlled by the State but was solely in the hands of the Brahmins who shaped the system of education solely with an eye to the welfare of the people. It was based on restraint and *brahmacharya*. It was due to such a system of education that Indian civilization had outlived so many vicissitudes through thousands of years, while such ancient civilizations as those of Greece, Rome and Egypt had become extinct. No doubt the wave of a new civilization had been passing through India. But he was sure that it was transitory, it would soon pass away and Indian civilization would be revivified. In ancient times, the basis of life was self-restraint but now it was enjoyment. The result was that people had become powerless cowards and foresook the truth. Having come under the influence of another civilization, it might be necessary to adapt our own civilization in certain respects to our new environment but we should not make any radical change in a civilization which was acknowledged even by some western scholars to be the best. It might be urged that it was necessary to adopt the methods and instruments of western civilization to meet the material forces of that civilization. But the forces born of spirituality, the bedrock of Indian civilization, were more than a match for material forces. India was pre-eminently the land of religion. It was the first and the last duty of Indians to maintain it as such. They should draw their strength from the soul, from God. If they adhered to that path, *swarajya* which they were aspiring to and working for would become their handmaid.

The Leader, 27-12-1916; also *Mahatma Gandhi: His Life, Writings & Speeches*, pp. 192-5

228. SPEECH AT LUCKNOW CONGRESS

December 28, 1916

Mr. M. K. Gandhi (Bombay) moving Resolution No. IX on "Indentured Labour" on 28th December, 1916 at the 31st Indian National Congress Session held at Lucknow said:

MR. PRESIDENT, BROTHER-DELEGATES, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

I notice that there is an appeal made to me by my Tamil brethren that I should speak to them in English and I am going partly to accede to their importunity, but I want to make an appeal in return that during the next year if they do not learn the *lingua franca*, which I know will be the *lingua franca* ("Hear, hear"), when swaraj is granted to the whole of India, if you do not do so during the ensuing year, you will do so at your peril, so far as I am concerned. (Cheers.) I shall read the resolution in English, which I propose to read afterwards in Hindi also. The resolution runs as follows :

(a) This Congress strongly urges that indentured emigration should be stopped by prohibiting the recruitment of such labour within the ensuing year.

(b) In the opinion of this Congress, it is highly desirable that at least one representative Indian selected after consultation with associations voicing Indian public opinion be appointed by the Government of India to take part in the forthcoming inter-departmental Conference to be held in London for the consideration of this question.

(c) This Congress earnestly requests that the reports of Mr. Marjoribanks and Hon'ble Mr. Thambi Marakkyar and of the inter-departmental Committee be published for general information and discussion before any action is taken thereupon.

The pressmen and the delegates who have copies of the resolution with them will kindly note that there is a verbal alteration in clause (a), that instead of the word "during", the resolution will read "within". It is made at the instance of a friend who is afraid that the Government might consider that we would be satisfied if indentured emigration was suspended during the ensuing year, whereas our meaning is that it should be abolished for ever. In clause (b) also, you will note that there is an addition of the word "Indian" before the words "public opinion".

Mr. Gandhi read the resolution in Hindi and explained the object of the resolution.

Report of the Thirty-first Indian National Congress, pp. 62-3

229. SPEECH AT ALL-INDIA COMMON SCRIPT AND COMMON LANGUAGE CONFERENCE, LUCKNOW[1]

December 29, 1916

What I have got to say I shall say afterwards. I shall begin with the lessons I have learnt from the speakers who have preceded me. I hail from Gujarat. My Hindi is broken. I speak to you, brothers, in that broken Hindi of mine, because even if I speak a little of English, I have the feeling that I am committing a sin. I need not speak to you about the glories of Hindi. Your desire to hear from me about the glories of Hindi is as if someone who regularly bathes in the Ganga should invoke that river to come to him. If someone living in Rajputana were to make such a supplication, it would be different. That you should study Hindi and master Devnagari is not for me to tell you. It is as absurd as asking Muslims to learn Urdu. You say, I am a man not of speech but of action. Then do what I say. Gentlemen, you see that the Christian Literature Depot and Bible Society is going all round the world. It scatters its books everywhere. It has them translated into all the languages and then distributes them at the right places. Even to the aborigines and working people in Africa it provides the Bible in their own languages. It spends crores of rupees on this job. They do not simply hold conferences like we do. Sometimes they do meet but only to collect money or to submit their reports. If we had men to teach Hindi, to do work, even the people of Madras would be knowing Hindi today. It is not mere conferences but work that we need—work such as the Christian Literature Depot and Bible Society is doing. All work requires money. But there is no paucity of money. There is paucity only of workers. If we have workers, people in Gujarat, Madras, South India and elsewhere can learn Hindi. Let more and more books be translated into Hindi, let people go out and teach, and let those coming in be taught. If workers are sent to the South or to Gujarat to teach and disseminate Hindi, they will not be entirely unpaid, they will get subsistence wages. In olden times, the age of the *rishis*, there was great self-sacrifice, and learning was imparted without payment.

[1] Gandhiji presided at the Conference.

I wanted to learn Hindi but found no one in Ahmedabad to teach me. I learnt my Hindi from a Gujarati gentleman who had only a working knowledge of the language and who had spent 15 or 20 years in Benares. If the conference sends out men, a large number of people will be able to learn Hindi. You want swaraj. So do I. But the way to gain swaraj is a different one altogether [from what is usually adopted]. Swaraj cannot be got by mere talking. You must first do some work yourselves and then only seek aid from the Government. Government aid will not be forthcoming before that. If you first go forward on your own, the Government will follow you. A Government never of itself takes the first step. You go out and teach Hindi to people and put in earnest work. Only when you have done some work will the Government listen to you, otherwise it will throw your applications aside. The task is a big one, but if you have the will you can construct the edifice of swaraj. Panditji (Malaviyaji) has dwelt at length on our past glory. English first had a vocabulary of a thousand words. Now it has increased to a hundred thousand. There are books in that language on all subjects, such as jurisprudence, medicine, etc. People say Hindi has nothing and that we cannot do without English. At times people have to put up with great inconvenience owing to ignorance of English. I grant that it is so. On the trains people have to suffer much on account of English. So much so, that people like me get pushed about for speaking Hindi. But those who have work to do cannot take notice of it. However backward Hindi may be as compared to English, we must advance its status. Our ancient *rishis* lived under rigid rules of conduct. They showed great self-sacrifice. We must gird up our loins and do them honour by renouncing all self-interest. In Government councils English alone counts. It is said that the Viceroy and others know no language except English and that therefore it is necessary to use only English. But I assert that if I know how to speak and if there is something in my speech from which the Viceroy may benefit, he will certainly hear it even if it is made in Hindi. If necessary he will get it translated. Or a C.I.D. man will come and take a report of it. It is from the people themselves that I ask for swaraj. If you have received this swaraj from the people, you will get it also from the Government. Once you have done this, you will become truly fearless and your aspirations will be fulfilled.

[From Hindi]

Pratap, 1-1-1917

230. PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS AT ALL-INDIA COMMON SCRIPT AND COMMON LANGUAGE CONFERENCE, LUCKNOW

December 29, 1916

BROTHERS,

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya has dwelt at length on the past glory of Hindi. But this in itself will not make for the spread of the National Language. You cannot get the merit of a dip in the Bhagirathi[1] by merely saying that the glory of the Bhagirathi is great. *Bhagirath prayatna*[2] is required if we want Hindi to spread. Which language do you employ when you petition the Viceroy or the Government? If you have not been employing Hindi, do so now. You may say that you will not be heard if you use that language. I say to you : Speak in your language, write in your language. If they have got to hear what you say, they shall hear. I will say what I have to say in my own language. He who has to listen will listen. If you act on this resolve, the status of Hindi will rise. Hindi has not made much headway in all provinces so far. The *rashtra-bhasha*[3] is not yet popular in the *rashtra-sabha*[4]. Whose fault is it? I say it is yours. I needed and still need some one knowing Hindi to teach me the language. But there was none to be found in Ahmedabad who could give lessons to me and to those in my Ashram. Hindi has not spread in Madras yet. You have made no effort to that end. Please find five or ten people who will go to Madras and spread Hindi. Pay them proper remuneration. It is not difficult to find the funds for, after all, you spend so much money on these conferences. If such an effort is made, Hindi is bound to spread everywhere.

[From Hindi]

Mahatma Gandhi by Ramchandra Varma

[1] Bhagirath, after heroic efforts, brought down the Ganga from heaven; hence the river is also called Bhagirathi.

[2] Herculean efforts

[3] National language

[4] National Congress

231. INTERVIEW AT LUCKNOW

[About *December 29/31, 1916*]

NATIONAL LANGUAGE

Q. Do you consider it necessary that the business of the Congress should be conducted in Hindi, our national language?

A. I do. So long as public business is not conducted in Hindi, the country cannot make progress. So long as the Congress does not use Hindi for all its work, swaraj is not possible.

Q. But how can it be possible for people of all the provinces all of a sudden to learn Hindi and start speaking it?

A. I do not say that the provinces should all give up their own languages and start speaking and writing Hindi. In provincial matters, the provincial languages may be used. But national questions ought to be deliberated in the national language only. It is not a very difficult matter. It can be easily done. We should use Hindi for the work that we are today doing in English.

SWARAJ OF CONGRESS

Q. What do you think of the swaraj resolution passed by the Congress and the way it is going to be implemented?

A. It may be good or it may be bad, but I do not have any high opinion of it.

Q. Why so?

A. Because ill-will is inherent in it.

Q. There wouldn't seem to be any ill-will in it and if it has it is only towards the bureaucracy.

A. It may be towards the bureaucracy, but it is ill-will all the same. Therefore I have no high opinion of it. But I cannot say that the venture is unworthy or that it will fail. Ill-will does not everywhere do harm. Ill-will has to be shown towards ill-will when we wish to remove it from our hearts. But this is not my way.[1] This is not the Indian way—the ancient, traditional way; this is the Western way.

Q. Then what is your or rather our own Indian way?

A. We shall not go into it now.

INSTITUTION OF "VARNASHRAM"

Q. What are your views on the system of the four *varnas*?

A. It is a very good institution. It has done much good to the country. It must be preserved.

Q. If there are only four *varnas* in Hindu society and if they are to remain as they are, in which *varna* would you include the untouchable castes?

A. The untouchable castes owe their existence to the excesses of the system. The four *varnas* ostracised them through undue excesses. Their place is inside the system.

Q. If that is so, in which *varna* ought they to be placed?

Answering this question, Gandhiji explained at length how in the normal flow of society they would all find the *varnas* to which they were entitled.

"SHUDDHI" MOVEMENT OF ARYA SAMAJ

Q. What will be the solution of the Hindu-Muslim question?

A. This question cannot be solved finally. What happened in other countries will happen here. Hindus and Muslims will remain as two communities and this will do no harm to the country.

Q. The Arya Samaj converts Muslims to Hinduism through *shuddhi*. If this practice does not violate religion and if one can conceive that through it all the Muslims can become Hindus, will it not solve the question?

A. But it is not the right path. It is not the path of religion. It is not natural and the dream of converting all the Muslims to Hinduism is a vain one.

[From Hindi]

Mahatma Gandhi by Ramchandra Varma

232. *SPEECH AT MUSLIM LEAGUE CONFERENCE, LUCKNOW*

December 31, 1916

The Muslim League resumed its sitting this morning, the attendance being as large as yesterday. Mr. Wazir Hassan, Secretary of the League, presented the report of the reform committee appointed at Bombay last year. The report was on the same lines as the report that was placed before the National Congress this year.

A resolution protesting against the treatment of Indians in the Colonies was next put from the chair (Mr. Jinnah) and carried.

At this stage, Mr. Gandhi who was present at the meeting was asked to address the meeting.

He exhorted them to conduct their proceedings in Urdu if they wished to carry out their resolution to maintain Urdu as the *lingua franca* of India. He further urged them to take some interest in Hindu literature which would enable them to arrive at a permanent rapprochement with the Hindus. In the Colonies, Hindus and Mussalmans had always cooperated in taking concerted measures and, if that example was followed in India, the coveted prize would soon be theirs. He also advised them that in the course of their propaganda they should not be afraid of the Government because it was in the nature of Englishmen to bow before the strong and ride over the weak.

The Leader, 3-1-1917

233. FRAGMENT OF LETTER[1]

[*1916*][2]

. . . . keep in. . . . At present, your work is to supervise everything, assign everyone his work and, finishing the accounts, you have to train Mr. Fulchand[3] [in accounts][4]. If buttermilk does not agree with everyone and they all prefer *rab*[5], go back to it. The general level of health is good these days. We don't want to lose it. The harmonium must have arrived by now. Sankalchandbhai[6] had promised to look for the land; remind him of that. Go and look at the small farm of the Orphanage. I am trying again to secure it. We should consider whether it will serve our purpose.

Blessings from
BAPU

Read the accompanying letter[7] and send it on to Jamnadas.

From the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: C.W. 5694. Courtesy: Radhabehn Choudhri

[1] The first two pages are not available.

[2] The letter appears to have been written in 1916. The exact date cannot be ascertained.

[3] Fulchand Kasturchand Shah, a political and constructive worker of Saurashtra

[4] *Vide* "Fragment of Letter to Maganlal Gandhi", before 19-2-1917.

[5] A semi-liquid preparation of wheat

[6] Sankalchand Shah, formerly Professor of Physics, Gujarat College, Ahmedabad; later, took charge of Gandhiji's National School.

[7] Not available

234. LETTER TO V. G. SARAIYA

AHMEDABAD,
Posh Sud 10 [January 3, 1917][1]

I returned from Lucknow[2] only last night. You should bear whatever happens in patience and even submit to death while maintaining moral principles. There is no other consolation I can give.

MOHANDAS GANDHI

BHAI VRIJLAL GOVINDLAL SARAIYA
TODA POLE IN RAJA MEHTA POLE
AHMEDABAD

From the original post card in Gujarati in Gandhiji's hand: C.W. 2820. Courtesy: Vinaychandra Govindlal Saraiya

235. LETTER TO ESTHER FAERING

AHMEDABAD,
January 11, 1917

DEAR ESTHER[3],

I was delighted to have your note from Bombay. I assure you that we miss you both very much. You were hardly guests to us; you had become members of the family. Hope Miss Peterson[4] is quite herself again. I redirected a batch of letters yesterday and am doing likewise today.

With regards to both of you,

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

My Dear Child, p. 3

[1] From the postmark
[2] After attending the Congress session held in December, 1916
[3] & [4] Miss Esther Faering and Miss Anne Marie Peterson, members of the staff of the Danish Missionary Society in South India, had visited Gandhiji's Ashram as a preparation for their educational work. Esther grew to be like a daughter to Bapu; *vide* "Letter to Esther Faering", 15-4-1917 & 17-4-1917.

236. LETTER TO KALYANJI MEHTA

AHMEDABAD,
Posh Vad 4 [January 12, 1917][1]

I write this assuming that you are still in Surat. I wonder if you have purposely dropped the matter about the customs cordon at Viramgam. The rest seems all right. A resolution can also be passed saying that education should be given through the mother tongue. It is very difficult for me just now to leave Ahmedabad. What can I do by going there? I would request you to leave me alone.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS

I am returning the copy of the resolutions.

BHAISHRI KALYANJI VITHALBHAI MEHTA[2]
PATEL BANDHU OFFICE
SURAT

From a photostat of the original post card in Gujarati in Gandhiji's hand: G.N. 2663

237. STATEMENT ON LIONEL CURTIS' LETTER

[Before *January 14, 1917*][3]

It turns out that the discoverer of Mr. Lionel Curtis'[4] letter[5] to the Secretary of the Round Table was Mr. Gandhi. *New India* writes: "An Ahmedabad correspondent writing to the *Hindustan* of Bombay gives details of an explanation given by Mr. Gandhi at his Ashram at Ahmedabad regarding the "private" letter of Mr. Curtis. Mr. Gandhi says:

It was at Agra that this letter came accidentally to my hands. It was printed in the Government press and was marked 'private'.

[1] From the postmark

[2] A Congress leader of Surat district

[3] *Gujarati*, 14-1-1917, also published this.

[4] Member of the Round Table group touring India; formerly, Town Clerk, Johannesburg, 1902-3; Assistant Colonial Secretary for Urban Affairs, Transvaal, 1903-6; member, Transvaal Legislative Council, *vide* Vol. VIII, p. 9.

[5] Dated 13th December 1916, reproduced in *New India*, 27-12-1916. The letter contained proposals "to subordinate India to the control of the Dominions".

But it came to my hands through the mistake of some pressman along with a book. The moment I saw it I was startled, and on seeing the danger that stood before the country, I resolved to expose the conspiracy before the Congress somehow or other, and I handed it over to Mr. Horniman[1]. But at that time I made a suggestion that Mr. Curtis should be given 24 hours' notice to make any explanation which he thought fit. But others thought it was one's duty to publish it then and there, and that there was no necessity to give such a notice; I also agreed to this. If underneath our houses somebody digs a mine and fills it with explosives, and if our enemy thinks of blowing it up when there is a gathering there, and he sends a chit round marked 'Private and confidential', it is our duty to catch hold of it and expose it. I know Mr. Curtis for a long time. His brother was in South Africa. I think that because of the publication of this letter, the game of putting India under the dominance of the Colonies will not come to pass.

The Indian Social Reformer, 21-1-1917

238. LETTER TO ESTHER FAERING

AHMEDABAD,
January 15, 1917

DEAR ESTHER,

I was pleased to receive your nice letter and hear that Miss Peterson had thrown off her cold entirely.

I am glad you found peace in the Ashram. Yes, both of you we regard as members of the family. You will come whenever you wish to and can.

Ramdas[2] is a noble boy. He is the one going to South Africa.[3] I feel sure that he will give a good account of himself there. By way of preparation he has been attending a printing press here, practising at the compositor's desk.

I have learnt enough of you to know that you will put your whole heart into your studies and soon be talking enough Tamil for your purpose.

[1] B. G. Horniman, Editor, *The Bombay Chronicle*, Bombay

[2] Gandhiji's third son

[3] *Vide* "Letter to Narandas Gandhi", 17-1-1917.

Pray keep the rules[1] as long as you like. There is no occasion to hurry over sending them.

With kind regards,

Yours,
M. K. GANDHI

My Dear Child, pp. 3-4

239. LETTER TO S. HIGGINBOTTOM

AHMEDABAD,
January 16, 1917

DEAR MR. HIGGINBOTTOM,

You will see from the enclosed what fate befell my poor post card. Since writing the post-card, I have read the book. It was a perfect treat for me. It has enabled me almost to take a definite step in matters educational. You will hear about it probably very soon and perhaps give me the benefit of your advice.

Hoping you will be able at an early date to visit the Ashram,

I am,
Yours truly,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat of the original in Gandhiji's hand: G.N. 8933

240. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

AHMEDABAD,
Posh Vad 9 [January 17, 1917][2]

CHI. NARANDAS,

I have resolved on two changes: one, that in buying land for the farm our object should be to have a good return by way of yield, the object being that even a man with a family may be drawn to this work; two, to start a national school[3], be it on a big scale or small, and engage well-educated teachers for it. Paid men should be engaged for both these purposes and the payment should be at

[1] Rules drawn up for the members of the Ashram; *vide* "Draft Constitution for the Ashram", before 20-5-1915.

[2] Manilal and Ramdas Gandhi referred to at the end of the letter went to Natal early in 1917.

[3] *Vide* "National Gujarati School", after 18-1-1917.

market rates. You can also be taken as a paid man. The idea is to entrust you mainly with the accounts of these departments. This is not final, though. What is certain is that you should be engaged on payment. You will be able to live in the Ashram if you wish to. If you want to live apart, you can do that also. You can be paid a salary which you consider necessary to meet the expenses in Ahmedabad. If you want to join this work, think over the matter and let me know. There is no particular need for hurry. If you are favourably inclined, seek Khushalbhai's advice and have a discussion among you brothers. If there is anything more you want to know, write to me or come over on a Sunday. I shall not go into further details just now.

Try to see Harakhchand again. The doctor must get a definite reply.

Krishno[1] and Kashi[2] are here. Chhaganlal is thinking of joining the work I have mentioned above (on payment) and with that end in view he has gone to Baroda to obtain Motichand's permission. There is a letter from him, though, saying that Motichand is putting heavy pressure on him. Let us see what Chhaganlal does.

Manilal and Ramdas will shortly leave for Natal and relieve Pragji.

Blessings from
MOHANDAS

From the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: C.W. 5691. Courtesy: Narandas Gandhi

241. *LETTER TO KALYANJI MEHTA*

AHMEDABAD,
Posh Vad 10 [January 18, 1917][3]

[DEAR SHRI KALYANJI,]

I shall further explain my difficulty to you. I am busy these days preparing a big educational scheme[4] and that takes up all my time. I have to meet a number of people and discuss things with them. Please consider whether I should go ahead with this work or interrupt it for four or five days, whether it will be more

[1] Krishnadas, son of Chhaganlal Gandhi

[2] Wife of Chhaganlal Gandhi

[3] This appears to have been written after "Letter to Kalyanji Mehta", 12-1-1917.

[4] *Vide* the following item.

profitable for me to carry on with it or to attend your conference. Answer this question yourself before you put pressure on me.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS GANDHI

From a photostat of the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: G.N. 2668

242. NATIONAL GUJARATI SCHOOL

[After *January 18, 1917*][1]

PROSPECTUS

For many years past, several friends and I have felt that our present education is not national and that in consequence people do not get from it the benefit they ought to. Our children languish as a result of this education. They become incapable of any great achievement and the knowledge they acquire does not spread among the masses—not even in their families. Nor do the young people have any aim in mind in taking this modern education except to get a job and make money. It is one of the fundamental principles of education that it should be planned with a view to the needs of the people. This idea finds no place at all in our schools.

Wherever I have travelled in India, I have discussed this question with the leaders and, without exception, almost *every one has admitted that our educational system must change.*

To look to the Government for this will be sheer waste of time. The Government will wait on public opinion and, being foreign, move very timidly; it cannot understand our needs, its advisers may be ill-informed or they may have interests of their own to serve. For a variety of such reasons, it will probably be quite long before there is any serious change in the present system; the time that passes meanwhile is so much loss to the people.

It is, however, not intended to suggest here that we should not try to get the Government to move. Let petitions be made to it and let public opinion be ascertained. But the best petition to the Government will be an actual demonstation by us and this will also be the easiest way of cultivating public opinion. It has accordingly been decided, in consultation with some educated gentlemen, to start a *national school.*

[1] *Vide* the preceding item.

Education in the School

Basic principle : The education will be physical, intellectual and religious.

For physical education, there will be training in agriculture and hand-weaving and in the use of carpenter's and blacksmith's tools incidental to these. That will provide sufficient exercise for the pupils. In addition, they will be given drill, which is both an entertainment [and a practical utility][1] and, as part of this, they will be taught how to march in squads and how each one may work with quiet efficiency in case of accidents such as fire.

They will have instruction on how to preserve health and on home remedies for ordinary ailments, with as much of physiology and botany as may be necessary for the purpose.

For intellectual training, they will study Gujarati, Marathi, Hindi and Sanskrit as compulsory subjects. Urdu, Tamil and Bengali will also be taught.

There will be no teaching of English during the first three years.

In addition, the pupils will be taught Mathematics (Arithmetic, Algebra and Geometry). Instruction in multiplication tables, Indian book-keeping and the measures, weights, etc., currently in use will begin at once and the rest of the curriculum will be covered progressively.

There will be instruction in History, Geography, Elements of Astronomy and Elements of Chemistry.

By way of instruction in religion, pupils will be taught general ethical principles and we are hopeful that the teachers will demonstrate by their conduct that the essence of religion is good character.

All teaching will be through Gujarati, right up to the highest stage, and most of it will be oral during the first few years. The intention is to put across to the children, before they learn to read and write, quite a few things orally by way of stories, as was the practice in old days, and so help their minds to grow, and to give them some general knowledge as they play about, rather than repress them by doing nothing more than remarking, "Oh dear, dear! How dirty", and so on.

Explanation

The aim at present is that after a few years of such education, the student's equipment will approximate to that of a well-

[1] The original is very faint here.

informed graduate. That is, he will have a reduced load by way of learning English and, during the time so saved, he will be given all the useful knowledge a graduate acquires. He will be freed from the fear of examinations. All the students will be tested from time to time, but that will be by the teachers of the school itself. The use to which the student puts his abilities after leaving school will be the true measure of the worth of his education. Every opportunity will be taken to rid his mind of the fallacious notion that the aim of education is to get employment. And, finally, every pupil joining this school is likely to develop such self-confidence in a few years that he will not be troubled with doubts or fears about how he will make a living. A pupil who has been in the school for five years will be fixed up, if he so desires, in some work in the school itself and be paid for it. The school will make arrangements with some factories, etc., so that they provide training in vocations and give a start to those who wish to set themselves up independently. If, after ten years of study, anyone wants to pursue a subject further, necessary arrangements for the purpose are left to the future.

Free Education

No fees will be charged in this school, the expenses being met from donations received.

Teachers

Paid teachers will be engaged and will be, all of them, grown-up men who have reached the college level or possess equivalent attainments. The idea is that children should have the best teachers in the early stages.

Syllabus for First Year

The following syllabus is reproduced as a specimen:[1]

From a photostat of the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: S. N. 6195a

[1] Not available

243. LETTER TO DR. H. S. DEVA

AHMEDABAD,
January 31 [1917][1]

DEAR DR. DEVA[2],

I have your p.c. I feel that every time we met to celebrate the anniversary, we should take a step in advance in keeping with the ideals for which Mr. Gokhale stood. Such is the suggestion I have made locally and it has been accepted. This year, therefore, here we shall probably publish a Gujarati translation of all Mr. Gokhale's speeches. I make a similar suggestion for Poona. There we may resolve at the meeting to translate his speeches in Marathi if they are not already translated or do some other practical thing. I would so like that he may live more and more in us and through us and thereby through the whole nation. This will not happen unless at such functions we take progressive steps. I am pulled in opposite directions by two attractions—one from Poona and the other from Ahmedabad. There are reasons for which I should like to be in Ahmedabad that day. There are equally good reasons which tell me I should go to Poona. *You* shall decide as to what I should do. Friends here have left me free to do as I think best.

For the business meeting after the celebration, I think there should be two. Both may be the same day with sufficiently long intervals. The first may be confined only to the usual friends. The other may be of a more general character to which the Tilak group may come.

I hope the indenture meeting[3] will be a success.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat of the original in Gandhiji's hand: C.W. 5789

[1] From the reference to the translations of Gokhale's speeches and the indenture meeting, this letter appears to have been written in 1917.
[2] Secretary of the Servants of India Society
[3] In Bombay on 9-2-1917

244. INTRODUCTION TO "VERNACULARS AS MEDIA OF INSTRUCTION"

[February 1, 1917][1]

The following is the introduction written by Mr. M. K. Gandhi to Dr. P. J. Mehta's 'Self-Government Series' Pamphlet No. 1 entitled *Vernaculars as Media of Instruction in Indian Schools and Colleges* :

It is to be hoped that Dr. Mehta's labour of love will receive the serious attention of English-educated India. The following pages were written by him for the *Vedanta Kesári* of Madras and are now printed in their present form for circulation throughout India. The question of vernaculars as media of instruction is of national importance; neglect of the vernaculars means national suicide. One hears many protagonists of the English language being continued as the medium of instruction pointing to the fact that English-educated Indians are the sole custodians of public and patriotic work. It would be monstrous if it were not so. For, the only education given in this country is through the English language. The fact, however, is that the results are not at all proportionate to the time we give to our education. We have not reacted on the masses. But I must not anticipate Dr. Mehta. He is in earnest. He writes feelingly. He has examined the pros and cons and collected a mass of evidence in support of his arguments. The latest pronouncement on the subject is that of the Viceroy. Whilst His Excellency is unable to offer a solution, he is keenly alive to the necessity of imparting instruction in our schools through the vernaculars. The Jews of Middle and Eastern Europe, who are scattered in all parts of the world, finding it necessary to have a common tongue for mutual intercourse, have raised Yiddish to the status of a language, and have succeeded in translating into Yiddish the best books to be found in the world's literature. Even they could not satisfy the soul's yearning through the many foreign tongues of which they are masters; nor did the learned few among them wish to tax the masses of the Jewish population with having to learn a foreign language before they could realise their dignity. So they have enriched what was at one time looked upon as a mere jargon—but what the Jewish children learnt from their mothers—by taking special pains to translate into it the best thought

[1] The printed Gujarati Introduction (S.N. 6341) bears this date.

of the world. This is a truly marvellous work. It has been done during the present generation, and Webster's Dictionary defines it as a polyglot jargon used for inter-communication by Jews from different nations.

But a Jew of Middle and Eastern Europe would feel insulted if his mother tongue were now so described. If these Jewish scholars have succeeded, within a generation, in giving their masses a language, of which they may feel proud, surely it should be an easy task for us to supply the needs of our own vernaculars which are cultured languages. South Africa teaches us the same lesson. There was a duel there between Taal, a corrupt form of Dutch, and English. The Boer mothers and the Boer fathers were determined that they would not let their children, with whom they in their infancy talked in Taal, be weighed down with having to receive instruction through English. The case of English here was a strong one. It had able pleaders for it. But English had to yield before Boer patriotism. It may be observed that they rejected even the High Dutch. The school masters, therefore, who are accustomed to speak the polished Dutch of Europe, are compelled to teach the easier Taal. And literature of an excellent character is at the present moment growing up in South Africa in the Taal, which was only a few years ago the common medium of speech between simple but brave rustics. If we have lost faith in our vernaculars, it is a sign of want of faith in ourselves; it is the surest sign of decay. And no scheme of Self-Government, however benevolently or generously it may be bestowed upon us, will ever make us a self-governing nation, if we have no respect for the languages our mothers speak.

The Leader, 25-5-1917, quoting *The Rangoon Mail*

245. SPEECH AT ANTI-INDENTURE MEETING, AHMEDABAD[1]

February 4, 1917

Today we, men, have assembled here to register our protest against this system and tomorrow there is to be a meeting of women in the Mahadev[2] temple of *Sathodara Nagars*[3]. These women's meetings started with the one at Kanpur. As Mr. Polak and Mr. Andrews report, women labourers suffer very much in the Colonies and hence women too should join in the protest. I have seen in Natal the conditions of indentured women and know what they suffer. *Girmit* [agreement] is an English term and means binding oneself under a contract to work as a labourer. But the Indian labourers in the Colonies understand by the term *girmitio* a slave, because they feel their condition to be no better than that of slaves. When the British people had succeeded in putting an end to legalized traffic in slaves, they required another race to work as slaves for them. They have been recruiting these from among Negroes and our people. As Mr. Curtis says[4], we are only a little better than Negroes. The law permitting recruitment of indentured labour came into being 50 years ago. It had the result of placing Indians in the same condition as slaves. The late Sir William Hunter himself described it as slavery. It was in 1896 that a protest was first made against this enslaving law. It had no effect then and things remained as they were up to 1911. In that year, the practice was prohibited only in respect of Natal. In Fiji, however, the condition of Indian labourers has been worse than it was in Natal. There was a strong public opinion in Natal, but there is none in Fiji. Lord Hardinge declared last year[5] that the law would be repealed very soon. We had hoped then that it would go after a year or so. But we hear now, one and a half years after the declaration, that the law will remain for five more years and that afterwards they would see what could be done. This report

[1] As Chairman at the meeting, which was also addressed by Andrews and Polak

[2] God Shiva

[3] A Brahmin community of Gujarat

[4] *Vide* "Statement on Lionel Curtis' Letter", before 14-1-1917.

[5] *Vide* the following item.

has revived our concern for the sufferings of our fellow-countrymen and it has become our duty now to raise a strong protest to ensure the immediate repeal of the law. The agitation was launched at Allahabad and, meetings having already been held at Madras, Poona and other places, we also have met here to register our protest. Mr. Andrews has dedicated his life to this struggle. Mr. Gokhale had the fullest confidence in him and, at his instance, Mr. Andrews and Mr. Pearson went to Fiji to see things for themselves. He [Mr. Andrews] had £300 with him—this was all he had —and this he made over to the Satyagraha Fund at Lahore. He no longer wants to be styled Reverend, but thinks it an honour to be known as Tagore's disciple. Mr. Polak is known to you. He is young, and if the young people here were to do even a tenth of what he has done, we should have swaraj this moment.

[From Gujarati]
Prajabandhu, 11-2-1917

246. *STATEMENT ON ABOLITION OF INDENTURED LABOUR*

[After *February 7, 1917*]

There is no doubt that we are engaged in a severe struggle for the preservation of our honour and that, if we do not take care, the promise made by Lord Hardinge that indentured labour should soon be a thing of the past may be reduced to a nullity. The Viceregal pronouncement just made[1] seems to set at rest one fear that the system may be prolonged for a further period of five years which, as Sir Ramakrishna Bhandarkar showed at Poona, would in reality mean ten years. We are thankful to Lord Chelmsford for his assurance. And we are thankful, too, to that good Englishman, Mr. C. F. Andrews, for the lead that he gave us in the matter. So soon as he gained the information from Fiji that five years' extension was taken by the planters of those lands as a settled fact, he forsook his sick-bed and his rest at Shantiniketan and sounded for us the call of duty.

But if one cloud that threatened to destroy our hopes seems to have disappeared, another equally dangerous looms on the horizon. The conditions of abolition as stated by Lord Hardinge last March[2] are these:

[1] During the address to the Imperial Legislative Council on 7-2-1917

[2] In the Imperial Legislative Council on March 20, 1916, accepting Madan Mohan Malaviya's resolution urging abolition of the indenture system

On behalf of His Majesty's Government, he the Secretary of State has asked us, however, to make it clear that the existing system of recruiting must be maintained until new conditions under which labour should not be permitted to proceed to the Colonies should have been worked out in conjunction with the Colonial Office and the Crown Colonies concerned; until proper safeguards in the Colonies should have been provided and until they should have had reasonable time to adjust themselves to the change, a period which must necessarily depend on circumstances and conditions imperfectly known at present.

Those of us who know anything of the system knew that it was well-nigh impossible to find new conditions which would be economically sound for the planters and morally sound for us. We felt that the Government would soon find this out for themselves and that, in view of Lord Hardinge's whole-hearted disapproval of the system, his view of the nearness of the end would coincide with our[1] own. But now a different situation faces us. Nearly a year has gone by and we discover that the planters of Fiji have been led to believe that they will have five years more of the system and at the end of it new conditions may after all be a change in name but not in substance. Let Mr. Bonar Law's[2] despatch speak for itself. Writing under date March 4, 1916, to the Acting Governor of Fiji, he says:

The Secretary of State for India is satisfied that it would not be possible for the Government of India to continue to defeat by a bare official majority resolutions in their Legislative Council, urging the abolition of indenture; that in his opinion the strong and universal feeling in India on this subject makes it a question of urgency and that he has accepted the conclusion that indentured emigration must be abolished.

He then proceeds:

Though, from the point of view of the Colonies concerned, the decision which the Indian Government and the Secretary of State for India have taken is to be regretted, I recognize that the final decision upon this question must rest with the Indian Government.

Thus, the humanities of the question are tacitly supposed to be no concern of the Colonies.

Now mark this significant paragraph culled from the same illuminating despatch:

I have, therefore, agreed to the appointment of an inter-departmental committee to consider what system should be substituted for

[1] The source has 'her'.

[2] Andrew Bonar Law (1858-1923), Conservative British statesman, Secretary of State for the Colonies and later Chancellor of the Exchequer and Prime Minister

> the system of indenture, should be allowed for a further period of five years and should cease at the end of that period. . . .The Secretary of State for India is anxious that the change of system should be brought about with as little disturbance as possible to the economic interests of the Colonies and that he has made it clear that the existing system must be maintained until a properly safeguarded system has been devised.

Mr. Andrews has been twitted for having referred to the five years' extension. Let his critics explain away Mr. Bonar Law's emphatic pronouncement published in the Fiji newspapers. What with the official statement and the Secretary of State for India's solicitude for the economic interests of the planters, our cause may easily be lost if we are found unwatchful.

In the light of the Viceregal speech and Mr. Bonar Law's despatch, our duty seems to be clear. We must strengthen the Government's hands where necessary and even stimulate their activity so that this inter-departmental committee is not allowed to frustrate our hopes. It is a body wherein the influence of the Crown Colonies and the Colonial Office will be preponderant. It is a body which has to find a substitute which would be acceptable to us. As I hold, it will be a vain search if the mere well-being of the labourer is to be the primary consideration. But if the planters can have their own way, we know that they will urge an impossible substitute and, in the event of its rejection by us, they will, in accordance with Mr. Bonar Law's despatch, claim continuance of recruiting under indenture. It must therefore be clearly understood that the onus of producing an acceptable substitute rests with them and not with us. They have had more than a year already. Lord Hardinge's despatch urging total abolition is dated the 15th October 1915. The committee is to sit in May next. This period for finding a substitute is long enough in all conscience. Either Mr. Andrews' harrowing picture of the conditions of life in Fiji is true or it is untrue. We believe it to be true and it has never been seriously attacked. And in waiting for over a year, we shall have waited almost beyond the point of endurance. Substitute or no substitute, we are entitled for the sake of our own honour and reputation and indeed that of the Empire to the unconditional abolition of this last remnant of slavery. Natal stopped[1] the system without the provision of a substitute. Mauritius has done likewise. The Johannesburg mines survived not only the shock of an abrupt termination of Chinese labour but the with-

[1] The indenture system was brought to an end in Natal by the Indian Government's refusal in 1911 to allow recruitment.

drawal of every Chinese labourer from the country as fast as transport could be got ready.

Capital is both bold and timid. If only we shall do our duty, if only the Government of India will steel their hearts against the blandishments of the Fijian and West Indian planters, there is no doubt that these people will know how to save millions without India's having to go to their rescue.

Speeches and Writings of Mahatma Gandhi (4th Ed.), pp. 113-6

247. *SPEECH AT ANTI-INDENTURE MEETING, BOMBAY*

February 9, 1917

At a public meeting held at the Excelsior Theatre, Bombay, on February 9, 1917, under the presidentship of Sir Jamsetji Jeejibhoy, a resolution, moved by Sir N. G. Chandavarkar, demanding the immediate abolition of indentured labour, was unanimously passed. Mr. H. A. Wadia then proposed that the chairman of the meeting be authorised to communicate the resolution to His Majesty's Secretary of State for India and H. E. the Viceroy and Governor-General of India by telegram.

Mr. M. K. Gandhi supporting the resolution said that, yielding to the command of his friends on the platform, he had undertaken to speak to them in English on that occasion. The resolution which he supported asked that the preceding resolution be sent to the Secretary of State for India and H.E. the Viceroy by telegram. What was the meaning of this? They had fixed with great deliberation the 31st of May of this year as the last date on which this remnant of slavery should come to an end. (Applause.) It meant that they had slept for nearly 50 years and allowed this system to continue, but that immediately they were awakened to their sense of responsibility and duty, they did not like to sleep for a day longer and it was, therefore, that they wished that the resolution should be wired without a moment's delay. In passing that resolution, they were strengthening the hands of the Government and were awakening the Colonies to a sense of their duty to consider India as an integral part of the Empire. It would also strengthen the Viceroy's hands, and H. E. the Viceroy could say that he would no longer govern India if they were not ready to remove the blot of indentured labour before the 31st of May. (Applause.) The honour of the people of India was at stake and they were bound to think of it, waking or sleeping. He asked them to remember the 31st of May. Till then let them not sleep. (Applause).

The Bombay Chronicle, 10-2-1917

248. SPEECH AT ANTI-INDENTURE MEETING, BOMBAY[1]

February 11, 1917

Announcing that the proceedings of the meeting would be in an Indian language, Gandhiji, who was in the chair, said:

The system of indenture under which helpless, illiterate sisters and brothers from our country are reduced to utter misery must end forthwith. We shall fix May 31 as the date by which it should be stopped. Clapping our hands will not avail us much. We shall succeed in our aim only if we approach the intending recruits themselves in their homes and dissuade them from joining up; and this task is yours.

[From Gujarati]

Gujarati, 18-2-1917

249. STATEMENT TO THE PRESS ON GOKHALE ANNIVERSARY

DELHI,
February 17, 1917

SIR,

Upon the advice of the Hon. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and other friends, I venture to draw public attention to a suggestion I have made to my Ahmedabad friends regarding the celebration of the Gokhale anniversary on the 19th instant. It is to the effect that we should at these meetings take a definite practical step from year to year to promote some public object in keeping with the teachings of the deceased patriot. Ahmedabad will probably raise subscriptions for translating and publishing in Gujarati Mr. Gokhale's speeches to be ready for circulation at the latest on the next anniversary. Other centres may translate other works or may raise subscriptions to found scholarships for some special training. If some such definite and not very ambitious steps are taken at the hundreds of meetings that will be held

[1] Held under the auspices of the Home Rule League, Bombay

yearly, the educational advance we shall have in a few years will, it is held, be not inconsiderable.

The Leader, 19-2-1917

250. LETTER TO V. A. SUNDARAM

DELHI,
February 17, 1917

MY DEAR SUNDARAM[1],

May your wishes be fulfilled!

Yours truly,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat of the original in Gandhiji's hand: G.N. 3174

251. FRAGMENT OF LETTER TO MAGANLAL GANDHI[2]

Monday [Before *February 19, 1917*][3]

. . . give . . . and if, in consequence, you find it necessary to take more milk, do.

You are right in what you say about education. It is good that you should go on harassing me on the subject. That will keep me more vigilant. I shall not misunderstand your worrying me or be impatient with it.

Tell Dr. Hariprasad that it looks as if I can bring along the article for Gokhale's death anniversary only when I go there. He should make the necessary arrangements to get it printed on Monday. Whatever collection is possible, he should make at the meeting itself.

You are right in saying that, since the school curriculum provides for Marathi,[4] we too should start learning it. You may discuss with me this and other points concerning education on the day I return from Godhra. Make a note of such points. It is for you to get Popatlal and Fulchand to do any work connected with teaching.

[1] One of the earliest inmates of Satyagraha Ashram at Kochrab, Ahmedabad

[2] The first two pages of the letter are not available.

[3] Gandhiji arrived in Godhra on February 19 and presided over the Gokhale death anniversary meeting.

[4] *Vide* "National Gujarati School", after 18-1-1917.

I hope you have completed the accounts and made Fulchand familiar with them.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: C.W. 5709. Courtesy: Radhabehn Choudhri

252. SPEECH ON GOKHALE ANNIVERSARY AT GODHRA

February 19, 1917

Gandhiji presided at a crowded meeting held at Godhra on February 19, 1917, in connection with the Gokhale anniversary, when a resolution was moved appointing a committee to take steps to keep green the memory of Gokhale by furthering the cause of education in the district which was so dear to his heart.

After the resolution was supported and adopted, Mr. Gandhi rose to deliver his presidential address. The first point he touched was the religious catholicity of Mr. Gokhale, who, on one occasion, rebuked a seeming sadhu who drew a sharp line of difference between Hindus and Mahomedans. Religious convictions were fast dwindling in this country everywhere, but then another religion was developing and that was love of country. Mr. Gokhale cultivated this religion to the highest level to the point where he laid down his life in the service of the Motherland.

Mr. Gandhi dwelt in his own inimitable and impressive manner on two great qualities of Mr. Gokhale which should always go with patriotism: love of truth and fearlessness. Whilst most people expressed opinions which would be palatable to the hearers, Mr. Gokhale always gave to the officials and the public the result of his mature studies and deliberation.

Mr. Gandhi advised all officials, high or low, to take a leaf from the career of Mr. Gokhale who, though highly placed in life as a member of the Imperial Legislative Council, was always kind and gentle towards all his fellow-countrymen. Mr. Gandhi remarked that the feeling of patriotism which pervaded thousands of men, young and old, was running to waste like the river Ganges, which flowed from the Himalayas into the Bay of Bengal, for want of the sterling qualities of truthfulness and fearlessness.

Finally, Mr. Gandhi urged the people of the city to support energetically the Committee which had been appointed to further the cause of education in the district and thanked all who had given him such a magnificent and hearty welcome to the city.

The Bombay Chronicle, 23-2-1917

253. SPEECH AT AHMEDABAD ON SAROJINI NAIDU[1]

February 23, 1917

Seeing sister Sarojini[2] today, I was reminded of Lord Colin Campbell who came out to India as Commander-in-Chief at the time of the Mutiny in 1857. In those days, military officers used camels very freely for transporting luxury articles and they were not available in sufficient number for carrying provisions, etc. Lord Colin Campbell, therefore, kept only one camel for himself and thus tacitly reminded the other officers of their duty. This had the effect of reducing in some measure the discontent among the troops. Though Sarojini travels first class, the luggage she carries is contained in just two boxes. I have observed her life at home and come to respect her for that. She has had four children, the youngest being now 13. At present, therefore, she lives very nearly like one in the *vanaprastha*[3] stage of life. Though a millionaire's daughter and a millionaire's wife, she runs her house with great skill. She yearns for one thing only, India's advance. If she has lashed out at us, it is to urge us to strive for perfection. Hindus and Muslims are the same to her. English has almost become her mother tongue. But she believes we shall make no progress unless Indian languages come into their own. Let us purge ourselves of all our weaknesses and make her lofty ideals our own.

[From Gujarati]
Prajabandhu, 25-2-1917

[1] At a meeting where an address was presented to Sarojini Naidu on behalf of the local "Students' Brotherhood".

[2] Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, (1879-1949), poet, patriot, Congress leader and a close associate of Gandhiji

[3] The third of the four stages of life, when one prepares for complete renunciation

254. SPEECH AT SURAT ON INDENTURE[1]

February 26, 1917

SISTERS AND BROTHERS,

It is obvious that I, a resident of Ahmedabad, can have no knowledge of civic affairs in Surat. When I arrived here, it was suggested to me that I should take the chair. I was rather surprised. I felt that I was not the proper person to do so. As I knew little about the civic affairs here, I respected the suggestion of local friends and told them that they could put forward my name if my taking the chair would help matters. I am quite conscious of my responsibility. I cannot claim, moreover, that I have come here prepared for the matters to be debated and the resolutions to be passed. This is why I feel I am not the proper person. I shall request you all, sisters and brothers, to overlook any deficiency that you may observe in me. Before I start the proceedings, I shall deliver Mrs. Sarojini Naidu's message. When she was in Ahmedabad, I told her it would be good if she could go to Surat. But she said she had an important engagement on Sunday. Later, there was a telegram from Dr. Hora and I told her again that Surat should not feel disappointed and asked her to come along. I also found out from her the nature of her engagement to see if I could urge her to come. The lady has been in bad health for several years past. She has such strength of mind, however, and such is her love for the motherland, that, when occasion demands, she makes it possible to meet it. God alone knows from where she gets the strength, but she who looked worn out just a moment earlier betrays no signs of suffering on her face when she is at work. So wonderful is her strength. There is to be a big meeting in Bombay on the 27th and she must conserve her health to be able to make a complete success of it. As her coming to Surat would have made this impossible, she did not know how to manage it. Even so, we should make every sacrifice and agitate on this issue, if for no other reason, out of consideration for this lady who, an ornament to India, goes up and down all over the country taking no thought of her health. There is no religion among us which does not forbid our undertaking a second task before we have completed the first. You have come forward at this meeting to take

[1] The meeting was held under the auspices of the District Association

upon yourself a great responsibility. But one has no right to assume an additional burden before one has fully discharged a duty already undertaken. What I have in mind is this: I was here last year and you promised to collect a fund for the saint-like Gokhale. I have heard nothing further about it. Mr. Adwani put down Rs. 50/- and the matter never went beyond that. I met him in Godhra but did not have the courage to mention the subject to him. It is not yet too late for you to raise something for the fund, though, of course, collections for the Fund in the charge of Mr. Jehangir Petit are over. I think even the Trust Deed in respect of that Fund is ready. It is still open to you, however, to send contributions to the Servants of India Society. And so everyone should pay, each according to his means. Perhaps Surat, the object of Narmadashanker's[1] praises, thought that it would either pay in thousands or nothing. But I would say that, if you subscribe Rs. 100/- this time, you will be able to pay Rs. 1,000/- next time. The matter is important for this reason: Mrs. Naidu has been sacrificing herself for the cause. Besides, Mahatma Gokhale was drawn into it in 1896 and in 1912 he made the cause his own. I know also that his speeches at the time affected his health. You should, therefore, remind yourselves of your promise to raise a fund in memory of this man who had even sacrificed his life for this cause, and give to it to the best of your means. The gentleman who proposed me [to the chair] said that, of the two questions, that concerning volunteers [for the Army] was the more important one. I shall say, though, that the question of indenture is more important. It is of course right that we express satisfaction over the right of offering ourselves as volunteers, but the satisfaction will avail us nothing unless we follow up the expression of it with necessary action. In regard to the issue of indenture, on the other hand, it is our unceasing duty to see that no town or village, known or unknown, goes without a protest against this system. You know that I have come from Delhi. I have had meetings with His Excellency the Viceroy and other leaders of the nation. Like Mrs. Sarojini Naidu and the late Mr. Gokhale, Mr. Andrews too has made sacrifices. As he pondered over this problem, he was so upset in mind that he took ill. Even his speech, which has been translated into every language, had to be read out by Mr. Polak. We should now hold public meetings for the purpose. We do not at all embarrass the Government by doing so; on the contrary, we strengthen its

[1] A Gujarati poet also called Narmad

hands. The Government itself has admitted that the system is immoral and brings no benefit whatever. Possibly there is some economic gain but, in view of the moral degradation it has brought about, it must be ended. This is an issue on which there is no difference of opinion. The Editor of *The Times of India* asks who should solve this problem and when. Pat will come the reply: that is exclusively India's right. On this matter, we can imagine things far more vividly than the Viceroy. I shall give only one illustration of this. The worthy Baji Gauri is ill and her younger sister has been attending on her and has suffered in health in consequence. I, as a resident of Ahmedabad, will not feel this as much as people here, and none will feel as much as the younger sister. If it were otherwise, I would be by her bed-side all the time. In the same way, the Viceroy cannot imagine as well as we can the condition of our own brothers and sisters. We should lay down a time-limit and say that we woud tolerate the system up to May 31 and that, if it continued even a day longer, thousands will lay down their lives. The system has been in existence for fifty years. It is a matter of shame for us that, in all these years, it is only recently that we have taken up discussion of a resolution like this. I do not, however, wish to go into that matter. I have had 20 years' experience of this problem and it is but natural, therefore, that my heart should cry out before you and my imagination grow active; I hope you will forgive me if I set out these things before you at such length. The system is but a form[1] of slavery. We have in it, under the British Empire, elements of the very system which England claims proudly to have abolished; this system can be described as slavery for a limited period. All the essential elements of the earlier system are present in this, and one more. It makes one shudder to know all. The system brings India's womanhood to utter ruin, destroys all sense of modesty. That in defence of which millions in this country have laid down their lives in the past is lost under it.

I am not here to excite your feelings. Mr. Andrews can be far more effective in that way than I. He has given quite a vivid picture. I wish that, when you read the literature on this subject which I have here, you feel as excited as I do. I pray for Smt. Baji Gauri again; may God help her to a speedy recovery. However, her suffering is nothing as compared to that of our sisters beyond the seas. If, to our misfortune, Baji Gauri's *atman* should leave her body, it would have ascended to a higher existence. But

[1] Literally, a shadow

which astronomer here, in this hall, can predict the future of the thousands of her sisters who suffer moral degradation? Every one of us has it in him to treat this disease. We should be ready to sacrifice our all to that end. We should respectfully tell the Viceroy that the practice must be abolished before May 31. Let us take a pledge today that we will not suffer the thing beyond that date. I shall close this chapter here.

I confess myself ignorant in the matter of the right of joining as volunteers. When I first took up the issue, I wondered why India had been denied this right. Perhaps we did not deserve it. The right is now ours. Today, the educated class in India understands my ideas. I am entirely opposed to fighting with arms. I have no faith in the thing. Possession of arms for our or others' defence will serve no useful purpose; nor have we the requisite strength. I believe that, in place of the strength of a Kshatriya pitted against an armed opponent, soul-force will prove far more potent. There was a great British warrior, General Gordon by name. The man who drew his portrait has won high praise [for his work]. He put into Gordon's hand neither a sword nor a gun, but only a stick: I would even say that, had the painter drawn him with folded hands and put light in his eyes, on the lips and the entire face, to suggest that the whole world could not shake him from his purpose, that would have been the true Kshatriya character. Such are my views, but all do not find them acceptable. Some of them have little use for these views and others perhaps do not have the strength to follow them in practice. In this matter, your duty is [not to run away from an enemy][1]; it will be a grave lapse if you do, saying in excuse *ahimsa paramo dharmah*[2]. You wish destruction of your enemy some way or other. Because you cherish belief in non-violence, it does not mean that you are effectively observing the rule, for in that rule there is no place for running away in fear. It is your duty to defend those among the Indian people who want themselves, their women, their moral standards and their wealth to be defended. How to do this? Those who have no faith in the principle which is dear to me and which I embrace may certainly take up arms. It is for this reason that I welcome the right of enlisting as volunteers which has been granted to us. I shall advise the people in this hall to join up. If anyone asks me whether he would be offered a commission or not, I would tell him to reserve such grumbling for the future, and not be too particular for

[1] The report of the speech is defective here.

[2] Non-violence is the highest virtue.

the present and so miss the opportunity offered. Let us tell the Government that we are ready. That will be worthy of us. I now request Advocate Mr. Bejanji to move the first resolution.

Concluding, Gandhiji said:

Before dissolving the meeting, I thank you and the organisers. One thing more: I wanted to make a suggestion concerning collections for the Gokhale Fund, a suggestion which I have made elsewhere. Those who are ready to work as volunteers for this purpose should now post themselves at the gate, and anyone who wants to pay something may give it to them. If this is done, the credit for it will go to Surat. I have with me the resolution[1] of which Mr. Thakoreram wanted a translation. I shall send the translation on to him and he can publish it with necessary changes.

[From Gujarati]

Gujarat Mitra ane Gujarat Darpan, 4-3-1917

255. TELEGRAM TO MAHARAJA OF KASIMBAZAR

[AHMEDABAD,
On or after *February 26, 1917*][2]

MAHARAJA OF KASIMBAZAR
CALCUTTA

PROCEEDING KARACHI KEEP APPOINTMENT FRIDAY. SEEMS IMPOSSIBLE REACH CALCUTTA SIXTH.[3] ACCEPTED KARACHI RELYING ON SEVENTH. WIRE KARACHI CARE DURGADAS ADWANI[4].

GANDHI

From a photostat of the draft in Gandhiji's hand: S.N. 6347

[1] Probably a reference to the resolution on indenture introduced in the Imperial Legislative Council

[2] This was sent in reply to the Maharaja's telegram of February 26, which read: "Public meeting sixth March. Kindly stay in Calcutta as my guest. . . ."

[3] Gandhiji could reach Calcutta on March 6; *vide* "Speech at Anti-Indenture Meeting, Calcutta", 6-3-1917.

[4] A Sindhi leader, who suffered imprisonment in the national cause

256. TELEGRAM TO C. F. ANDREWS

[AHMEDABAD,
On or after *February 26, 1917*][1]

PROCEEDING KARACHI KEEP APPOINTMENT FRIDAY. ACCEPTED SAME THINKING CALCUTTA MEETING[2] SEVENTH. FIX BARNES CONFERENCE DATE SUIT ME. WIRE KARACHI CARE DURGADAS ADWANI. LOVE

GANDHI

From a photostat of the draft in Gandhiji's hand: S.N. 6348

257. SPEECH AT HOME RULE LEAGUE HEADQUARTERS, KARACHI

March 2, 1917

In the course of the day (2nd instant), Gandhi visited the Home Rule League Headquarters twice. On both occasions he spoke to the members, associates and college students on passive resistance and austerity. The love of dress, which Gandhi has noticed among Sindhis, has impressed him unfavourably. One of the members asked him why he went about bare-footed. He replied that unless he maintained austerity, he could not expect the masses to believe in his sincerity. He said that India was too poor and that those who could afford to spend money on dress should refrain from spending it in that way and give it to the poor. Jethmal[3], of the *Hindvasi*, questioned him about passive resistance and Gandhi explained its value by examples from his South African experiences.

He also visited the Hardevi Bai Girls' Schools and said a few words to the children on education.

He met the Cutchhi and Gujarati community at the Parsi Theatre in the afternoon and told them about indentured labour.

Bombay Secret Abstracts, 1917, p. 146

[1] This was sent in reply to Andrews' telegram of February 26, which read: "Barnes holds conference with Pandit others about March 8th. Needs your presence. . . ."

[2] *Vide* the preceding item; also "Speech at Anti-Indenture Meeting, Calcutta", 6-3-1917.

[3] Jethmal Parsram, Editor of the *Hindvasi*, a Sindhi man of letters and political worker who later suffered imprisonment in the national cause

258. *SPEECH AT PARSI THEATRE, KARACHI*

March 2, 1917

On his visit, Mr. Gandhi made a definite pronouncement with regard to the duty of Indians to join the Defence of India Force in the Parsi Theatre public meeting, Karachi. He said that Indians had been pressing for admission in the army, time and again, and now as the permission had been granted, they should join in overwhelming numbers, and thus fulfil their duty to the Motherland. Mr. Gandhi said that, in speaking as he had done, he had spoken not as a Passive Resister, but as one claiming to know the Indian mind and understanding India's present conditions. He held very strong views about the use of weapons even in self-defence but he knew that his views were not shared by those of his countrymen who had for years past been agitating for the reform that had now come. It is an opportunity of a life-time that no lover of his country should miss. Sir Satyendra Sinha[1], in his Presidential address, laid stress firstly and chiefly on this point. Sir Krishna Gupta exhorted Indians to first demand entrance in the army, and now as the door had been opened, if they did not avail themselves of this golden opportunity, they would disgrace themselves, their leaders and their country. Business men ought not to allow their business to stand in the way of their duty. Rather, should they know that after all they would be protecting their own business in protecting their own country. If the enemy took possession of their country, because they did not care or were unable to defend it, their business would pass. In Mr. Gandhi's opinion, this Bill[2] was the first instalment of swaraj, and if they rejected the Government's advances, they would be rejecting swaraj. It should be accepted unconditionally. It would be time enough, after the whole-hearted acceptance of the scheme, to attack its defects and to purge it of them.

New India, 5-3-1917

[1] Satyendra Prassano Sinha (1864-1928), lawyer, statesman and first Indian to become a member of the Government of India; presided over the Bombay session of the Indian National Congress in 1915

[2] The Indian Defence Bill

259. SPEECH AT ANTI-INDENTURE MEETING AT KARACHI

March 2, 1917

Under the auspices of the Citizens' Association, Karachi, a public meeting was held in the Khalikdina Hall on the 2nd instant to protest against the continuance of the system of indentured labour. The Hon'ble Mr. Harchandrai, President of the Association, was in the chair. . . .

M. K. Gandhi arrived after the time fixed and informed the audience that he could not attend throughout as he had to catch the mail train to Calcutta, having been invited by the Maharaja of Cassimbazar to be present in that city on the 6th instant.

After speaking in Hindi for half an hour, he left the Hall.

He began by requesting the assembly to send a telegram of condolence to A. M. Kachalia, who had just lost his nephew[1], and explained how much Mr. Kachalia had done for Indians in South Africa. Gandhi then spoke on indentured labour. After mentioning the various evils of the system, he told the audience that Indians must insist on its abolition by the 31st of May this year. If their request were not acceded to, all practical steps should be taken to prevent Indians from leaving the country for labour in Fiji. Every effort should be made to teach the people to hate the system and to clamour for its suppression.

Bombay Secret Abstracts, 1917, p. 146

260. SPEECH AT ANTI-INDENTURE MEETING, CALCUTTA

March 6, 1917

At a public meeting held at the Town Hall, Calcutta, on March 6, 1917, under the presidentship of Maharaja Manindra Chandra Nandi, Gandhiji made a statement on indentured emigration to South Africa.

Mr. M. K. Gandhi, in seconding the resolution moved by the chair, said they all expressed their sympathy to Mahomed Kachalia who had recently lost his son. Mr. Kachalia was the president of the Transvaal British Indian Association. He was one of the passive resisters and went to jail again and again. Mr. Gandhi said that the Government did not allow Mr. Malaviya to introduce his Bill because the Government wanted to introduce a measure which

[1] Son, *vide* the following item.

would satisfy the people. They all knew that the Viceroy was in sympathy with them, but the Secretary of State for India was opposed to them. He was to weigh the interests of Colonial planters at [the cost?] of the Indians in a scale of gold. Sitting at a long distance, the Secretary of State could not understand the feeling of the Indians. India believed that Mr. Andrews' report[1] was true. The planters had engaged their best men to go to England and they were pressing for time. If India did not rise to the occasion, the planters would gain the day. It was not the Secretary of State for India but the people who could say when this system should be abolished and they fixed the 31st May for its abolition. They could not contemplate with calmness the shifting of dates from season to season. It was their duty to say that India could not tolerate this wrong a minute longer than the 31st May. No substitute to be brought forward by the London Conference was acceptable to India.

Amrita Bazar Patrika, 7-3-1917

261. LETTER TO MANILAL GANDHI

AHMEDABAD,
Wednesday [Before *March 7, 1917*][2]

CHI. MANILAL,

It was more painful for me to let you go than it was, perhaps, for you to go. But I have often to make my heart harder than steel, for I think that to be in your interest. It will be all to the good if you should get into proper shape there. I want you to learn to think for yourself and, when you find it necessary to resist me, to do so with courage. Make yourself altogether a labourer. That is, I believe, the way to our welfare.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: C.W. 111. Courtesy: Sushilabehn Gandhi

[1] Report on indentured labour in Fiji; *vide* "Speech on Indentured Indian Labour at Bombay", 28-10-1915.

[2] This appears to have been written before the following item.

262. LETTER TO MANILAL GANDHI

Phagan Sud 14 [*March 7, 1917*][1]

CHI. MANILAL,

You must have by now grown an old hand there. Medh[2] and Pragji will be with you in a few days so that you will feel the atmosphere of India for some time longer yet.

Do not worry yourself but at the same time take proper treatment for your cough. By way of treatment, deep breathing and a teaspoonful of olive oil will suffice. You will be able to increase the quantity by and by. It can be taken as it is, mixed with a tomato. If you can give up tea, coffee and cocoa, that will help all the more in getting rid of the cough completely. Think carefully about these things and carry them out. Do not neglect deep breathing for any reason. Keep up your studies in the way I have shown you. Do not give up doing sums on any account. A few must be done every day. I would advise you not to pass over any, believing that you know the method. As you do more and more sums, both of the simple and the difficult kind, you will grow more proficient. Do not be slack about them. The same about Sanskrit and, finally, English. In regard to this last, for the present ponder over what I have taught you from Ruskin. Go on reading *Lycidas*[3] and write to me about anything in it which you may not understand.

If you make it a practice to write to Miss Schlesin in English, she will reply to you in English and will also correct your English and return to you the letter with the corrections. It will be hard indeed if you cannot find at least two hours every day for study. It is also necessary to form the habit of reading Gujarati books and reflecting over them. All this will be easy if you become regular and get over the habit of day-dreaming.

Blessings from
BAPU

Do not worry about things here.

From the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: C.W. 109. Courtesy: Sushilabehn Gandhi

[1] The addressee went to South Africa early in 1917.
[2] Surendrarai Medh, a leading satyagrahi during the South African struggle
[3] An elegy by John Milton (1608-74)

263. FRAGMENT OF LETTER TO MATHURADAS TRIKAMJI

AHMEDABAD,
Phagan Vad 11 [March 19, 1917]

The news of Chi. Ramkunvar's death gives rise to many reflections. Sister Anand's burden of sorrow is growing heavier, but I know she has the strength to bear it all calmly. You are, yourself, an enlightened man. Make use of your knowledge and preserve your calm.

[From Gujarati]

Bapuni Prasadi

264. LETTER TO ESTHER FAERING

AHMEDABAD,
March 20, 1917

DEAR ESTHER,

I have an English lady friend[1] and her sister's children who during the hot weather are to live at some hillside place. You are going to some such place. Could you befriend them if they went to the same station as you? Of course they will bear their own expenses. The thing wanted is good companionship. And I thought of you. If you will befriend them, will you please tell me where you would go, when you would leave, where you would stay and whether they could reside and board at the same place as you will? You will also please give me an idea of the expenses there. You have heard of Mr. Polak. The friend is his sister-in-law. While Mr. and Mrs. Polak travel on public business, they are anxious to locate their children in some hillside place where Mr. Polak's sister-in-law could find suitable company. She is a stranger to India.

With much love from us all,

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

[1] Miss Graham; *vide* "Letter to Esther Faering", 31-3-1917.

The Polaks leave Ahmedabad probably on Monday. I would like you please therefore to wire to me.

If you will address

Gandhi,
Ahmedabad,

the wire will reach me.

M. K. G.

My Dear Child, pp. 4-5

265. OUR SYSTEM OF EDUCATION

March, 24 1917

It has become customary with us to judge whatever we do by Western standards. We claim that oriental civilization is superior to the occidental, but our behaviour is contrary to what we say. That is why the education of Indian children has become hybrid. Our educational institutions do not produce heirs to the traditions of our saints and seers. It is very sad. I have been thinking on the matter for a long time and I put before the readers the conclusions to which I have come.

No one will quarrel with the principle that pupils should be imparted a general knowledge of the basic occupations of the country. According to this principle, all our boys should be taught farming and weaving, for nearly 95 per cent of the country's population is engaged in agriculture, while 90 per cent of these used to be engaged in weaving.

So long as the educated among us do not pay attention to these two important matters, we cannot have any idea of the misery of our tens of millions of agriculturists and hundreds of thousands of weavers, nor can there be any improvement in these two pursuits.

We shall not be able to do any work if our body is not healthy. So it is necessary to educate boys in the principles of health and hygiene right from childhood.

Dharma is the basis of everything. A correct knowledge of the scriptures, however, is not possible without a knowledge of Sanskrit. Therefore, every Hindu boy must also learn some Sanskrit. But I think it is very difficult to establish *gurukuls* everywhere. General education should end with the imparting of general knowledge. Special arrangements can be made for boys who are endowed with extraordinary capacities.

In teaching history and geography, the method followed by the Government should be changed. In teaching these subjects, the emphasis should generally be on knowledge concerning India. My experience is that many a boy knows where Middlesex is but he has no idea about Kathiawar or Sorath. In history they are given a comprehensive knowledge of the United Kingdom, but our Shivaji they consider merely a bandit.

Our boys can solve intricate mathematical problems but are ignorant of simple arithmetic useful in business. They have very little knowledge of the indigenous tables.

Instruction to pupils in all provinces should be given in their mother tongue. Besides this, they should acquire knowledge of two or three other Indian languages.

English should be taught only to a small number of boys and as a foreign language. I am convinced that so long as we are not free of our fondness for English, we cannot achieve real swaraj. Some friends tell me that in the ordinary business of life, like travelling by train or reading a telegram, we are at sea if we do not know English. But we ourselves are responsible for this state of affairs. If through a feeling of inferiority we ignore our religion, our serfdom will only become worse. And millions of our brethren who are never likely to learn English will be reduced to slaves and an unbridgeable gulf will form between them and the English-educated.

The education that is in vogue has no impact on our homes either, although as a rule the whole country should be influenced by the lives of students. Even a little of perfume will spread its fragrance all round. It should be so with the life of a student. In my opinion, the key to swaraj lies not so much in the hands of the Government as in our system of education.

[From Hindi]

Satdharma Pracharak, Gurukul Number, 24-3-1917

266. LETTER TO ESTHER FAERING

AHMEDABAD,
March 31, 1917

DEAR ESTHER,

I am putting you to a lot of trouble on behalf of Mrs. Polak's sister. But you have chosen the privilege of letting me be your brother. And I have the credit for being most exacting of those who are nearest and dearest to me. Having made the choice, you must be content to suffer.

Miss Graham, that is the sister's name, may be able at once to go to Ooty. It is necessary for her and young Polak to be on a hillside without delay. I much fear that I shall not be able to go to Madras in April. If I am able to do so at all this year, it will be after your descent from the hills.

With love to you and Miss Peterson from us all,

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

My Dear Child, p. 5

267. LETTER TO MAGANLAL GANDHI

BANKIPUR,
Chaitra Vad 3, Samvat 1973, Tuesday [April 10, 1917]

CHI. MAGANLAL,

I got two letters from there, both on the same day. One of them was too heavy and so I had to pay a penalty. I am returning Chi. Narandas's statement of accounts. You will be able to judge whether the credit entries are correct. It is clear that the amounts debited to Narandas are to be credited to Narandas and debited to Polak.

Prabhudas has stayed on at Calcutta. He said he was happy there. It was good that I did not bring him here. The man[1] who has brought me here doesn't know anything. He has dumped me in some obscure place. The master of the house is away and the servants take us both to be beggars. They don't even permit us

[1] Rajkumar Shukla, a cultivator of Champaran

the use of their latrine, not to speak of inviting us to meals. I take care to provide myself with a stock of the things I need and so I have been able to maintain complete indifference. I have swallowed a good many insults and the queer situation here does not trouble me. If things go on this way I am not likely to see Champaran. So far as I can see, my guide can give me no help and I am in no position to find my own way. In this condition, I cannot give you my address. Even if I had brought anyone from there for help, he would only have been a burden on me. In addition to carrying my own burden, I would have had to carry his as well. I am only describing the uncertainty of my position. None of you need feel anxious, for I am enjoying a kind of solitude. The house is not so bad. There is facility for bathing and so the body is served well enough. As for the self, this helps it grow.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: C.W. 5710. Courtesy: Radhabehn Choudhri

268. *REJOINDER TO RAMSAY MACDONALD*[1]

April 11, 1917[2]

We would wish to give our own personal evidence in answer to Mr. Ramsay Macdonald's suggestion[3] that Mr. Gokhale would probably have signed the majority report of the Public Services Commission if he had lived. We have both of us distinct recollection of Mr. Gokhale himself saying that though he had not given up all hopes of bringing the other members of the Commission, or at least some of them, to his point of view, yet he was afraid that he would be obliged in the end to draw up a minority report in conjunction with Mr. Abdur Rahim[4].

The Modern Review, May, 1917

[1] Issued after C. F. Andrews had met Gandhiji at Motihari

[2] Issued as an Associated Press despatch from Bankipore on April 11, 1917.

[3] Ramsay Macdonald, who was a member of the Royal Commission on Public Services in India, had said: "I am of opinion that he [Gokhale] would have added his signature to ours, and would have contented himself by appending memoranda of his own, indicating detailed points of disagreement."

[4] A judge of the Madras High Court, and a member of the Commission, submitted a separate minute.

269. LETTER TO L. F. MORSHEAD

C/o BABU GAYA PRASAD SINGH,
MUZAFFARPUR,
April 12, 1917

DEAR SIR,

Having heard a great deal about the condition of the Indians working in connection with indigo plantation, I have arrived here to ascertain, so far as is possible, for myself the true position. I would like to do my work with the cognisance and even cooperation, if I can secure it, of the local administration. I shall be obliged if you will kindly grant me an interview so that I may place before you the object of my inquiry and learn whether I may receive any assistance from the local administration in furtherance of my work.

I am,
Yours faithfully,
M. K. GANDHI

L. F. MORSHEAD, ESQ.
COMMISSIONER
TIRHUT DIVISION

From the original in Gandhiji's hand in the National Archives of India; also *Select Documents on Mahatma Gandhi's Movement in Champaran*, No. 13, p. 57

270. LETTER TO L. F. MORSHEAD

MUZAFFARPUR,
April 13, 1917

DEAR MR. MORSHEAD,

In accordance with my promise made this morning I send you a letter[1] addressed to me by the inviting friends who are at present here.

I fear that I might have failed to convey to you the exact scope of my mission. I therefore re-state it here. I am anxious to test the accuracy of the statements made to me by various friends regarding indigo matters and to find out for myself whether I

[1] *Vide* Appendix III.

can render useful assistance. My mission is that of making peace with honour.

I am,
Yours truly,
M. K. GANDHI

I enclose too a note just given by Babu Arikshan Sinha.

M. K. G.

From the original in Gandhiji's hand in the National Archives of India; also *Select Documents on Mahatma Gandhi's Movement in Champaran*, No. 16, p. 59

271. LETTER TO MAGANLAL GANDHI

MUZAFFARPUR,
Sunday, April 15, 1917

CHI. MAGANLAL,

The situation here is more serious than I had imagined. It seems to be worse than in Fiji and Natal. However, we shall know better as we proceed with the inquiry.

I have seen the authorities. They may be thinking of apprehending me. I have not a minute to spare here. I am leaving for Champaran right now, and am writing this just as I am leaving. I cannot say when I shall be able to return even if I am not arrested. If I go to jail, this will be my last letter for the present. Whatever happens you will know by wire. Nobody need think of coming here and going to jail. Tell Prof. Shah that we should make the experiment of the national school as planned. Let him begin with Kaka, Fulchand and Chhaganlal. Let somebody from the Ashram help in teaching weaving.

You will receive another Rs. 1,500 from Mr. Petit within a month or two. You may draw Rs. 3,000/- every year. A resolution has been passed to enable us to draw up to Rs. 15,000/- from him. The expenses on account of the satyagrahis and their families have to be met from this amount. If more money is needed, we shall get it.

Help Devdas satisfy his craving for study. Keep writing to the addresses I have given. You may stop after you hear what happens to me.

Blessings from
BAPU

It was very good that I did not bring Prabhudas with me. He was happy in Calcutta. Do write to Doctor.

From a photostat of a handwritten copy of the Gujarati original: S.N. 9815

272. LETTER TO MAGANLAL GANDHI

MOTIHARI,
Sunday [April 15, 1917]

CHI. MAGANLAL,

I hope you have received my letter from Muzaffarpur. So far nothing has happened. I have arrived at Motihari. Share the news in my letter only with those with whom you deem it proper to do so. If you want to refer anything to me, please do so. I shall reply if I am free. It appears I shall have to stay long here. Let all of you be calm. Share this with all the inmates of the Ashram.

Blessings from
BAPU

Narhari is translating Gokhale's speeches. So also is Govadia. Make inquiries of them and ask them to do it quickly. Chhaganlal may keep in touch [with their progress].

From a photostat of a handwritten copy of the Gujarati original: S.N. 9816

273. LETTER TO ESTHER FAERING

MOTIHARI,
CHAMPARAN,
April 15, 1917

DEAR ESTHER,

Your sweet letter has followed me all the way here. I am almost at the base of the Himalayas. I am studying the condition of the people working under the indigo planters. My work is most difficult. My trust is in God. We can but work and then be careful for nothing.

Pray do not worry about Miss Graham. She has been fixed up at Ooty.

You may address me as Bapu if you like. It means father. In the Ashram it has become a term of endearment. I value your affection very much indeed. You may continue to use the Ahmedabad address.

With love,

Yours sincerely,
M. K. G.

My Dear Child, p. 6

274. LETTER TO MAGANLAL GANDHI

April 16, 1917

CHI. MAGANLAL,

Please send my gold medal by registered parcel to the Private Secretary to H. E. the Viceroy, Simla. An order to leave the District has been served upon me and I have refused to obey. It is likely that a warrant of arrest or something like it will be served upon me any moment. Lakshmi[1] has come to apply the auspicious *tilak*[2] sooner than expected and I have not stopped even to wash my hands. None of us could have imagined that I should be sent to jail in Bihar, a province hallowed by the footsteps of Ramachandra, Bharata[3], Janaka[4] and Sitaji[5]. Even Shri Rama did not know [what would happen the following morning].

Blessings from
BAPU

If any inquiries are made there about my property, tell them I do not own any.

From a photostat of a handwritten copy of the Gujarati original: S.N. 9818

275. LETTER TO MAGANLAL GANDHI

MOTIHARI,
Chaitra Vad 9 [April 16, 1917]

CHI. MAGANLAL,

I have already dropped you a postcard, which you will get along with this. I wrote it immediately on receiving the order. Since they have not yet arrested me, I am writing more in this. It is literally true that I did not stop even to wash my face. The Police Inspector [actually] said, "You may wash your face, etc., before you send your reply", while I said to myself, "I shall do so only after sending my reply." They arrested me when I was on

[1] Goddess of fortune

[2] Vermilion mark. The saying runs, "When Lakshmi comes to put the *tilak* on you, do not go to wash your face."

[3], [4] & [5] Well-known characters in the *Ramayana*

my way to a village for carrying on the inquiry. They then put me in a bullock-cart and were taking me away. A senior police officer met us on the way and served the order upon me. At first he only said, "The Collector wants you." I turned back saying nothing. I have refused to leave the District. The penalty for this crime is six months' imprisonment and a fine of Rs. 1,000. I am awaiting further developments.

Herewith the statement of accounts up to date. Let Chhaganlal make the credit and debit entries accordingly. I have given the necessary details. Prabhudas not being with me is a great comfort.

This part of the country is worth seeing. I shall describe it to you when we meet. It is less hot than there. People are very poor. What a sad plight for the region where Shri Ramachandra lived, enjoyed himself and performed deeds of valour! To go to jail here under such circumstances is a great joy to me. It suggests an auspicious outcome.

I wish your work goes on with double speed. Carry on the experiment of the school; teach the twelve or more students from Kochrab or elsewhere. Purchase land, if all of you approve. If Shastri's land has sufficient water, I personally like it very much. Chhaganlal may engage himself in the building work. He may take a monthly payment if he needs it. I wish he takes to his work whole-heartedly and with a glad heart.

Muljibhai ought to stay on in the Ashram until he is quite well. I take it Punjabhai will now be thoroughly engrossed in the Ashram life.

Consult Polak, Andrews or Malaviyaji whenever you feel the need. Do keep writing to Doctor in detail. Write to Mr. Kallenbach giving him all the news. His address is : Dongeas Aliens Camp, No. 3612, Isle of Man. Write to Miss Winterbottom[1] also. More I shall write if I can. I shall send copies, if possible. Inform Dr. Hariprasad and others.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of a handwritten copy of the Gujarati original: S.N. 9817

[1] Florence Winterbottom, Secretary, Union of Ethical Societies, *vide* Vol. VI, p. 157.

276. LETTER TO DISTRICT MAGISTRATE, CHAMPARAN

MOTIHARI,
April 16, 1917

SIR,

With reference to the order[1] under section 144 of the Criminal Procedure Code just served upon me, I beg to state that I am sorry that you have felt called upon to issue it and I am sorry too that the Commissioner of the Division has totally misinterpreted my position.[2] Out of a sense of public responsibility, I feel it to be my duty to say that I am unable to leave this District but if it so pleases the authorities, I shall submit to the order by suffering the penalty of disobedience.

I must emphatically repudiate the Commissioner's suggestion[3] that my 'object is likely to be agitation'. My desire is purely and simply for a genuine search for knowledge. And this I shall continue to satisfy so long as I am left free.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your obedient servant,
M. K. GANDHI

THE DISTRICT MAGISTRATE[4]
MOTIHARI

From the original in Gandhiji's hand in the National Archives of India; also *Select Documents on Mahatma Gandhi's Movement in Champaran*, No. 21, pp. 63-4

[1], [2] & [3] *Vide* Appendix IV.
[4] W. B. Heycock

277. LETTER TO PRIVATE SECRETARY TO VICEROY

NOT FOR PUBLICATION

CARE DISTRICT MAGISTRATE,
MOTIHARI,
April 16, 1917

DEAR MR. MAFFEY[1],

I have come to this district to learn for myself whether there is truth in the allegations of the ryots against the planters. I saw the Secretary of the Planters' Association and then the Commissioner of the Division[2], and sought their co-operation. Both politely rejected my advances and dissuaded me from my pursuit. I could not accept their advice, and have been proceeding with my work. The Magistrate has served upon me an order[3] asking me to leave the District. The grounds for the order are such as I cannot subscribe to. I have therefore been reluctantly obliged to disobey the order and tell the magistrate that I shall suffer the penalty for the breach.[4]

My motive is national service and that, too, so long as it is consistent with humanitarian dictates. I understand, because my South African work was considered to be humanitarian that I was awarded the .Kaisar-i-Hind Gold Medal.[5] So long as my humanitarian motive is questioned, so long must I remain undeserving of holding the medal. I am therefore asking my people to return the medal to you,[6] and I shall feel honoured to receive it back if it is returned to me when my motive is no longer questioned.

As to the question itself, so far as I have been able to examine the evidence, given to me, it shows that the planters have successfully used the Civil and Criminal Courts and illegal force to enrich themselves at the expense of the ryots, and that the ryots are living under a reign of terror and that their property, their persons, and their minds are all under the planters' heels. One man graphically said to me : "We belong to the planters, not to the *Sircar*[7]. Thana[8] is nowhere, the planters are everywhere. We take what they

[1] Private Secretary to the Viceroy, Lord Chelmsford

[2] *Vide* "Letter to L. F. Morshead", 12-4-1917.

[3] *Vide* Appendix IV.

[4] *Vide* the preceding item.

[5] *Vide* entries for June 4 and June 26, "Diary for 1915".

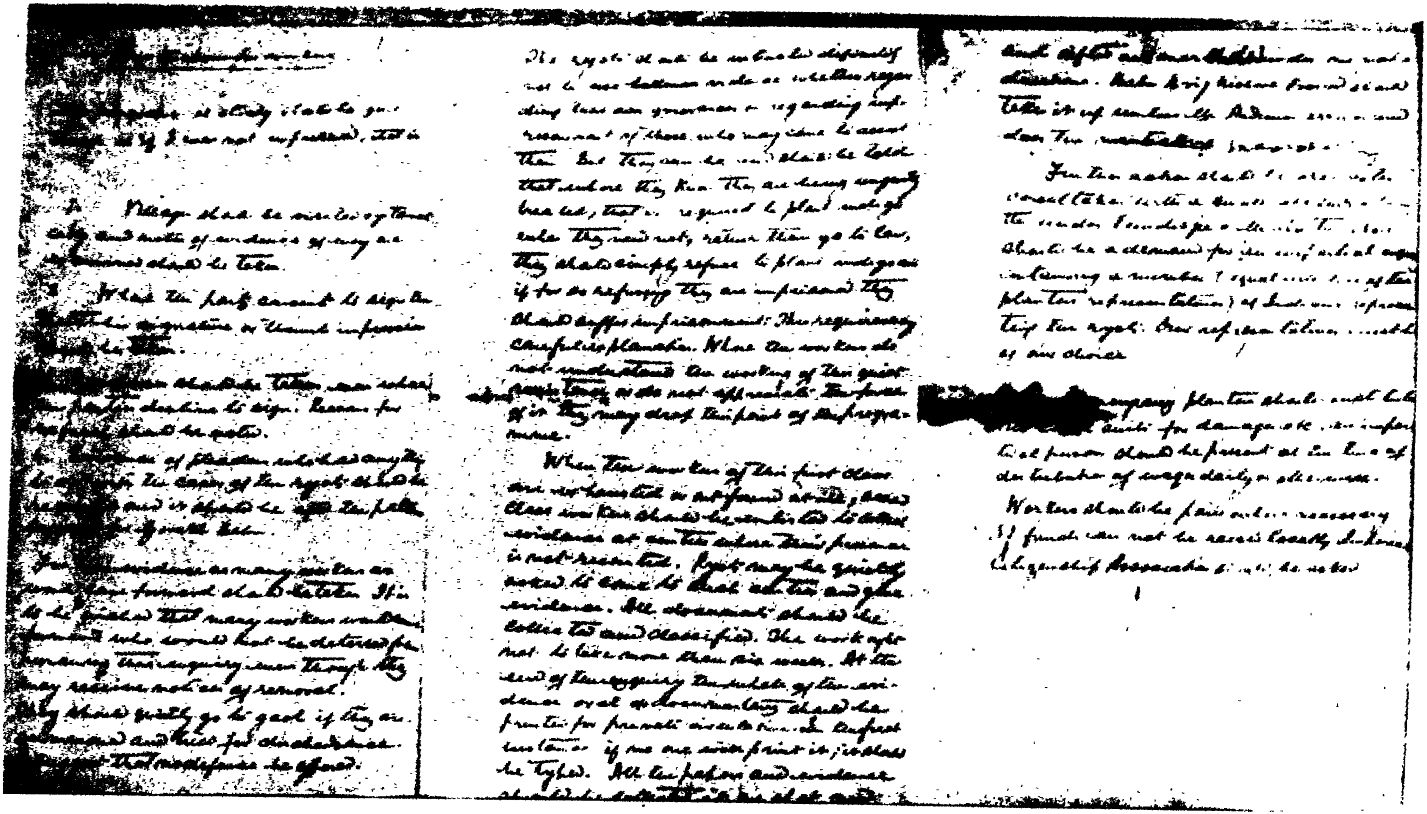
[6] *Vide* "Letter to Maganlal Gandhi", 16-4-1917.

[7] Government

[8] The police office



WITH KATHIAWARI TURBAN



Courtesy Girdhari Kripalani

allow, and we keep what they permit." I had hoped that a deeper examination would have toned down the impression formed by me. Had I been left free, I would have concluded my studies and placed the results at the disposal of the authorities. I wish that His Excellency would consider the matter serious enough to have an independent inquiry made. The local administration admit that they are sitting upon a mine so dangerous that they cannot tolerate my presence. And yet they manage to be satisfied with the slow inquiry of a settlement officer. Everything will depend upon swiftness and the proper choice of the members of the Committee of Inquiry. This is the least that the ryots are entitled to. Will you please place this before the Viceroy and ask for his forgiveness for sending such a long letter in the midst of many imperative calls upon his time. The urgency of the matter is the sole excuse for this letter.

I am, etc.,
M. K. GANDHI

From a copy of the original: C. W. 7596. Courtesy: H. S. L. Polak

278. INSTRUCTIONS FOR WORKERS[1]

[April 16, 1917][2]

The programme of study should be gone through as if I was not imprisoned, that is

1. Villages should be visited systematically and notes of evidence of everyone examined should be taken.
2. Where the party consents to sign the notes, his signature or thumb impression should be taken.
3. Evidence should be taken even where the parties decline to sign. Reason for refusal should be noted.
4. Evidence of pleaders who had anything to do with the case of the ryots should be requested and it should be after the pattern suggested for Gorakh Babu[3].

For this, evidence as many workers as would come forward should be taken. It is to be wished that many workers who would

[1] About continuance of work in Champaran, as Gandhiji, who defied the order of the Magistrate to leave the district, expected he would be imprisoned

[2] Prepared on the night of the 16th; *vide* "Letter to H. S. L. Polak", 17-4-1917.

[3] Gorakh Prasad (1869-1962), a pleader of Motihari, for some time host of Gandhiji in Motihari

come forward would not be deterred from pursuing their inquiry even though they may receive notice of removal.

They should quietly go to gaol if they are summoned and tried for disobedience. I suggest that no defence be offered.

The ryots should be instructed definitely not to use violence whether regarding their own grievances or regarding imprisonment of those who may come to assist them. But they can be and should be told that where they know they are being unjustly treated, that is, required to plant indigo when they need not, rather than go to law, they should simply refuse to plant indigo and if for so refusing they are imprisoned they should suffer imprisonment. This requires very careful explanation. Where the workers do not understand the working of this quiet resistance or do not appreciate the force of it, they may drop this point of the programme.

When the workers of this first class are exhausted or not found at all, second class workers should be enlisted to collect evidence at centres where their presence is not resented. Ryots may be quietly asked to come to such centres and give evidence. All documents should be collected and classified. The work ought not to take more than six weeks. At the end of the inquiry the whole of the evidence oral or documentary should be printed for private circulation. In the first instance if no one will print it, it should be typed. All the papers and evidence should be collected at one spot and sifted and marshalled under one man's direction. Babu Brijkishore Prasad[1] should take it up unless Mr. Andrews arrives and does the marshalling.

Further action should be taken after consultation with a small all-India committee under Panditjee[2] or Mr. Shastri[3]. There should be a demand for an impartial inquiry containing a number (equal with that of the planters' representatives) of Indians representing the ryots. Our representatives must be of our choice.

Pending inquiry planters should institute no civil suits for damages, etc., and an impartial person should be present at the time of distribution of wages daily or otherwise.

Workers should be paid where necessary. If funds cannot be raised locally, the Imperial Citizenship Association should be asked.

From a facsimile of the original given in *Mahatma*, Vol. I

[1] Leading advocate of Darbhanga, member, Bihar and Orissa Legislative Council and active co-worker of Gandhiji

[2] Madan Mohan Malaviya

[3] V. S. Srinivasa Sastri

279. LETTER TO ESTHER FAERING

MOTIHARI,
April 17, 1917

MY DEAR ESTHER,

I know you will want me to tell you that I am about to be imprisoned. I have come here to remove some labour grievances. The authorities do not want me. Hence the impending imprisonment. Do ask Mr. M. at the Ashram to send you some papers, and you will know. I am absolutely joyed to think that I shall be imprisoned for the sake of conscience.

Yours
(if you want me to sign)
BAPU

My Dear Child, pp. 6-7

280. LETTER TO H. S. L. POLAK

MOTIHARI,
April 17 [1917]

MY DEAR HENRY,

I know you are saying "well done" all the time. I am recalling the best days of South Africa. And to have them in a place where Rama and Janaka lived! The people are rendering all assistance. We shall soon find our Naidoos[1] and Sorabjis[2] and Imams[3]. I don't know that we shall stumble upon a Cachalia[4].

I am still without the necessary summons for contempt. Evidently they little expected the answer[5] I have given.

I sent you last night the papers to your Allahabad address. The papers ought to have gone to Bankipore last night. But they did not somehow. I am now sending you a special messenger. Please show them to Muzharul Haque[6] too. He has telegraphed

[1], [2], [3] & [4] Valiant fighters in the satyagraha struggle in South Africa

[5] *Vide* "Letter to District Magistrate, Champaran", 16-4-1917.

[6] (1866-1930), nationalist leader of Bihar; one of the founders and, later, President of the Muslim League; a member of the Congress delegation to England, 1914; supported Gandhiji during the Champaran and non-co-operation movements

offering to come if required. I have replied saying he may come after my imprisonment. Whilst I am free, I want only volunteers who will go from village to village and hear what the people have to say.

From the memorandum of instructions[1] hurriedly drawn up last night you will observe what is wanted. Two things may be done by the leaders there : urgent demand for an impartial quick inquiry, a body of staunch learned volunteers (100) who would go to different villages and live there protecting the people from molestation and gathering information. If the authorities object to the volunteers, they should not take 'no' for an answer. The volunteers should be, so far as possible, Beharees. Theirs should be the credit.

I still feel that so far as you are concerned, you need not throw yourself into the fray. I have asked Andrews to come. I want you to feel free and prepared to go to England and settle there. I cannot go into all the reasons just now.

Gorakh Prasad Babu here will give you all the information during my absence. If there is no summons I disappear in the villages tomorrow and may not return for two days.

With love,

Yours,

BHAI

Later—

You will see from the magistrate's reply that I am to be 'fixed up' tomorrow. So I do not go to the villages.[2]

From a photostat of the original in Gandhiji's hand: G.N. 2821

281. *LETTER TO J. B. KRIPALANI*

MOTIHARI,

April 17 [*1917*]

MY DEAR FRIEND[3],

I read your affection in your eyes, in your expression, in your postures. May I be found worthy of all this deep love! Yes I know you want to help. You shall have your choice. Either go to Ahmedabad and work there for the experimental school or come and work here even at the risk of imprisonment. All this if I am imprisoned. If you want me to choose for you seeing that you are

[1] *Vide* "Instructions for Workers", 16-4-1917.

[2] *Vide* "Letter to District Magistrate, Champaran", 17-4-1917, p. 374.

[3] Acharya J. B. Kripalani; *vide* "Letter to Kaka Kalelkar", 2-5-1917.

here, your natural place is not to quit the place until the ryots have their freedom to breathe like men. For me now Champaran is my domicile. Every day's inquiry confirms me in my opinion that the position in many respects is worse than in Fiji.

There is no summons yet for contempt.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

Prof. Malkani has to give me the statistics.

M. K. G.

I gave to the teacher of the Training School or some school my only copy of the Hindi rules under promise to return. Please trace it and if you find it, send it to Ahmedabad.

M. K. G.

From a photostat: G. N. 2822

282. *LETTER TO DISTRICT MAGISTRATE, CHAMPARAN*

MOTIHARI,
April 17, 1917

THE DISTRICT MAGISTRATE
MOTIHARI

SIR,

As I have no desire to do anything without the knowledge of the authorities, I beg to inform you that (assuming there is no service of summons for appearance before the court tomorrow) I am going to Shampur and the surrounding villages tomorrow morning. The party hopes to start about 3 A.M.

I observed yesterday that a police officer followed the party all the way. I may state that we court the fullest publicity and therefore beg on my own behalf and that of my colleagues to say that we shall welcome the presence, if we may not have the assistance, of the police in the course of our mission.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your obedient servant,
M. K. GANDHI

From the original in Gandhiji's hand in the National Archives of India; also *Select Documents on Mahatma Gandhi's Movement in Champaran*, No. 23, p. 67

283. ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

April 17, 1917

Received a letter from the District Magistrate.

M. K. GANDHI

From the original handwritten signed and dated by Gandhiji in the National Archives of India

284. LETTER TO DISTRICT MAGISTRATE, CHAMPARAN

MOTIHARI,
April 17, 1917

SIR,

In reply to your note of even date, I beg to state that I shall gladly remain in Motihari tomorrow and await summons.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your obedient servant,
M. K. GANDHI

From the original in Gandhiji's hand in the National Archives of India; also *Select Documents on Mahatma Gandhi's Movement in Champaran*, No. 25, p. 68

285. STATEMENT BEFORE THE COURT

[MOTIHARI,]
April 18, 1917

Mr. Gandhi appeared before the District Magistrate on Wednesday, the 18th instant. He read the statement printed below, and being asked to plead and finding that the case was likely to be unnecessarily prolonged, pleaded guilty. The Magistrate would not award the penalty but postponed judgement till 3 p.m. Meanwhile he was asked to see the Superintendent and then the District Magistrate. The result was that he agreed not to go out to the villages, pending instructions from the Government as to their view of his mission. The case was then postponed up to Saturday, April 21.

With the permission of the Court, I would like to make a brief statement showing why I have taken the very serious step of seemingly disobeying the order made under Section 144 of the Crimi-

nal Procedure Code. In my humble opinion, it is a question of difference of opinion between the local administration and myself. I have entered the country with motives of rendering humanitarian and national service. I have done so in response to a pressing invitation[1] to come and help the ryots, who urge they are not being fairly treated by the indigo planters. I could not render any help without studying the problem. I have, therefore, come to study it with the assistance, if possible, of the administration and the planters. I have no other motive and I cannot believe that my coming here can in any way disturb the public peace or cause loss of life. I claim to have considerable experience in such matters. The administration, however, have thought differently. I fully appreciate their difficulty, and I admit too, that they can only proceed upon information they receive. As a law-abiding citizen, my first instinct would be, as it was, to obey the order served upon me. I could not do so without doing violence to my sense of duty to those for whom I have come. I feel that I could just now serve them only by remaining in their midst. I could not, therefore, voluntarily retire. Amid this conflict of duty, I could only throw the responsibility of removing me from them on the administration.

I am fully conscious of the fact that a person, holding in the public life of India a position such as I do, has to be most careful in setting examples. It is my firm belief that in the complex constitution under which we are living, the only safe and honourable course for a self-respecting man is, in the circumstances such as face me, to do what I have decided to do, that is, to submit without protest to the penalty of disobedience. I have ventured to make this statement not in any way in extenuation of the penalty to be awarded against me, but to show that I have disregarded the order served upon me, not for want of respect for lawful authority, but in obedience of the higher law of our being—the voice of conscience.

The Leader, 22-4-1917, also *Select Documents on Mahatma Gandhi's Movement in Champaran*, No. 28, pp. 69-70

[1] *Vide* Appendix III.

286. TELEGRAM TO ASHRAM, AHMEDABAD

MOTIHARI,
April 18, 1917

TO
GANDHI
AHMEDABAD

MAGISTRATE POSTPONED JUDGEMENT DESPITE PLEA GUILTY. HAVE AGREED NOT GO VILLAGES TILL SATURDAY PENDING INSTRUCTIONS GOVT. REGARDING MISSION NO PUBLIC AGITATION SHOULD BE STARTED JUST YET.

GANDHI

From a photostat of the telegram as delivered: S.N. 9819

287. LETTER TO S. K. RUDRA

MOTIHARI,
April 18, 1917

DEAR MR. RUDRA[1],

You will expect a word from me before I am locked up. Our people here are sinking and if I can remain free only by removing myself from the ryots here, I should deem it a privilege to be imprisoned. Of this place, perhaps, it could be truly said what Bishop Heber[2] (was it not?) wrongly said of Malabar and Ceylon—"Every prospect pleases, man alone is vile."[3] In some respects, conditions are much worse than in Fiji. I assume that you know something about what is happening to me. For more, please ask Andrews to send you the papers. I have not the time to say more.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From the original: C. W. 5795. Courtesy: Raj Mohini Rudra

[1] Sushil Kumar Rudra, Principal, St. Stephen's College, Delhi
[2] Reginald Heber (1782-1826), Bishop of Calcutta
[3] The actual lines are:

"What though the spicy breezes
Blow soft o'er Ceylon's isle,
Though every prospect pleases,
And only man is vile."

288. LETTER TO W. B. HEYCOCK

MOTIHARI,
April 20, 1917

DEAR MR. HEYCOCK,

Will you please tell me where I have to wait on you tomorrow? I forgot to ask you when you gave me the appointment.

I am,
Yours truly,
M. K. GANDHI

From the original in Gandhiji's hand in the National Archives of India; also *Select Documents on Mahatma Gandhi's Movement in Champaran*, No. 39, p. 79

289. TELEGRAM TO PRIVATE SECRETARY TO LT.-GOVERNOR OF BIHAR AND ORISSA, PURI

MOTIHARI,
April 21, 1917

BEG THANK HIS HONOUR WITHDRAWAL PROCEEDINGS AND INSTRUCTIONS LOCAL OFFICIALS GIVE ME FACILITIES DURING INVESTIGATION.

Select Documents on Mahatma Gandhi's Movement in Champaran, No. 41, p. 80

290. STATEMENT TO THE PRESS[1]

BANKIPUR,
MOTIHARI,
April 21, 1917

The proceedings are withdrawn under instructions from Government. Official assistance during the conduct of my enquiry has been promised and I feel grateful to Government for the withdrawal of the proceedings and promised assistance. I am being splendidly helped by local pleaders and others and messages of sympathy and promise of help have been received from many quarters, which.

[1] According to Bombay Secret Abstracts, 1917, p. 254, 'on 22nd April in the morning a wire was received at the Ashram from Gandhi, summarising the statement' and adding 'This may be published'. S.N. 9820.

encourage my fellow-workers and myself. During my stay here, I have already visited some villages and seen hundreds of ryots. The officials have shown every courtesy throughout. While I am carrying on this enquiry, no public agitation is necessary. The issues involved are tremendously great. I hope to place my final conclusions before Government and the country.

The Leader, 23-4-1917; also *Select Documents on Mahatma Gandhi's Movement in Champaran*, No. 46 (E), pp. 86-7

291. LETTER TO W. B. HEYCOCK

MOTIHARI,
April 22, 1917

DEAR MR. HEYCOCK,

I thank you for your kind note of yesterday. I am writing to Mr. Cox[1] today.

I leave for Bettiah this afternoon.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From the original in Gandhiji's hand in the National Archives of India; also *Select Documents on Mahatma Gandhi's Movement in Champaran*, No. 45, p. 83

292. LETTER TO MAHATMA MUNSHIRAM

BETTIAH,
Vaishakh Shukla 5 [April 26, 1917][2]

MAHATMAJI,

I was very glad to receive your letter. The new name[3] you have adopted is really most appropriate.

The work here is enormous. Tyranny, by God's grace, will end. But I shall certainly have to stay over here for four to six months. Babu Brajkishore Prasad and others who are helping me are all worthy people.

Yours,
MOHANDAS GANDHI

From a photostat of the Hindi original in Gandhiji's hand: G.N. 2209

[1] Herbert Cox, of Paddumkair factory, Secretary of the District Planters' Association

[2] Gandhiji was in Bettiah on this day.

[3] Swami Shraddhanand

293. LETTER TO W. H. LEWIS

BETTIAH,
April 28, 1917

DEAR MR. LEWIS[1],

I have your note of even date. I thank you for having sent me your letter[2] to Mr. Heycock for perusal, I appreciate the frankness that pervades it, and it is, on the whole, a very fair summary of what has happened between us.

As to the guns, I think you are somewhat unnecessarily offended. I mentioned the matter to you on Mr. Heycock's suggestion, and if you admit the propriety of my having spoken to you about the matter, I could not be blamed for having told the aggrieved parties that there was a probability of their getting back their guns. This, if anything, was done to create a good impression about yourself—an impression which, I am happy to say, I carried with me [when] I first met you and which I have had no reason to change since. There was certainly no interference on my part with your authority.

I venture to think that your deduction, too, that in the estimation of the *raiyats* I am superseding local authority is hardly warranted by facts. My mission is to invoke the help of local authority in their aid, and to stimulate its interest in them more fully than heretofore.

I anticipate no trouble, because I always make it a point to seek an interview with the planters wherever I go, to tell the people that relief is to come not from me but from the planters and the Government, and that they are in no case to use violence or stop work, but continue it as before as if there was no enquiry being made by me, and also because the enquiry is absolutely open and attended by representatives of the police department, as also the planters.

You are less than fair to Babu Brajkishore Prasad. Together with other friends from Bihar, he is helping me very materially. In this enquiry he has no status apart from me : hence he and the other friends have not called on you. But I must state that their assistance has been of the greatest value to me.

Perhaps it is but fair to the planters to say that Mr. Still[3] has of his own motion invited me to visit his *dehat*[4] and remain there as

[1] Sub-Divisional Officer of Bettiah

[2] Select Document No. 52, not reproduced here

[3] C. Still of Sathi indigo concern

[4] *Dehat* or *dihat*, the adjoining area under the influence of an indigo factory

long as I like and that Mr. Cox has written to me saying that he is arranging a meeting with some leading planters, and concludes "you may be sure that we wish to assist you in your enquiry". This perhaps is in conflict with your statement, "By the planters he(I) is regarded with great suspicion as their natural enemy."

I wish to serve my countrymen and the planters through the Government where their assistance is necessary.

Yours truly,
M. K. GANDHI

Select Documents on Mahatma Gandhi's Movement in Champaran, No. 51, pp. 98-9

294. LETTER TO DR. H. S. DEVA

BETTIAH,
CHAMPARAN,
April 29 [1917][1]

DEAR DR. DEVA,

Your Geography is at fault. This is not Assam. This is North Bihar. This is the land of Janak to which Vishwamitra took those two youngsters, Rama and Lakshman. Nature's bounty has been lavished as unstintingly as man has abused his power. The position is so bad that I dare not leave here even for a day. I have cancelled all appointments. I cannot be with you in Nasik, much as I should like to be.

We are taking the statements of men who come to us as fast as we can. In a few days, I may have something to report. I have kept Mr. Shastriar supplied with all the information to date.

Although I am not in gaol, I shall still look up to you to finish the programme about the translation of Mr. Gokhale's speeches.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat of the original in Gandhiji's hand: C.W. 5797

[1] From the reference to the geographical situation of the place, the letter seems to have been written soon after Gandhiji first visited Champaran.

295. LETTER TO W. B. HEYCOCK

MOTIHARI,
May 2, 1917

DEAR MR. HEYCOCK,

I came to Motihari last night. You may be aware that I am to meet the planters this morning at 10.45. You will please let me know if you want me.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From the original in Gandhiji's hand in the National Archives of India; also *Select Documents on Mahatma Gandhi's Movement in Champaran*, No. 58, p. 110

296. LETTER TO ESTHER FAERING

MOTIHARI,
CHAMPARAN,
May 2, 1917

DEAR ESTHER,

I have just received your letter from Ahmedabad. To say 'I thank you' would be in your case an empty form. Your interest is much deeper. My experiences here give the greatest joy. The suffering I see around me gives me equal pain. I know that you feel for me because you would like to be in the thick of it all yourself. But your work is cut out for you. For those who are at a distance from you, you can but pray. And that you are doing with all your heart.

I may not be able to leave this place for six months. One of these days, I shall describe to you the nature of the work I am doing here.

Do please go to the Ashram whenever you can. It is one of your homes if one may have more than one.

You may write to me at the address given at the top.

With love,

Yours,
BAPU

My Dear Child, p. 7

297. LETTER TO KAKA KALELKAR

BETTIAH,
MOTIHARI,
Vaishakh Sud 11 [*May 2, 1917*][1]

BHAISHRI KAKA,

I have your letter. It is good you went over to the Ashram. may perhaps need you here[2] but I will not ask for your help. Your work at present is to lose yourself in the National School experiment. I think it is a very important experiment. I should like you to see Prof. Shah and start work immediately. Write to Mr. Sadashiv to tell him that he may possibly be needed. I will call him up then. Is he ready to come along with his family? He must give at least six months. Perhaps more.

If Shastri's plot is not otherwise inconvenient and the water there is good, it should be secured without any delay. Do you think it will be possible to put up tents or thatched huts while construction work is under way? I don't care if the analyst's report on the soil is not favourable. The water must be good. For the school, we want 12 to 20 pupils for the present. It will be better if they are drawn from good families. Rather, let them be what they are. If it is decided to settle on Shastri's plot, boys from adjoining villages may be invited. However, so long as we can get them from Ahmedabad city, it will be preferable not to bring in villagers to join the experiment. But one need not be particular in this matter; we should carry on with any boys who may join.

If the teacher has any real worth in him, the mechanical side of education will take care of itself. If they tell stories from the *Ramayana*, everyone will follow them as well as he can. In agriculture, they will acquire equal proficiency. Spiritual awakening will require [a mind disposed that way through] early influences. How can we know whether we shall come upon such influences in cities or villages? Show this to Prof. Shah and request him on my behalf to take up this work in all earnestness. I shall write to him if I find time.

Kripalani is in Muzaffarpur. He wanted to know from me what he should do. I told him[3] that, since he was here, he should

[1] The addressee went over to the Ashram in 1917.

[2] In Champaran, where Gandhiji later started schools and welfare activities

[3] *Vide* "Letter to J. B. Kripalani", 17-4-1917.

join in the work here. There has been no reply from him.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS

Reassure [them] about Chintamani Shastri that, so long as Sind needs him, we shall not ask him to join us.

From a copy of the Gujarati original: C.W. 5712. Courtesy: Narandas Gandhi

298. LETTER TO HARILAL DESAI

BETTIAH,
Vaishakh Vad 5 [May 11, 1917][1]

BHAISHRI HARILAL DESAI[2],

Your letter has come to me here. I remember our meeting. You can stay here with me if you wish to. I shall be in this province for some months. If you wish to stay in Ahmedabad in my absence, it could be arranged. Do whatever is convenient to you. You can come here *via* Kanpur or Patna.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS GANDHI

BHAISHRI HARILAL MANEKLAL DESAI
TAPINI KHADKI
KAPADWANJ

From a photostat of the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: G.N. 1867

299. LETTER TO JAMNADAS GANDHI

BETTIAH,
CHAMPARAN,
Vaishakh Vad 6 [May 12, 1917][3]

CHI. JAMNADAS[4],

I had been waiting for a letter from you, as one waits for the rains. I got one and I am satisfied. The same post brought a letter of yours sent on by Narandas. I shall keep on writing to you. I shall be measured by your success. If you should not come

[1] Gandhiji was in Bettiah on this day.

[2] Harilal Maneklal Desai (1881-1927), educationist and social worker. He left his job in 1920 to join the non-co-operation movement under Gandhiji's guidance and dedicated his life to khadi and village uplift work.

[3] Gandhiji was in Bettiah on this day.

[4] Brother of Chhaganlal Gandhi

up to my expectations, my judgment would be rated at zero; I have staked so much on you. My conscience would also tell me that I am not at all a good judge of men. You will therefore always have my blessings and my encouragement. I pray God may give you all necessary strength. If the two of you live an ideal life, you will be the saving of many a young man. It is very much my desire that all of you, on whom I have placed my hopes, should be not merely what I am but free of all my faults, that you may do better than I. There will be nothing wrong in your aiming so high. It is not much of a miracle that a son should preserve the capital; what pleases the father more and brings greater credit to himself is that he should add to it.

For some time yet I shall have no choice but to stay on here. You must be getting all the news through Doctor Saheb, so I don't give any here. If the food there does not disagree with you, be in no hurry to make too many changes in it. Your duty at present is to see that you flourish in health and that you teach the boys and raise them up and give satisfaction to Doctor Saheb in other ways.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: C.W. 5675. Courtesy: Narandas Gandhi

300. *LETTER TO ESTHER FAERING*

BETTIAH,
May 13, 1917

MY DEAR ESTHER,

Pray do not apologize for writing to me. Your letters are most welcome.

I am sure that your duty is to fulfil your undertaking with the Mission with all your heart. You can come to the Ashram only when they relieve you and when you feel in the clearest possible terms that you will come to render the service of humanity in greater fulness. When that time comes, the Ashram will receive you as one of its own. Meanwhile you are of course always free to go [to] the Ashram and stay there as long as you like.

At the Ashram, we are now trying an experiment in education to serve as a pattern. When you go there, I am sure you will like the teaching staff. They are all, I think, good men and sane.

My work here gives me greater and greater joy day by day. The poor *raiyats* delight in simply sitting round me, feeling that they can trust me to do the right thing. I only hope I am worthy of all this love. I constantly see the planters and do not despair of appealing to their sense of justice on behalf of the *raiyats* who have groaned under the weight of oppression all these long years. I shall send you a copy of my representation[1] to the Government. You may not understand some points in it. Do not hesitate to ask me please.

With love,

Yours,
BAPU

My Dear Child, p. 9

301. REPORT ON CONDITION OF RYOTS IN CHAMPARAN[2]

BETTIAH,
May 13, 1917

In accordance with the suggestions made by Hon'ble Mr. Maude[3], I beg to submit herewith the preliminary conclusions which I have arrived at as a result of the inquiry being made by me into the agrarian condition of the *raiyats* of Champaran.

At the outset I would like to state that it was not possible for me to give the assurance which Mr. Maude would have liked me to have given, viz., that the *vakil* friends who have been assisting me would be withdrawn. I must confess that this request has hurt me deeply. It has been made ever since my arrival here. I have been told, that is, after the withdrawal of the order of removal from the District, that my presence was harmless enough and that my *bona fides* were unquestioned, but that the presence of the *vakil* friends was likely to create 'a dangerous situation'. I venture to submit that if I may be trusted to conduct myself decorously, I may be equally trusted to choose helpers of the same type as myself. I consider it a privilege to have the association, in the difficult tasks before me, of these able, earnest and honourable men. It seems to me that for me to abandon them is to abandon my work.

[1] *Vide* the following item.

[2] This was sent to the Chief Secretary, Bihar & Orissa.

[3] Member of the Executive Council, Bihar & Orissa, in his talk with Gandhiji on 10th May; *vide* Appendix V.

It must be a point of honour with me not to dispense with their help until anything unworthy is proved against them to my satisfaction. I do not share the fear that either my presence or that of my friends can create 'a dangerous situation'. The danger, if any exists, must lie in the causes that have brought about strained relations between the planters and the *raiyats*. And if the causes were removed, there never need be any fear of a dangerous situation arising in Champaran so far as the *raiyats* are concerned.

Coming to the immediate purpose of this representation, I beg to state that nearly four thousand *raiyats* have been examined and their statements taken after careful cross-examination. Several villages have been visited and many judgments of courts studied. And the inquiry is, in my opinion, capable of sustaining the following conclusions:

Factories or concerns in the district of Champaran may be divided into two classes—(1) those that have never had indigo plantations, and (2) those that have:—

(1) The concerns which have never grown indigo have exacted *abwabs* known by various local names equal in amount at least to the rent paid by the *raiyats*. This exaction, although it has been held to be illegal, has not altogether stopped.

(2) The indigo-growing factories have grown indigo either under the *tinkathia* system or *khuski*. The former has been most prevalent and has caused the greatest hardship. The type has varied with the progress of time. Starting with indigo, it has taken in its sweep all kinds of crops. It may now be defined as an obligation presumed to attach to the *raiyat*'s holding whereby the *raiyat* has to grow a crop on 3/20 of the holding at the will of the landlord for a stated consideration. There appears to be no legal warrant for it. The *raiyats* have always fought against it and have only yielded to force. They have not received adequate consideration for the services. When, however, owing to the introduction of synthetic indigo the price of the local product fell, the planters desired to cancel the indigo *sattas*[1]. They, therefore, devised a means of saddling the losses upon the *raiyats*. In lease-hold lands they made the *raiyats* pay *tawan*, i.e., damages to the extent of Rs. 100/- per *bigha* in consideration of their waiving their right to indigo culti-

[1] Agreements

vation. This, the *raiyats* claim, was done under coercion. Where the *raiyats* could not find cash, hand-notes and mortgage bonds were made for payment in instalments bearing interest at 12 per cent per annum. In these, the balance due has not been described as *tawan*, i.e., damages, but it has been fictitiously treated as an advance to the *raiyat* for some purpose of his own.

In *mukarrari*[1] lands, the damage has taken the shape of *sharahbeshi sattas*, meaning enhancement of rent in lieu of indigo cultivation. The enhancement according to the survey report has in the case of 5,955 tenancies amounted to Rs. 31,062, the pre-enhancement figure being Rs. 53,865. The total number of tenancies affected is much larger. The *raiyats* claim that these *sattas* were taken from them under coercion. It is inconceivable that the *raiyats* would agree to an enormous perpetual increase in their rents against freedom from liability to grow indigo for a temporary period which freedom they were strenuously fighting to secure and hourly expecting.

Where *tawan* has not been exacted, the factories have forced the *raiyats* to grow oats, sugarcane, or such other crops under the *tinkathia* system.

Under the *tinkathia* system, the *raiyat* has been obliged to give his best land for the landlord's crops; in some cases the land in front of his house has been so used; he has been obliged to give his best time and energy also to it, so that very little time has been left to him for growing his own crops—his means of livelihood.

Cart-hire *sattas* have been forcibly taken from the *raiyats* for supplying carts to the factories on hire insufficient even to cover the actual outlay.

Inadequate wages have been paid to the *raiyats* whose labour has been impressed, and even boys of tender age have been made to work against their will.

Ploughs of the *raiyats* have been impressed and detained by the factories for days together for ploughing factory lands for a trifling consideration and at a time when they required them for cultivating their own lands.

Dasturi[2] has been taken by the notoriously ill-paid factory *amlas*[3] out of the wages received by the labourers, often amounting

[1] A permanent tenure

[2] A customary but illegal commission

[3] Staff

to a fifth of their daily wage, and also out of the hire paid for carts and ploughs.

In some villages, the *chamars*[1] have been forced to give up to the factories the hides of dead cattle belonging to the *raiyats*. Against the carcases the *chamars* used to supply the *raiyats* with shoes and leather straps for ploughs and their women used to render services to the latter's families at child-birth. Now they have ceased to render these valuable services. Some factories have for the collection of such hides opened hides godowns.

Illegal fines—often of heavy amounts—have been imposed by factories upon *raiyats* who have proved unbending.

Among the other (according to the evidence before me) methods adopted to bend the *raiyats* to their will, the planters have impounded the *raiyats*' cattle, posted peons on their houses, withdrawn from them barbers', dhobis', carpenters', and smiths' services; have prevented the use of village wells and pasture lands by ploughing up the pathway and lands just in front of or behind their homesteads, have brought or promoted civil suits, or criminal complaints against them, and resorted to actual physical force and wrongful confinements. The planters have successfully used the institutions of the country to enforce their will against the *raiyats* and have not hesitated to supplement them by taking the law in their own hands. The result has been that the *raiyats* have shown an abject helplessness such as I have not witnessed in any part of India where I have travelled.

They are members of District Boards and assessors under the Chaukidari Act and keepers of pounds. Their position as such has been felt by the *raiyats*. The roads which the latter pay for at the rate of half an anna per rupee of rent paid by them are hardly available to them. Their carts and bullocks which perhaps most need the roads are rarely allowed to make use of them. That this is not peculiar to Champaran does not in any way mitigate the grievance.

I am aware that there are concerns which form exceptions to the rule laid down, but as a general charge the statements made above are capable of proof.

I am aware, too, that there are some Indian zamindars who are open to the charges made above. Relief is sought for in their cases as in those of the planters. Whilst there can be no doubt the latter have inherited a vicious system, they with their trained minds and superior position have reduced it to an exact science,

[1] Members of the caste dealing in hides and skins

so that the *raiyats* would not only have been unable to raise their heads above water but would have sunk deeper still had not the Government granted some protection. But that protection has been meagre and provokingly slow and has often come too late to be appreciated by the *raiyats*.

It is true that the Government await the Settlement Officer's report on some of the matters covered by this representation. It is submitted that when the *raiyats* are groaning under the weight of oppression, such as I have described above, an inquiry by the Settlement Officer is a cumbersome method. With him the grievances mentioned herein are but an item in an extensive settlement operation. Nor does his inquiry cover all the points raised above. Moreover, grievances have been set forth herein which are not likely to be disputed. And they are so serious as to require immediate relief.

That *tawan* and *sharahbeshi sattas* and *abwabs* have been exacted cannot be questioned. I hope it will not be argued that the *raiyats* can be fully protected as to these by recourse to law. It is submitted that where there is wholesale exaction, courts are not a sufficient protection for the *raiyats* and the administrative protection of the *Sarkar*[1] as the supreme landlord is an absolute necessity.

The wrongs are twofold. There are wrongs which are accomplished facts and wrongs which continue. The continuing wrongs need to be stopped at once and a small inquiry may be made as to past wrongs, such as damages and *abwabs* already taken and *sharahbeshi* payments already made. The *raiyats* should be told by proclamation and notices distributed broadcast among them that they are not only not bound to pay *abwabs*, *tawan* and *sharahbeshi* charges but that they ought not to pay them, that the *Sarkar* will protect them if any attempt is made to enforce payment thereof. They should further be informed that they are not bound to render any personal service to their landlords and that they are free to sell their services wherever they choose and that they are not bound to grow indigo, sugarcane or any other crop unless they wish to do so and unless it is profitable for them. The Bettiah Raj leases given to the factories should not be renewed until the wrongs are remedied and should, when renewed, properly safeguard the *raiyats'* rights.

As to *dasturi*, it is clear that better paid and educated men should substitute the present holders of responsible offices and that

[1] Government

no countenance should be given to the diminution in *raiyats'* wages by illegal exaction of *dasturi*. I feel sure that the planters are quite capable of dealing with the evil, although it is in their language 'as old as the Himalayas'.

The *raiyats* being secured in their freedom, it would be no longer necessary to investigate the question of the inadequacy or otherwise of the consideration in the indigo *sattas* and cart-hire *sattas*, and the wages. The *raiyats* by common agreement should be advised to finish indigo or other crops for the current year. But thenceforth, whether it is indigo or any other crop, it should be only under a system of absolute free-will.

It will be observed that I have burdened this statement with as little argument as possible. But if it is the desire of the Government that I should prove any of my conclusions, I shall be pleased to tender the proofs on which they are based.

In conclusion, I would like to state that I have no desire to hurt the planters' feelings. I have received every courtesy from them. Believing as I do that the *raiyats* are labouring under a grievous wrong from which they ought to be freed immediately, I have dealt, as calmly as is possible for me to do so, with the system which the planters are working. I have entered upon my mission in the hope that they as Englishmen born to enjoy the fullest personal liberty and freedom will not fail to rise to their status and will not begrudge the *raiyats* the same measure of liberty and freedom.

I am sending copies to the Commissioner of the Tirhut Division, the Collector of Champaran, the Subdivisional Officer of Bettiah, the Manager of the Bettiah Raj, the Secretaries, respectively, of the Bihar Planters' Association and the District Planters' Association. I am circulating them also among those leaders of public opinion in the country who have kept themselves in touch with the work being done by my colleagues and myself. The copies are being marked not for publication, as there is no desire to invite a public discussion of the question unless it becomes absolutely necessary.

I need hardly give the assurance that I am at the disposal of the Government whenever my presence may be required.

Select Documents of Mahatma Gandhi's Movement in Champaran, No. 72, pp. 126-31

302. NOTES ON THE POSITION IN CHAMPARAN TO DATE[1]

BETTIAH,
May 14, 1917

CONFIDENTIAL

Since the withdrawal of the order of the Magistrate served on Mr. Gandhi, the work of recording statements has continued without interruption. Nearly 4000 statements have been taken. *Rayats* have flocked to the two stations, Motihari and Bettiah. The rush has been so great that the volunteers have not been able to cope with the work from day to day.

The volunteers are all local pleaders who have performed their work with great zeal and devotion. Babu Brajakishore Prasad has superintended this part of the work. The names of the other volunteers are: Babu Rajendra Prasad[2], Babu Dharanidhar[3], Babu Gorakh Prasad, Babu Ramnawami Prasad[4], Babu Sambhusaran[5] and Babu Anugrah Narain Sinha[6]. Chance comers have also assisted occasionally. Several villages have been visited and hundreds of *rayats* have been seen in their homes.

Planters have been always invited to attend the meetings with the *rayats*. They have, however, not attended. Their *jamadars*[7] have. Planters have been individually seen by Mr. Gandhi and there was a conference between representative planters and him. The planters were quite courteous but uncompromising. They overstated their case, inasmuch as they claimed that they had

[1] These appear to have been prepared by Gandhiji from time to time to brief his co-workers and also (*vide* Note III) editors of the sympathetic papers to enable them to write with understanding of the real situation in Champaran. Numbers III, V and VI in this series are signed by Gandhiji; No. IV has not become available and it is not clear if this is No. I or II of the series.

[2] (1884-1963), statesman and scholar; Chairman, Constituent Assembly of India, 1946-9; first President of India

[3] A pleader and Congressman of Darbhanga

[4] A Muzaffarpur lawyer who took up cases against Bihar indigo planters; later joined Champaran campaign and non-co-operation movement

[5] (1892-1931), a lawyer and Congressman of Bihar; took part in the Champaran, non-co-operation and Khilafat movements

[6] (1889-1957), a lawyer, legislator and Congress leader of Bihar; took part in the freedom movement; Minister in Bihar, 1946-57

[7] Steward, chief of peons

always acted as benefactors of their *rayats* and that they had protected them from the rapacity of moneylenders. Frequent interviews have taken place between the local officials and Mr. Gandhi. The former have been more open than the planters and have certainly shown a desire for amicable settlement. The officials have never concealed their opinion that they did not approve of the mission. Some of them only reluctantly carried out the Government instructions to give Mr. Gandhi every facility. The result has been that it has not been always an easy matter to obtain information from them. They have expressed stronger disapproval of the presence of the helpers mentioned above. The Sub-divisional Officer at Bettiah often said[1] that he was afraid of a conflagration taking place any day by reason of the inquiry. He said that the *rayats* had grown bolder and had formed a highly exaggerated notion of the results of the mission. He even reported to the Government that unless the inquiry could be stopped, he could not be responsible for the peace of the district under his charge. Some planters, too, went to Ranchi to complain to the Government that they were afraid of their own safety if the inquiry was continued. It was on account of this that Mr. Gandhi was invited to meet Hon'ble Mr. Maude at Bankipur on the 10th instant.

An outwork has been burnt down.[2] The planters grew nervous and even suggested that it might be due to our inquiry. There seems to be no connection between the fire and the inquiry.

Mr. Maude suggested[3] that the inquiry might now usefully be closed entirely and that Mr. Gandhi might submit his report to the Government and that if the inquiry could not be stopped, Mr. Gandhi should withdraw the 'pleader-friends' from the district. Mr. Gandhi stated that the inquiry could not be entirely stopped but that he had advanced far enough to enable him to frame preliminary conclusions, that he could not as a point of honour think of dispensing with the help of the pleader-friends whom he considered to be as sober and honourable as himself and who were of the greatest assistance to him in his work. Mr. Maude was quite conciliatory in his conversation. The enclosed representation[4] is the result of the interview. The inquiry continues except to the extent that, instead of statements being recorded as heretofore by the volunteers, Mr. Gandhi will himself, as soon as he is free to be able to

[1] *Vide* "Letter to W. H. Lewis", 28-4-1917.
[2] *Vide* "Letter to W. B. Heycock", 14-5-1917.
[3] *Vide* Appendix V.
[4] *Vide* the preceding item.

do so, sit for a few hours daily among the *rayats* and after hearing their statements[1] record his impressions.

The representation is deliberately an understatement. The condition of the *rayat* is far worse than is pictured there. It is not capable of being understood by a layman. The planters' rule has practically supplanted the rule of the local Government. Nobody has the courage to speak up for the *rayats*. The latter do not readily get the assistance of the local *mukhtars*[2]. Many have privately come to Mr. Gandhi and told him much worse stories of oppression than have been recorded in the statements. In Fiji and Natal, the evil was represented by a single law. The evil was dealt with, if the law could be removed. In Champaran, the evil is like a weed growing everywhere and anyhow and in growing has smothered all law and order. The very laws for the protection of the *rayats* have been used by the planters to reduce them to serfdom. As the planters have placed themselves above law, even decrees of courts have had no binding effect on them in many cases. The evil, therefore, will require a tremendous effort before it is checked. No stone is being left unturned to induce the planters to do justice without the necessity of a great and very serious public agitation. The desire is, by inviting the Government to deal with the planters firmly, to avoid the publication of a report which is bound to stagger India. Public men and women of India will never be able to sit still if the report has ever to be published until the wrongs it will narrate are remedied. The mere narration is calculated to rouse passions and therefore every effort is being made to bring about a settlement without any public agitation.

If the settlement comes or even if it does not, it is necessary to post volunteers in villages to act as links between the planters and *rayats*, to steel the latter's hearts and by their very presence to protect them from the tyranny of the *amlas*, etc. The volunteers will be expected to remain in the villages for at least six months.

Their work will be smooth, if the Government approve of their presence; it will be risky if they do not. It is to be done in any event. Whilst they are in the villages, they will teach the village boys and girls and will give the *rayats* lessons in elementary sanitation. It may be stated that the *rayats* are the most backward and ignorant of almost any in India. Education is admittedly in the lowest stage in this district. Sanitation is of the worst type. Children are ill-looking because they are ill fed. The adult population

[1] *Vide* Appendix VI.

[2] Attorneys

suffers from some disease or other. Many suffer from an ugly growth on the throat called goitre. They have no physical or moral stamina. Even the Rajputs are seized with a fear which it is humiliating to observe. The present volunteers are pledged to the work above sketched. It is not expected that Bihar will contribute many more volunteers of the type required. The greatest care is being exercised in choosing them. They have to be learned, responsible and sober men. Those who will receive these notes are expected kindly to use their influence in securing volunteers and getting them to send their names. At least a hundred such volunteers are required. Those who need support for their families will have it given them, so far as it is on a moderate scale.

From the typewritten office copy: S.N. 6352

303. LETTER TO W. MAUDE

BETTIAH,
May 14, 1917

MY DEAR MR. MAUDE,

As promised by me, I have sent today my representation[1] to the Chief Secretary. I do hope that it will receive urgent consideration.

I am making arrangements as fast as possible to alter the method of enquiry also in terms of my undertaking.

I am,
Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

Select Documents on Mahatma Gandhi's Movement in Champaran, No. 73. p. 131

[1] *Vide* "Report on Condition of Ryots in Champaran", 13-5-1917.

304. LETTER TO L. F. MORSHEAD

BETTIAH,
May 14, 1917

DEAR MR. MORSHEAD,

I beg to send you for your information a copy of my representation to the Government.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From the original in Gandhiji's hand in the National Archives of India; also G. N. 4617

305. LETTER TO W. B. HEYCOCK

BETTIAH,
May 14, 1917

DEAR MR. HEYCOCK,

I beg to send you for your information a copy of my representation to the Government.

Yours truly,
M. K. GANDHI

From the original in Gandhiji's hand in the National Archives of India; also G. N. 4611

306. LETTER TO W. B. HEYCOCK

May 14, 1917

DEAR MR. HEYCOCK,

I beg to refer you to the enclosed. All kinds of rumours have come before me. Pressure is being put upon me to make a statement but I don't want to make any unauthorised statement. Will you kindly let me know for purposes of publication the damage caused by the fire, the nature of the outwork burnt, whether it was inhabited or otherwise protected and whether any connection has been shown between my presence in Champaran and the fire. I am sending a special messenger who will await answer.

Yours truly,
M. K. GANDHI

Select Documents on Mahatma Gandhi's Movement in Champaran, No. 79 (A), p. 136

307. LETTER TO ASSOCIATED PRESS OF INDIA

[On or after *May 14, 1917*]

Mr. Gandhi has addressed the following letter to the Associated Press of India:

In view of your recent message to the Press in connection with my mission here, I enclose for publication the following correspondence between the District Magistrate of Champaran and myself.

MR. GANDHI'S LETTER[1]

REPLY[2]

The correspondence speaks for itself. It only remains for me to add that, so far as I am aware, there is not the slightest connection between the fire and myself. Your message says that a whole factory has been burnt down, whereas the District Magistrate's letter shows that a portion only of the outworks has been affected by the fire.

Yours faithfully,
M. K. GANDHI

The Biharee, 17-5-1917, as quoted in *Select Documents on Mahatma Gandhi's Movement in Champaran*, No. 79 (A), pp. 136-7

[1] *Vide* the preceding item.

[2] Dear Mr. Gandhi,

Your letter of 14th May, 1917. I am able to give you the following information. Olaha factory is an outwork of the Tarkalia concern. The buildings burnt down were the engine room, press house and cake house. The value of the buildings has been roughly estimated at twenty thousand rupees but this is only a very rough estimate. No Manager or Assistant Manager is in residence at the outwork. There are, however, factory servants to look after the buildings. The outwork is situated about twenty miles south-west of Motihari. The fact that the buildings were burnt down shortly after you came to the district and that your visit of enquiry has caused considerable excitement, etc., may possibly account for the rumours of all kinds which you say have come before you.

Yours sincerely,
W. B. Heycock

308. LETTER TO J. P. EDWARD[1]

BETTIAH,
May 17, 1917

DEAR SIR,

Butai Sahu Halwai, Gulli Sahu Kanu, and Bhardul Thakore Badai of Raxaul Bazar have shown me receipts they hold for lands leased them by you. They say that their houses are burnt down and that they are now being prevented from rebuilding and are being asked to vacate the lands in their possession. Will you kindly let me know whether there is any truth in the above statements and if so why they are being prevented from rebuilding?

Yours faithfully,
M. K. GANDHI

Select Documents on Mahatma Gandhi's Movement in Champaran, No. 76, p. 133

309. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL GANDHI

BETTIAH,
Vaishakh Vad 11, May 17, 1917

CHI. CHHAGANLAL,

There is no harm in sending the report of the Benares speech as revised by me.[2]

You need not henceforth send Jamnadas's letters here for he has resumed writing to me. The one you sent this time, I am forwarding to Narandas. He doesn't seem to have seen it. You may inform me if there is anything particular in his letter.

You need not send a puggree for me here. I am carrying on with what I have. If you have not made the dhotis, get them ready. I see that I shall need them. I hope you have supplied more yarn to Umreth. See that you don't drop that work. I am of the opinion that, if Saiyad Mahomed and others agree to come on the same terms as Lalji, they should be admitted. I see that we shall have to produce plenty of cloth. We should also not take

[1] Manager of Hardiya Kothi, Champaran

[2] *Vide* "Speech at Benares Hindu University", 6-2-1916.

upon ourselves the responsibility for winding the bobbins. Let them bring along their children. If any poor people send their children to learn, these should be paid. We may engage them in work only for some time; during the rest of the time we should teach them. In short, I feel it is necessary that we should start a workshop. By and by, we shall see our way. In this connection, I also think sometimes that, if we can get some honest, paid men, it would be advisable to engage them. They can be set to domestic chores and those [of us] who are at present occupied with this work can be released. I think of this again and again. But the idea will have to be carefully weighed. It will perhaps be convenient, for our purpose, to engage an elderly widow, if we know of any. I keep thinking along these lines during moments of leisure; however, since I think of these things so far away from you, you need not attach much weight to them. If you carry them out, it will be on your own responsibility. Seek all possible help from Vrajlal on this question. He will be especially in a position to say something about it since the responsibility is his.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: C.W. 5704. Courtesy: Chhaganlal Gandhi

310. LETTER TO NARAHARI PARIKH

BETTIAH,
Vaishakh Vad 11 [*May 17, 1917*][1]

BHAISHRI NARAHARI,

I have your letter. I went through it carefully. I do believe that you have done nothing wrong in taking the step you have taken. I am writing to Chhaganlal straightaway to pay you Rs. 75 a month. It would be a great thing if you can live in such a way as to be able to carry on without needing more. You will have to exercise enough self-control even to do so. I see that the time has not come yet when we have people who will manage without money or with the barest minimum of it. For that a change in the entire atmosphere in every family is necessary. This criticism is especially applicable to Gujarat.

[1] Gandhiji was in Bettiah on this day.

I doubt whether you will be able to bear the combined burden of your teaching work and translating Gokhale's speeches. My ideas about education are very exacting. If we want to pour our souls into the pupils, we should constantly exercise our mind on how to teach them. We should not get angry with them. Passing on to them in the best possible language from day to day whatever we wish to give them, will take up much of our time. Moreover, we must for the present think of teaching methods as well. Everything will have to be taught in a new way. All the same, you have no option now but to finish the translations. I say this only to point out your future responsibilities and those of all other teachers.

I have not treated Geography as a separate subject. That is why I have said that those who teach History should also teach Geography. However, if you think that they should be treated as separate subjects for the time being, you may do so. We will make what changes we find on experience to be necessary.

The teachers will have to come together at least once a week to exchange ideas and make such changes as may be called for. The intelligent students should be consulted and their suggestions invited about methods of teaching.

The students' health is the collective responsibility of the teachers; the main responsibility, however, will rest on the teacher in charge of hygiene.

The teachers should read up the subjects in the curriculum which they do not know. Especially Hindi. I can see from my work here how very essential Hindi is. I find that I shall have to ask for volunteers from other places. Difficulties will arise about those of them who do not know Hindi. I see it proved every day that education is altogether incomplete without Hindi.

It would be good, I think, if Anandshankarbhai or Keshavlalbhai[1] could spare one hour daily or a few hours every week so that the teachers' Gujarati may attain a really high standard and they may follow old Gujarati books without any difficulty. We may consider in this hour what progress we can at present make in Gujarati, which books should be considered good and what equivalents for unfamiliar [English] words should be adopted. We can enter deep into Akha's[2] or other serious works and resolve the

[1] Dewan Bahadur Keshavlal Harshadray Dhruva, a Gujarati scholar and writer

[2] Gujarati poet

difficulties which the teachers experience from day to day in explaining certain things. These pillars of the Gujarati language will also be better enlightened in this way and have occasion to think about some matters to which they have given no thought. The teachers' technical vocabulary will become uniform and points about spelling, etc., will be settled. At present, each of us has his own rules, or has no rules at all, to go by.

No doubt you will show this to the other teachers as well.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS

From a photostat of the Gujarati original: S.N. 6355

311. LETTER TO A. K. HOLTTUM

BETTIAH,
May 19, 1917

DEAR MR. HOLTTUM[1],

I thank you for having come to Sariswa[2] and having sent your carriage.

After you and Mr. Lewis had withdrawn, I sat with the people who must have numbered over 500 and talked to them. I told them that you wanted to do justice, that you were ready to take back the *zirat*[3] lands and that you considered that it was more profitable to you to get it back. I told them too that in your opinion the people had taken the *zirat* lands from your predecessor not only willingly but most eagerly, that it was given to the *raiyats* not in lieu of indigo cultivation but it was given in order to relieve the *raiyats* from liability to supply labour to the landlord. I further told them that you had shown me Mr. Barclay's[4] letter to Mr. Gourlay[5] confirming the view and finally told them, whilst on this point, that if they returned the *zirat* lands, you expected them to grow indigo again as before up to the termination of the period of their contracts and I assured them that I would plead with you

[1] Manager of Dhokraha and Loheria concerns

[2] Gandhiji visited this place on May 16.

[3] Land under the *khas* (special) cultivation of a zamindar

[4] J. Barclay was the proprietor of the concerns.

[5] W. R. Gourlay, Director of Agriculture, Bengal and former S.D.O. of Bettiah, who conducted in 1908 a confidential enquiry into the affairs of indigo plantations in Champaran at the instance of the Bengal Government and submitted his recommendations the following year

that it would be quite unfair to ask for *raiyats* to revert to indigo-growing (for reasons to be presently stated). I then invited those who wanted to abandon the *zirat* at once, although they had paid for the full agricultural year. As a result, over 175 gave in their names there and then and men have been streaming in during the two days. The total has reached nearly 500 up to the time of writing.

In going through the *khatians*[1], the receipts and the amounts charged against the *zirat* land, I find in 70 tenancies that on an average the *raiyats* are paying you Rs. 24.5.3 per *bigha*[2] of *zirat* land. The largest amount charged is Rs. 91.7.3 per *bigha* and the smallest is Rs. 7.8.0 per *bigha*. Incidentally, I observe that whilst 27 *bighas* of *kasht*[3] land pay Rs. 59.13.6, 27 *bighas* of *zirat* land pay you Rs. 659.7.0. It seems that in the vast majority of cases, the *raiyats* hold less than one *bigha* of *zirat* land. The rate fixed varies with the extent of their *kasht* holding and not with the quality of the *zirat*. And they are paying as much as Rs. 1-8-0 per *bigha* of *kasht* land in addition to from six annas to 12 annas per *katha*[4] of *zirat*. And the *kathas* of *zirat* seem to vary with the *bighas* of *kasht* and in no case amounting to more than 3 *kathas* per *bigha*. The average worked out for fifty villagers comes to 1½ *kathas* per *bigha*. This, in my opinion, hardly bears out Mr. Barclay's contention. It rather bears out the *raiyats'* contention that the settlement of *zirat* is another form of the *tinkathia* and was designed to cover the losses suffered by the concern when the price of indigo fell. The *raiyats* insist that pressure was effectively put upon them to take *zirat* land. Their contention seems to be borne out by the readiness with which they have come forward to surrender it. For the last ten years, the *raiyats* have been paying what according to the above view amounts to *tawan* for not growing indigo. And the concern has on that account an average of more than Rs. 100 per *bigha* of *tinkathia*. In the circumstances and regard being had to the fact that you believe it to be advantageous for you to receive back the *zirat* land, I hope you will not press for reversion to indigo-growing.

I notice that in some cases damages have been settled on *kathas* taken out of the *kasht* land of the *raiyats*. I venture to think that,

[1] Records of rights
[2] A measure of land: 1,600 sq. yds. In Champaran, the *bigha* is much larger.
[3] Cultivated land; tenure
[4] One-twentieth part of a *bigha*

if you would see your way to accept my suggestion, take back the *zirat* and forgo the future damage whether tacked on to the *zirat* or to the *kasht* land, one of the sorest points of dispute between the concern and the *raiyats* would be amicably settled and you will have set an example which would be advantageously followed by the other planters.

In describing the process adopted by the concern for recovering losses on indigo from the *raiyats*, I have hitherto confined myself to your *mukarrari* land. On *tikka* land, you seem to have accepted the system followed elsewhere. You have taken handnotes for balance of *tawan* payable by the *raiyats* bearing heavy rate of interest. I suggest that the outstanding handnotes may be cancelled. The *raiyats* for the sake of peace and compromise should say nothing as to refund either on the *hunda* above referred to or the *tawan* already collected and of which the handnotes represent the balance.

As to the fines, I must confess that there is overwhelming evidence to show that they have been imposed on recalcitrant *raiyats*. This complaint is almost universal. I told the *raiyats* that you said that only nominal fines were imposed when the *raiyats* came to you for adjustment of their mutual quarrels and that you refunded these to the winners. The *raiyats* resolutely protested and said that the fines even as much as Rs. 25 at a time and more were imposed for the so-called offences against the concern.

The *raiyats* are equally firm in their complaint against your *jamadar*, Gokul Missir, and I would be pleased to place the evidence before you if you will care to go further into the matter.

With reference to the method (I understand only recently adopted) of the charging for permission to build new buildings or to rebuild, you justified the charge on the ground that the earth on the *raiyats*' tenement belonged to the landlord and if the *raiyats* used it for building purposes, they must pay for it. I find, on looking up the Bengal Tenancy Act, that the law allows the *raiyats* to build without any interference from the landlord so long as they build for the benefit of their holdings. It seems to me that the charge is not warranted by law and I hope that you will waive it in future.

There remains then the question of cutting trees. The section of the Bengal Tenancy Act dealing with the subject clearly allows the *raiyat* to cut without previous notice to or permission of the landlord. But I understand that of late years the landlords have all over been receiving half of the timber cut. I do not know whether the custom has been proved; this is a large question which can await settlement.

I await papers promised by you regarding Kodai Pan. As to Sitaram Tewari[1], I think Rs. 36 on 11 *kathas* is a clerical error and I venture to suggest that it would be graceful on your part to recognize the error and take the rent at the usual assessment rate.

I would beg of you to carefully consider the points mentioned herein and, if you can grant relief to your *raiyats* in accordance with the suggestions made above, I do not doubt that it will lead to a lasting peace between your concern and its *raiyats* and, what is more, it will be a simple act of justice.

I am,
Yours truly,
M. K. GANDHI

Select Documents on Mahatma Gandhi's Movement in Champaran, No. 83, pp. 141-3

312. LETTER TO ESTHER FAERING

BETTIAH,
May 19, 1917

MY DEAR ESTHER,

Your letter does credit to your heart. I really do not need the Rs. 50/- at the present moment. Just now we have more than we need. If you cannot think of using it for any other purpose you can think of, send it to the Ashram to be kept for an emergency fund. The Ashram too has no present need of money. You will not perhaps be surprised to learn that all the pecuniary assistance in my work has come, in a way, in answer to prayer. I have not been obliged to beg, i.e., for conducting the missions I have undertaken. But this is a long story into which I cannot go.

The work here continues as usual.

Do please remember me to Miss Peterson when you write to her and tell her I shall still expect her promised long letter.

With love,

Yours,
BAPU

My Dear Child, p. 10

[1] One of the tenants

313. LETTER TO W. B. HEYCOCK

BETTIAH,
May 20, 1917

DEAR MR. HEYCOCK,

I have hitherto refrained from bringing to your notice statements, which have continued to stream in, to the effect that the *raiyats* are being prevented from coming in to me and that those who have come in have been subjected to all kinds of pinpricks by the *kothi amlas* and in some cases by the managers themselves. I have discounted some of the statements. I have taken down a few. But if what I have heard about the doings of the Belwa and the Dhokraha concerns is true, it is calculated to end on one side at least, the friendly spirit in which the inquiry has hitherto been carried on. I am most anxious to continue and to increase the friendly spirit. I am straining every [nerve], so far as in me lies, to so conduct my mission that nothing but good-will should be left behind, when its labours are finished. I send you the statements[1] taken regarding the Belwa and the Dhokraha concerns. If the statements are true, they do not reflect any credit upon the concerns in question. I enclose, too, my letter[2] to Mr. Holttum which was written before I heard of the fire and which was despatched before I took the statements of the Dhokraha men last evening after 6.30 P.M.

I can understand and even appreciate the feelings which are bound to fill those who are called upon to contemplate the prospect of having to forego huge incomes which they have hitherto been in the habit for a long time of receiving from their *raiyats*. One cannot, therefore, mind any legitimate effort on their part to hold on to what they have considered as their rights. But what is reported to have happened at the Belwa and Dhokraha *dehats* does not in my opinion fall under such a category.

It is a known fact that the desire of the planters generally is, that my friends and I should not carry on our work. I can only say that nothing but physical force from the Government or an absolute guarantee that the admitted or provable wrongs of the *raiyats* are to stop for ever, can possibly remove us from the District. What I have seen of the conditions of the *raiyats* is sufficient to

[1] *Vide* Appendix VI.
[2] *Vide* "Letter to A. K. Holttum", 19-5-1917.

convince me that if we withdrew at this stage, we would stand condemned before man and God and, what is most important of all, we would never be able to forgive ourselves.

But the mission is totally of peace. I cannot too often give the assurance that I bear no ill-will against the planters. I have been told that this is true of myself but that my friends are fired with an anti-English feeling and that for them this is an anti-English movement. I can only say that I do not know a body of men who have less of that feeling than my friends. I was not prepared for this pleasant revelation. I was prepared for some degree of ill-will. I would have held it excusable. I do not know that I have not been guilty of it myself under circumstances which have appeared to me most provoking. But if I found that any of my associates were, in the conduct of this mission, actuated by any ill-will at all, I should disassociate myself entirely from them and insist upon their leaving the mission. At the same time, the determination to secure a freedom for the *raiyats* from the yoke that is wearing them down is inflexible.

Cannot the Government secure that freedom? This is a natural exclamation. My answer is that they cannot, in cases like this, without such assistance as is afforded to them by my mission. The Government machinery is designedly slow. It moves, must move, along the line of least resistance. Reformers like myself, who have no other axe to grind but that of reform they are handling for the time being, specialize and create a force which the Government must reckon with. Reformers may go wrong by being over-zealous, indiscreet or indolent and ignorant. The Government may go wrong by being impatient of them or over-confident of their ability to do without them. I hope, in this case, neither catastrophe will take place and the grievances, which I have already submitted and which are mostly admitted, will be effectively redressed. Then the planters will have no cause to fear or suspect the mission of which I have the honour to be in charge and they will gladly accept the assistance of volunteers who will carry on the work of education and sanitation among the villagers and act as links between them and the *raiyats*.

Pray, excuse the length of this letter as also its argumentative character. I could not avoid it, if I was to place my true position before you. In bringing the two matters which have necessitated this communication, I have no desire to seek legal relief. But I ask you to use such administrative influence as you can to preserve the friendly spirit which has hitherto prevailed between the *kothis* and my friends and myself,

I do not wish to suggest that the *kothis* in question are responsible for the fire. That is the suspicion of some of the *raiyats*. I have talked to hundreds of them about the two fires. They say that the *raiyats* are not responsible for them, that they have no connection with the mission. I readily accept this repudiation because we are incessantly telling the *raiyats* that this is not a mission of violence or reprisals and that any such thing on their part can only delay relief. But if the *kothis* may not be held responsible for them, they may not seek to establish a connection between them and the mission. Fires have taken place before now, and, mission or no mission, they will take place for ever. Neither party may blame the other without the clearest possible proofs.

There is talk, too, about the lives of the planters being in danger. Surely this cannot be serious talk. Anyway, the mission cannot render them less safe than they are. The character of the mission is wholly against any such activity. It is designed to seek relief by self-suffering, never by doing violence to the supposed or real wrong-doer. And this lesson has been inculcated among the *raiyats* in season and out of season.

Lastly, there is, I fear, ample proof of intimidation such as is described in the statements thereto attached. Intimidation can only mean more trouble all round without meaning the slightest relief to the planters in the shape of retention of the present system.

I seek such help as you can vouchsafe in the circumstances I have ventured to place before you.

I am sending a copy to Mr. Lewis.

Yours truly,

M. K. GANDHI

From the original typewritten copy signed by Gandhiji in the National Archives of India; also *Select Documents on Mahatma Gandhi's Movement in Champaran*, No. 84, pp. 144-6

314. NOTES ON THE SITUATION IN CHAMPARAN-III

(Dated Bettiah, the 20th May 1917)

BETTIAH,
May 21[1], *1917*

CONFIDENTIAL

This is the 3rd note on the situation in Champaran.

The planters are, it is evident, trying to quash the mission or to discredit it.

The first remedy to secure their end was to tell the Government that their lives were in danger, owing to the presence of the mission in Champaran, and to suggest that there should be a commission appointed to investigate the relations between the planters and *rayats*.

Their lives are no more in danger now than they were before. The *rayats* are too docile, and too much cowed down to attempt any such thing even if they wished it; moreover, the creed of the mission is absence of violence under every conceivable circumstance.

Mr. Gandhi himself, in his letter[2] to the Viceroy, written just after his arrival, suggested a commission, when he was about to be imprisoned. But in the light of the discoveries since made, any commission can only delay relief. And the leaders, after knowing the situation as it is partly disclosed in the representation to the Government already sent to them, cannot contemplate the possibility of the grievances continuing for an indefinite time. Most of the serious grievances are admitted. They have not disappeared because the Government have been supine. They have been afraid to apply the remedies with firmness. They have placed too much reliance upon the good faith of the planters. And the planters have disregarded both the laws and the Government instructions. No commission can deal with such a situation. The Government alone can do it, if they wish or are forced. It is clear that the planters want a commission, which would supplant and extinguish the activities of the mission. The workers in the cause cannot, without doing the greatest violence to their conscience, retire in favour of a commission. The appointment of the commission can,

[1] Gandhiji appears to have begun this note on the 20th and to have concluded it on the 21st.

[2] *Vide* "Letter to Private Secretary to Viceroy", 16-4-1917.

therefore, be accepted only if the continuing wrongs are remedied now, and if the members appointed on the commission are such as to inspire confidence, and this on the understanding that the mission is to continue its work. The scope of it will be changed if a commission is appointed, i.e., the mission instead of conducting the enquiry will be collecting evidence to be placed before the commission, and taking the villagers' statements. The wrongs that must be redressed before a commission is accepted are (i) the abolition, not in name but in reality, of *abwabs* or illegal cesses exacted by the planters, (ii) the abolition of the damages in lieu of the indigo cultivation, whether in a lump sum or by way of *sharahbeshi*, (iii) the abolition of *tinkanthia* in every shape or form, (iv) the abolition of the custom of imposing fines on *rayats*, (v) the abolition of force in exacting labour or other obedience to the planters' will.

What, therefore, the commission will enquire into will be: (1) the condition of the tenure of planters; (2) the propriety and possibility of securing for the *rayats* a refund of the illegal cesses already taken by the planters; (3) the condition under which labour has been received by the landlords; (4) the sufficiency or otherwise of the wages received by the labourers; (5) the causes of the deep poverty of the masses and their utter helplessness.

The above points have merely to be mentioned to know that the planters contemplate a commission totally different from the one we should accept.

The safest plan, therefore, for the Press and the public, in so far as it may be necessary to give an opinion, is to insist on the redress of the admitted wrongs first, and then accept appointment of a commission, if found necessary, it being always understood that the workers continue their work, in any event.

The second method adopted by the planters is to seize or create incidents in order to make the Government nervous about the mission and to intimidate the mission and its helpers.

One fire[1] has already been so used. The popular belief is that the damage done is slight and that it is the work of the planters themselves. But that idea may be dismissed. The fire may be accepted as an accident or the act of an incendiary, not in any way connected with the mission. Mr. Heycock's letter[2], in answer to Mr. Gandhi's question[3], shows that (1) the damage done is at the

[1] At the Olaha factory

[2] *Vide* footnote 2 to "Letter to Associated Press of India", on or after 14-5-1917.

[3] *Vide* "Letter to W. B. Heycock", 14-5-1917.

most Rs. 20,000; he himself emphasises the fact that it is a rough estimate, i.e., given by the planters; (2) he has no evidence that there is the slightest connection between the enquiry and the fire.

To this may be added the fact that no member of the mission has gone to these parts, and that the outwork was not in use, when the fire broke out. Another fire[1] broke out on the 19th instant. A *katcheri*[2] has been burnt down. It is not known whether it has been utilised by the planters for the end suggested above. That fire did take place in a place just newly visited by the mission. Mr. Gandhi went there on Wednesday and the fire broke out on Friday last. Immediately on the outbreak of the fire, information was brought to Mr. Gandhi that it was probably the work of the *kothi* people. A statement[3] has been recorded to the effect that a factory man was seen the very evening removing a bundle of papers —the inference being that the papers were removed prior to setting the *katcheri* on fire. Support is lent to the story from the fact that the manager and the Sub-Divisional Officer were present at the enquiry for a short time on Wednesday, that the *rayats* mentioned firmly that they were forcibly made to take *zirat* land, which was made to bear the losses which the concern suffered owing to the fall in the price of indigo, that the manager in bravado said that he would gladly take the *zirat* back, that Mr. Gandhi promptly invited the names of those who wanted to surrender the *zirat* land. This mishap (to the concern) must have (so the theory runs) enraged the manager, and in order to discredit the enquiry, he must have instigated the fire. On Thursday, the day previous to the fire, the manager went to a neighbouring village, and spoke roughly to the people, inasmuch as they had surrendered their *zirat*, and threatened them by saying he would insist on their re-growing indigo. The *rayats* remained unmoved. This would be an additional reason for starting the fire. This, however, is purely an impression which may have no foundation in facts. One thing is certain that the mission has absolutely nothing to do with the fires. The value of the *katcheri* is unknown. It is not likely to be more than Rs. 200.[4]

The third method adopted is continuous pinpricks administered to the villagers. The latest instance of organised intimidation is where factory *amlas* went to a village, and molested the labourers of a small zamindar, who is a co-sharer in a small zamindari

[1] At Dhokraha

[2] An office building

[3] *Vide* Appendix VI (B).

[4] *Vide* enclosure to "Letter to W. B. Heycock", 22-5-1917.

with the factory, and who declines to surrender his share to it, and who is alleged to have circulated among the *rayats* the news of the mission. Statements have been received abundantly proving the alleged intimidation. Reports are continuously being received from individual *rayats* to the effect that they are threatened with all kinds of penalties for going to Mr. Gandhi and they come at considerable risk to themselves.

Needless to say that nothing will deter the workers from continuing their work. To abandon it would mean a terrible wrong done to the *rayats*. The presence of a body of workers, always listening to the simple but pathetic tale of their woes, and the knowledge that they are striving to help them and that the latter would go to them in the hour of need have buoyed them up and have given them hope and courage. The workers will be unworthy of their cause and country, if through fear or anything else, they for a moment thought of withdrawing until the *rayats* are able to breathe free.

Mr. Gandhi has addressed to the District Magistrate of Champaran a letter[1] on the incidents above set forth. Copies of this letter and other documents will be sent herewith or will shortly follow. The precautions thus taken may restrain the planters in their plan of intimidation. But the situation may develop at any moment and lawlessness may break out in intense form. It will now be understood that if this happens, the fault will in no way be that of the members of the mission, and that the public will understand that the mission will continue its work.

The foregoing emphasises the need for getting volunteers ready, so that they may start at a moment's notice. The volunteers must be grown up, responsible, sober and educated men. They should be inured to hardships or ready to bear hardships; they should come prepared to see the struggle through, they must have workable knowledge of Hindi (Tamils alone are, therefore, ineligible, unless they have picked up a little Hindi), they must be prepared to go to the villages and live in the midst of the *rayats*. It is estimated that they will have to work for at least 6 months.

M. K. GANDHI

From the typewritten office copy signed by Gandhiji: S.N. 6352. Courtesy: Gandhi Smarak Nidhi

[1] *Vide* the preceding item

315. LETTER TO DR. H. S. DEVA

BETTIAH,
May 21 [1917][1]

DEAR DR. DEVA,

I observe that you do not open Mr. Shastriar's letters and that therefore you do not see the documents[2] I have been sending. I have therefore put your name down also on the list of those to whom papers are being sent. This enables you to show them to anybody you choose. The object that nothing should appear in the papers at the present juncture should be kept in view. That condition being observed, you may show the papers to anyone you like.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat of the original in Gandhiji's hand : C. W. 5798

316. LETTER TO J. P. EDWARD

BETTIAH,
May 21, 1917

DEAR MR. EDWARD,

I thank you for your letter of the 20th instant. I have told the men the contents of your letter.

Yours,
M. K. GANDHI

Select Documents on Mahatma Gandhi's Movement in Champaran, No. 86, p. 152

[1] It was in 1917 that Gandhiji was in Bettiah on May 21.
[2] Such as the preceding item

317. LETTER TO W. B. HEYCOCK

BETTIAH,
May 22, 1917

DEAR MR. HEYCOCK,

I send herewith a further statement about Dhokraha fire which speaks for itself.

Yours truly,
M. K. GANDHI

[ENCLOSURE]

BETTIAH,
The 21st May, 1917

This morning at about 10 a.m. some men came from Dhokraha and informed Mr. Gandhi that some officers had been there. He was questioning them on the occurrence, when one of them said that he had heard that the doors of the *kachahri* had been removed by the factory men before the fire. I suggested that a local inspection might give us useful information. Mr. Gandhi accepted the suggestion and asked me to go to Dhokraha personally. Accordingly, I proceeded to the scene at once.

I reached Dhokraha at about 11.30 a.m. In the *kothi* I found only a cartman. He denied having been present during the time the fire was raging and informed me that the *chaukidar*[1] was. I asked him to fetch the *chaukidar*. Meanwhile I proceeded to inspect the *kachahri*.

This *kachahri* is situated inside the compound of the residential bungalow of the manager of the concern. It consists of a single room about 21 feet by 15 feet roughly. . . .

The entire roof work has come down. The walls are made of bricks, plastered with mud. The whitewash on the walls, both inside and outside, is unaffected. Black was noticeable at the top at four or five places only. The appearance of the upper portion of the wall gives one the impression that the rafter of the roof must have been pulled away to prevent the spreading of the fire. The roof was thatched with straw over which was placed a covering of country tiles. . . At places in the heap of rubbish were noticeable charred rafters, both outside and inside the room. There was found a heap of partly burnt papers. I examined them. They were all *siahas*[2] and *sattas*. The *siahas* were

[1] Watchman

[2] Account books

[3] A harvest era introduced by Akbar. The year 1315 *Fasli* corresponds to (1315+593) 1908 A.D.

for the year 1313 *Fasli* and the year 1315 *Fasli*[3]. None of these were completely destroyed. ( ) . . .The doors as well as the frames of the three windows were altogether untouched by fire. The door C was not found in the buildings, nor was its framework there. This door is about 7½ feet by 5 feet. There were clear indications of the framework of the door being removed. The plaster had given way. The mud underneath the framework was quite clean. At the door D, the framework was charred all along, but not damaged much. There were a few hinges sticking to it. I examined them and the fresh removal of the rust from them clearly suggested that the screws had been taken out of them. One or two screws were found still in the holes. The door appertaining to this framework was not there. There were no indications in the debris of the frame or the door in their burnt condition. No panes were found at C. There were about half a dozen small pieces of glass.

This room is said to have been formerly used as an office where rent was collected. About 2 or 3 years back, it was stated, this office was closed and all the papers of the concern were removed to Loheria. Only a *chaukidar* remains in this compound. A house about a hundred yards away from the residential bungalow is occupied by the *kothi* men.

The examination of the debris showed that the contents of the room when the fire broke out could only have been meagre. I estimate the damage to be under Rs. 200.

BINDHYABASINI PRASAD VERMA
B.A., LL.B.

Select Documents on Mahatma Gandhi's Movement in Champaran, No. 92, pp. 158-9

318. LETTER TO REVASHANKAR SODHA

BETTIAH,
Jeth Sud 1 [May 22, 1917][1]

CHI. REVASHANKAR,

I have your postcard. If the Bhadla property goes, I shall blame you alone. You ought to have taken immediate steps. I sent you the reply which had been received. Why did you not apply right then? You should now give the enclosed letter to Behcharbhai. Take him with you and submit an application to the proper authority.

As for the expenses on the looms which you ask for, write to Chi. Maganlal. He will send what he thinks fit. You don't say what progress you have made. I don't know whether you devote all your time to your work. You are growing more proficient in

[1] Gandhiji was in Bettiah on this day.

weaving day by day; you should both devote yourselves entirely to that work. Then alone will you succeed.

You may, if so inclined, send Chi. Chhotam to Ahmedabad. Send him only if he is agreeable. It is necessary to win him over. Don't force him to go. It is because he was very eager to go with you that I allowed him. He will get along in Ahmedabad only if he is himself willing.

I shall never approve of your going to South Africa. I see nothing but harm in your submitting to Ratanshi's[1] desire in this matter. He keeps on writing but so far he has not sent a single pie. If you go there, I think your life will be wasted as his has been. If you wish, you may send this letter to Ratanshi.

I think weaving has a bright future, if only you two devote yourselves to it.

Blessings from
MOHANDAS

From the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: C.W. 3421. Courtesy: Revashankar Sodha

319. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL GANDHI

BETTIAH,
[After *May 22, 1917*][2]

CHI. CHHAGANLAL,

There is a letter from Revashankar[3] in which he asks for permission to send Chhotalal and also for some monetary help. I have told him that he should write to Chi. Maganlal about money and that he should send Chhotalal only if he is himself willing to come.

The accompanying papers will show that the situation here may take a serious turn any moment. Dr. Hariprasad and others who are ready to come here must give some time to learning Hindi. I think I have already written about this.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: S.N. 6358

[1] Addressee's father

[2] From the reference to Gandhiji's asking Revashankar to write to Maganlal about money, the letter appears to have been written after the preceding item.

[3] Sodha

320. LETTER TO W. B. HEYCOCK

MOTIHARI,
May 24, 1917

DEAR MR. HEYCOCK,

I arrived here last night and hope to remain in Motihari up to Sunday afternoon. I should be at your disposal during the time.

Yours truly,
M. K. GANDHI

From the original in Gandhiji's hand in the National Archives of India; also *Select Documents on Mahatma Gandhi's Movement in Champaran*, No. 96, p. 165

321. LETTER TO W. S. IRWIN[1]

MOTIHARI,
May 24, 1917

DEAR SIR,

Lakhan Rai and Kawaldhari, both *raiyats* of Baratola village Basatpur, in your *elaka*[2], tell me that their crops were uprooted and removed by your men on Sunday and Monday last, and that the removal took place in your presence. They further state that this was done as a punishment for their having come previously and made statements before my colleagues at Motihari. I may say that several men have come forward who have corroborated Lakhan Rai's statement as to the uprooting and removal of crops. I shall be obliged if you will be good enough to let me know whether there is any truth in the statements made.

Yours faithfully,
M. K. GANDHI

Select Documents on Mahatma Gandhi's Movement in Champaran, No. 98, pp. 165-6

[1] A leading planter; manager of the Motihari Indigo concern, the oldest in Champaran

[2] Jurisdiction

322. *LETTER TO CHIEF SECRETARY, BIHAR AND ORISSA*

BETTIAH,
May 25, 1917

TO
THE CHIEF SECRETARY
THE GOVERNMENT OF BIHAR AND ORISSA
RANCHI

SIR,

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letters of the 19th and the 21st instant.

I am grateful for the letters and the assurances contained therein.

I am suggesting that [as] the matters complained of by me required immediate treatment, it was not contemplated that the Government could pass orders without receiving reports from the local officers and without hearing the landlords. Had I intended otherwise, the sending of copies of my note[1] to the local officers and the Planters' Associations would have been purposeless. If I may be permitted to say so, the instructions to the local officers and the invitation to the Planters' Associations to send in their reports or observations, as the case may be, before the 30th June next largely meets the situation in point of time.

With reference to the legal aspect and the decisions of courts, they have not escaped attention. But I venture to submit that legal decisions or legal technicalities cannot for a moment be allowed to perpetuate wrongs suffered by vast masses of people. With much respect, but every confidence, I submit that the situation presented by me raises grave moral issues which in order that justice may be done might necessitate disregard of legal technicalities and legal decisions where they are in conflict with real justice. The vast inequality between landlords and *rayats* renders it well-nigh impossible for courts of law or even Settlement Officers to arrive at the truth in cases brought before them. I see illustrations of the proposition just submitted multiplying before me every day. Instances are not wanting of wrongs having been rectified in spite of their having been countenanced by courts of justice.

[1] *Vide* "Report on Condition of Ryots in Champaran", 13-5-1917.

Regarding *abwabs*, I may be permitted to point out that the inclusion of a penalty clause in the forthcoming Bettiah Raj leases will grant only partial and tardy relief. For the leases will not cover the whole of the tenancies affected, and with respect to a wrong which has been unanimously admitted, the postponement of relief till the termination of and the renewal of the leases means unnecessary delay. I take it that the leases will not be renewed until the agrarian condition is placed on a sound basis. It may be added that a penalty clause in his lease is no remedy against a landlord who places himself above law. In my humble opinion, therefore, the issue of a notice warning landlords against exacting *abwabs*, *salami*[1], fines, etc., or impressing labour, carts, or ploughs and informing *raiyats* that they ought not to pay them and that they are not bound to give their landlords their labour or carts or ploughs will be most appropriate at the present moment, will ease the *raiyats*' minds and will be an earnest of the Government's desire to grant them speedy relief where relief is deemed necessary.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
M. K. GANDHI

From a typewritten copy. Courtesy: Gandhi Smarak Nidhi

323. LETTER TO W. B. HEYCOCK

MOTIHARI,
May 25, 1917

DEAR MR. HEYCOCK,

I have just now before me men from Ramsingh Chhatauni who tell me that they were beaten by Mr. Irwin on Sunday night. They say there are men too who saw an assault committed on a third man and themselves by the factory men.

Another man tells me that over fifty *bighas* of their own land was taken away from them by the *kothi* in exchange for some other land for which they did not then care and do not now care.

If these statements are true, they are serious. As there appears to be some tension, I want as far as is possible to avoid for a little time having to go to the *dehats*. But I feel however that I should visit Chhatauni this evening. And I shall leave

[1] Presents

here at 5.30 p.m. precisely unless you desire me to adopt any other course.[1]

Yours truly,
M. K. GANDHI

From the original in Gandhiji's hand in the National Archives of India; also *Select Documents on Mahatma Gandhi's Movement in Champaran*, No. 101, p. 168

324. LETTER TO W. B. HEYCOCK

MOTIHARI,
May 26, 1917

DEAR MR. HEYCOCK,

I thank you for your note of yesterday's date. I received it at 6.45 a. m. today.

My messenger who took my note told me that you were away and brought the information that you were expected back at about 2 p.m. After waiting up to 6 p.m. I decided to go to Chhalauni as I was anxious to pay a surprise visit and as I had prevented the man who had come to me from preced[ing][2] me.

Yours truly,
M. K. GANDHI

From the original in Gandhiji's hand in the National Archives of India; also *Select Documents on Mahatma Gandhi's Movement in Champaran*, No. 101 (A), p. 169

325. LETTER TO ESTHER FAERING

BETTIAH,
May 26, 1917

MY DEAR ESTHER,

Your letter is so good that I am taking the liberty of sending it to the Polaks to read and then forward it to Ahmedabad. I hope you don't mind my having taken the liberty.

Those who do not grow indigo, also want to make illegal gains. Hence they force the *raiyats* on their land to labour for them at a trifling wage or none at all at times and make them pay extras apart from rents. Yes, the condition is no better than that of

[1] Heycock replied: "I prefer to leave it to you to do as you think best."
[2] The letter is damaged here.

slaves. The further papers I have sent you will throw more light on the question. I must say that the planters are not alone to blame. The planters happen to be English. Indian landlords are not better and some of them are much worse. It is undoubtedly the ignorance on this point of public men that has permitted the wrong to continue so long. Governments rarely move except under pressure.

For you no doubt Tamil takes precedence of every other language. But it will be most helpful if you could master the Devanagari script. It is easy and it is the most perfect alphabet in the world in that each letter represents only one sound and almost all the sounds are represented by it.

Yours,
BAPU

My Dear Child, pp. 10-1

326. SPREADING HINDI[1]

Hindi alone can become the common language of the educated people of India. All that has to be considered is how this can be brought about. The place that English is trying to usurp today, and which it is impossible for it to take, must be given to Hindi; for it alone has the right to it. This place cannot go to English, for it is a foreign language and very difficult for us to learn. Learning Hindi is child's play in comparison. The number of those speaking Hindi is almost 65 million. The Bengali, Bihari, Oriya, Marathi, Gujarati, Rajasthani, Punjabi and Sindhi languages are sisters of Hindi. People speaking these languages can understand and speak a little of Hindi. If we include these, the number is almost 220 million. How then can English, which even a hundred thousand Indians cannot speak correctly, compete successfully with a language which is so widely used? That to this day we have not even begun conducting our national business in Hindi is because of our cowardice, lack of faith and ignorance of the greatness of the Hindi language. If we give up our cowardice, cultivate faith and realize the greatness of the Hindi language, Hindi will begin to be used for the work of our national and Provincial councils and Government organizations. The beginning should be made in the

[1] This article in Hindi was sent for publication to various papers in May 1917.

Provinces. If there is some difficulty in this, it is for people speaking the Dravidian languages like Tamil, etc., but we have the remedy for this too. Hindi-knowing men who are zealous, brave, full of self-respect and energetic should be sent to Madras and other provinces to teach Hindi without receiving payment. With the help of such heroic missionaries, the educated people of Madras, etc., can learn Hindi in a very short time. If we have the right spirit, the solution is as simple as the rule of three.

The more instructors are sent, the faster will be the spread of Hindi. Besides the sending of teachers, self-instruction books should also be prepared. These books should be distributed free. Famous speakers should also be sent to bring home to the people the importance of learning Hindi.

What it is necessary to do in Tamil Nad for the spread of Hindi, it is desirable to do in Bombay and other provinces. Hindi books should be prepared for people speaking Marathi, Gujarati, etc., and workers should be sent to those areas.

This work requires money. The well-to-do among us should not take it as a burden. It is their duty to assist in this gigantic enterprise. It is necessary to set up a small committee to organize this. It will be proper to see that only active workers are put on it.

One important matter is implied in this submission and that is that no distinction is made between Hindi and Urdu. Indeed, why should we quarrel with our Muslim brethren? They may use the Persian script. A few among us know the Persian script and more will learn it. So long as our Muslim brethren have not learnt the Devnagari, both the scripts will continue to be used for national work. However, this is a matter we can decide in a fraternal spirit with our Muslim brethren. Right now the chief task is to spread the national language throughout India in the Devnagari script.

[From Hindi]

Pratap, 28-5-1917

327. STATEMENT TO THE PRESS ON CHAMPARAN COMMITTEE

BANKIPORE,
May 29, 1917

With reference to *The Pioneer*'s statement announcing the Bihar Government's intention to appoint a committee of enquiry into the relations between zamindars and tenants in general and European planters and their ryots in particular, Mr. Gandhi has issued the following statement to the Press.

If the continuing known wrongs are immediately redressed, any inquiry covering definite issues with a time-limit as to its findings is likely to meet the existing situation. The work of my colleagues and myself will then for the time being mostly consist in marshalling leading evidence before the enquiry committee.

The Pioneer, 31-5-1917

328. LETTER TO W. B. HEYCOCK

BETTIAH,
May 30, 1917

DEAR MR. HEYCOCK,

I beg to enclose herewith for your information copy of my letter to Mr. Irwin.

I have received a summons to wait on the L.-G.[1] at Ranchi on the 4th June.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From the original in Gandhiji's hand in the National Archives of India; also *Select Documents on Mahatma Gandhi's Movement in Champaran*, No. 107, p. 173

[1] Lieutenant-Governor

329. LETTER TO W. S. IRWIN

BETTIAH,
May 30, 1917

DEAR SIR,

Owing to certain statements made by your *raiyats* of Tola Gujpura Ramsingh, Chhatauni, I paid on Friday last a surprise visit to the Tola at about 8 p.m.

I met over fifty villagers and they pointed out to me a piece of land said to be 51 *bighas* in extent which (they said) had been recently converted by you into *zirat*. They said that in most cases they were given an equivalent in extent but not in quality. They pointed out the village pasturage bordering on the converted *zirat* which (they said) had now become practically inaccessible owing to the fear of their cattle being impounded. They showed me also the only way (according to their statement) leading to the cattle pound, and said that they could not for the same fear use it as it passed by the *zirat*. The men bitterly complained that the dispossession which they hold was forcible had caused them a great loss. They stated that at the time of conversion they were made to put their thumb impressions to certain documents the contents of which they did not know and the copies of which they were not given.

Hiraman Lohar, who was one of the party, told me that he was assaulted on Sunday, the 20th instant, by your employees for having remonstrated with them on their trying to take his *bhusa*[1], and that he was only released on the importunity of the villagers who intervened on his behalf. Nepali and Japal, nephew and son, respectively, of Hiraman, told me that as a result of the occurrence they were on their way to me. The cry was raised that they were going to the *thana*. Your men thereupon ran after them, seized them (so it is stated) and took them to you. They added that you whipped them. One of them showed strong marks on his calves and on his back. They were sent by you to the *murghikhana*[2] and were fined Rs. 10 each. They were released at midnight on their promising to secure the fines in the morning. For these fines a guarantee was given by Mahajan Liladhar Sah to your representative the next morning.

[1] The husk of grain; chaff

[2] A fowl-house

Jadu Rai, of village Katha, son of Man Singh Rai, came to me at Motihari on the 26th instant and said that he held six *bighas* of land, that he had paid Rs. 75 as *tawan* in lieu of indigo cultivation, that for failure to supply a plough to the factory and to pay a fine of Rs. 100 in default he was dispossessed of his land and made to sign a document. He showed me a receipt No. 102 dated 1323 [*sic*] for Rs. 14.6.9.

I feel it but right that I should bring to your notice matters of the character above referred to. I should esteem it a favour if you would throw light on the incidents I have described.

Yours faithfully,
M. K. GANDHI

Select Documents on Mahatma Gandhi's Movement in Champaran, No. 103, pp. 173-4

330. LETTER TO CHIEF SECRETARY, BIHAR

BETTIAH,
May 30, 1917

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 27th instant on the agrarian situation in Champaran.

I shall be pleased to wait on His Honour at Ranchi on Monday next, the 4th June, at midday.

Your letter raises issues which it is impossible for me to ignore if I am faithfully to serve the cause that keeps me in Champaran.

It is part of the *raiyats'* case that the planters will stop short of nothing to gain their end. I have noticed ever since my arrival the very great and undue influence that the planters enjoy over everybody and in everything. They have striven their best to have me removed from Champaran. They have not hesitated to impute motives to the honourable men who at considerable personal sacrifice have been giving me valuable assistance. They have without doubt used at least "moral suasion" in keeping the *raiyats* from coming to me. At Dhokraha I witnessed the sorrowful spectacle of two or three men declaiming, in the presence of the Manager and the Subdivisional Officer, on the virtues of the *kothi* in front of a crowd of nearly 500 men who complained bitterly against the *kothi* about *zirat* land forced on them and fines exacted from them for disobedience. These witnesses were brought by the Manager from Loheria to say that Loheria had no complaint and that the Dhokraha complaints were due to the machinations of one or two agitators. Since then many Loheria *raiyats* have come and complained

precisely in the same manner as Dhokraha men. It should be noted that if full justice is done to the *raiyats*, planters stand to lose huge yearly incomes and many privileges they have hitherto enjoyed. In the circumstances, I do not entirely discount the statement the *raiyats* make to me that the fires have been instigated by the *kothis* in question to discredit my mission and to remove me from their midst. The *raiyats* add that they might be given some credit for selfishness and that their self-interest should deter them from incendiarism or such other acts. I have submitted to the District Magistrate the results of my inquiry[1] into the Dhokraha fire. I beg to enclose copy of my letter to Mr. Heycock.[2] I am, however, willing to disbelieve the *raiyats*' theory and put down the fire to natural accidents. I may add, however, that in the Dhokraha fire, it was the roofing alone that was burnt. But I venture to suggest that even if it is the wilful act of a maniacal *raiyat* done in the excitement caused by my presence, it would be no justification for my removal, unless the Government are satisfied that I have been directly or indirectly instrumental in causing the fires. Finally, there have been fires in the *kothis* before my arrival and that the excitement in Champaran as admitted by the Commissioner was in existence long before I entered Bihar. I wish respectfully to warn the Government that they will have utterly misunderstood the position if they remove me from the *raiyats*. I have no desire to do aught except promote peace between the planters and the *raiyats* so as to secure to the *raiyats* the freedom and dignity that should belong to all mankind.

I ask the Government to dismiss from their minds the theory suggested by the planters that the present excitement is caused by mischievous persons for private reasons. Planters are too powerful to be touched by any person, no matter how mischievous he may be. The *raiyats* say that they never deserved the police guards that were placed in their villages and that they were part of the policy of repression pursued by the planters. It is admitted that in Sathi the Manager was more to blame than the *raiyats*, and yet the *raiyats* had to pay with their blood and money. It is all peace there now, because the Manager knows his work. I have before me statements from over 7,000 *raiyats* from all parts of Champaran. I have seen all of them though I have found it impossible personally to take down their statements. It is difficult for me to believe that they all tell lies at the instigation of a few mischievous men.

[1] & [2] *Vide* "Letter to W. B. Heycock", 22-5-1917.

I enclose copies of my letters[1] addressed to the Manager of the Motihari concern. I have not had any reply to my first communication. Probably there is the other side to the story, but the incidents described show at what risk the *raiyats* come to me. I quote what Mr. Johnston[2], one time Subdivisional Officer in Bettiah Subdivision, had to say in 1914 regarding the methods adopted by planters to bend the *raiyats* to their will :

There are four methods prevalent in this subdivision compelling recalcitrant tenants to pay up. The commonest way is by putting peons on, the petitions do not allege that this has been done. The next way is to attach crops standing on *khalihan*[3], but this also is not alleged. Then sometimes the barbers and washermen are stopped from rendering their services; the petitioners only fear this, it has not been done yet. Finally, a very effective means is to impound the *raiyats'* cattle either in a private pound or if the D. B. pound is leased out to the landlord then in it.

The report itself is otherwise hostile to the *raiyats*. I am of opinion that it did not do justice to the *raiyats*. I give this opinion in all humility and after having thoroughly gone into the situation. It is often forgotten that it is not necessary for the planters to resort to force actually in every case. The fact that it is there to be used on the slightest attempt at the show of independence is enough to prevent recalcitrancy. I respectfully submit that planters have had it their own way long enough [so] that the *raiyats* are in a condition of paralysis. They are worthy of patient care and attention from the Government. But the latter will not render that help, unless they are prepared to believe the *raiyats'* story (exaggerated no doubt it will be) in preference to the planters'.

I tender my apology for the length of this communication. If I have been over-frank, the cause I espouse must be my excuse. It is too great to admit of tinkering. I hope that at a crisis like the one that faces the Government and the people of India, the Government do not wish me to conceal my feelings.

I am deeply grateful to His Honour that he has decided to have a personal conversation with me. I shall hope for the sake of the *raiyats* that nothing I may say or do will adversely affect their cause, and that I shall find the right word in His Honour's

[1] *Vide* letters to Irwin, 24-5-1917 & 30-5-1917.

[2] Edward Hamilton Johnston, I.C.S., Subdivisional Officer, Bettiah, in 1913-4

[3] The threshing floor

presence so that he can appreciate the awfulness of the *raiyats'* position even as I do.

Select Documents on Mahatma Gandhi's Movement in Champaran, No. 109, pp. 174-7

331. NOTES ON THE SITUATION IN CHAMPARAN–V

BETTIAH,
May 30, 1917

CONFIDENTIAL

The matters seem to be reaching a crisis as will appear from the enclosed letter[1] from the Government and reply[2] thereto. If Mr. Gandhi and his colleagues are removed, it is expected that the leaders will one after another step into the breach. In order to do this, it is necessary to realize the inner situation here. It is this: *raiyats* are so paralysed and have suffered so long that they had begun to believe that deliverance was never coming. They now feel the warmth of the proximity of their own countrymen who are at least willing to listen to them if they can render no effective help. This has been enough to rouse their drooping spirits. It will be cruel to leave them unguarded until the question is settled and their independence guaranteed to them. Forcible removal of the mission is likely to lead to terrorism and under it to recantation of the statements hitherto made. A further note with the papers referred to in the reply to the Chief Secretary will follow.

M. K. GANDHI

From the typewritten office copy signed by Gandhiji. Courtesy: Gandhi Smarak Nidhi

[1] Chief Secretary's letter of 27-5-1917; *vide Select Documents*, No.103, p. 170.
[2] *Vide* the preceding item.

332. LETTER TO SANKALCHAND SHAH

BETTIAH,
Jeth Sud 1 [*May 30, 1917*][1]

BHAISHRI SANKALCHAND,

I happen to be free at the moment. I read your letter again, and also the time-table[2]. A time-table always gives me a headache. I have made no attempt to remember this one.

I think history and geography, which have been mentioned as separate subjects, should be included under Gujarati. We want to develop the intellect through the Gujarati language. For that purpose, we may use a language book one day and a text on history the next. We should orally go over the matter to be taught and then make [the students] read something on it. This will reduce the quantum of literature by a little, but that should not matter. If the history and the geography being taught are of the same country, the latter will be easy to learn and prove interesting. As for history, to the extent that we treat it as literature, we may give [the students] some well-phrased pithy sentences. For instance, "We look upon Ramachandra as an *avatar*, as God Himself. The term *avatar* is of Sanskrit origin. *Avatru* means to descend. God's descent (to this earth) is his *avatar*. But at the moment we are not thinking of Rama as an *avatar*. We shall only consider the Rama of history." Whether these sentences have any life in them, you teachers know best. But they are good enough to illustrate my point. This will cover literature all right. We may compose many such sentences as we narrate the history of Ramachandra. We may first dictate them or write them out on the blackboard and then tell the story. We may deliberately use some difficult words, as we do so. The pupils will want to know their meanings and so the discussion will proceed. Since he was born in Ayodhya, it will be necessary to explain its geography. There will of course be a map. How far it is from Ahmedabad, how one may arrive there, what it is like today, whether it answers to the poet's description of it—all this is literature, history, and geography combined. You must first make up your mind, while telling a story

[1] Gandhiji was in Bettiah on this day.

[2] Of Gandhiji's National School; *vide* "National Gujarati School", after 18-1-1917.

like this, how much literature you wish to teach, how much of history and how much of geography and then be as one with the pupils.

Sanskrit should be simplified and, if it is grouped with Marathi and the two taught on alternate days, there will be some saving of time. It may not be that there will be one or the other of the two languages every day, but the principle will apply. We must reduce the hours for each. So long as we have only the Ashram boys in the school, there is no need to provide separately for religious instruction. It will suffice to tell them the stories we want to at prayer time.

I am of the view that, if Kaka[1] is an expert in drill, the classes should start and end with it. It will be enough to have it for five minutes at the commencement and five minutes at the end. This is to be followed after the movements have been learnt. Time should be found on one of the week days for teaching the movements. What is taught on that day may be practised for a week.

Agricultural work will be difficult till some land has been obtained. Perhaps it will be best to drop it for the time being. The man who teaches us should be one who has himself been a successful farmer. If a gardener is available, he should remain on the farm and teach us various techniques, which we, teachers and pupils, may learn for a year or two. We may then go into the science of agriculture. It will not be possible to provide for some hours of agricultural work to all the boys every day. But they can learn the work only if every week different classes are given two or three days by turns. Forty minutes are not enough for the purpose. They may suffice for learning the science of agriculture theoretically. The same is true of weaving. Both will require constant practice. It will be necessary, therefore, to set apart days on which pupils can give at least two hours at a stretch. If Shri Pandya knows both the theory and the practice of agriculture and if he agrees to join, no doubt he will be very useful. As a rule, a man coming from a Government agricultural school cannot, I believe, be of much help to us. Ask Maganlal to tell the story of Nagin Babu of Santiniketan. It was not his fault. How could he help it?

It is not necessary to teach carpentry till a boy is twelve. A child is not able even to lift or use a hammer. At a later age, we shall have no option but to teach it. It should be treated as a part of agriculture. This is not done in India. It is, however, a kind of work which we shall not be able to do till we have moved to our own land.

[1] Kalelkar

You must find a Gujarati equivalent for "workshop". Will *karakhanu* do? Someone had mentioned "metric system" in the curriculum. Henceforward, we should be careful about using such terms. There are so many points like these over which we have to break our heads. If you do that, our children will enjoy the fruits.

It will be enough to give every division one hour weekly for hygiene. The teacher should keep a watch whether the things taught in these hours are acted upon during the rest of the week. Because the pupil doesn't have another hour for the subject on the other days, it does not mean that the teacher has forgotten what he taught in that week. If a boy attends the school with his nails grown and filled with dirt, the teacher can ask him, even during the period for arithmetic, why his nails are dirty and what he had been taught on this point.

It is certain that Professor (what is the Gujarati for this? Or, will it have to be retained in the language just as it is?) Kripalani will join. He will take a trial for some time. If the thing is not beyond his capacity, he will join. For the present, he just cannot get away from here.

I have written at length on some points, saying things which may appear rather silly. My anxiety to make myself quite clear was the reason.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS

Something remains yet.

Music will have to be left out till we get a teacher for it. Since due weight is not attached to it, the thing has remained with actors and *bhaktas*[1]. We must consider before taking in an actor. A *bhakta* we are not likely to get. Write to the Gandharva [Maha]vidyalaya and see if you succeed. Will you please send a list of the equipment needed for science? I hesitate to buy costly equipment before we have become stable. If any books are wanting, it will be good if you make a list of them as well.

Please treat all my observations as no more than suggestions for consideration. Whether or not they should be implemented is left to the inclinations of you all.

I am returning your letter and the curriculum.

From a photostat of the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: S.N. 6360

[1] Devotees of God

333. LETTER TO MAGANLAL GANDHI

BETTIAH,
[*May, 1917*][1]

CHI. MAGANLAL,

I have your letter. You did well in writing to respected Khushalbhai. If you have faith in our common kitchen and no less in Khushalbhai, it is bound to be rewarded. You may even go further and tell him that we may introduce any rules of cleanliness he suggests. You should explain to him politely but firmly that dharma does not consist in these notions about being defiled by contact with this or the other thing. As Akha has sung : "That one may be defiled by touch of others, like a superfluous limb is this notion." Here, I am being showered with love. There is no end to people's suffering. I am getting a wonderful experience of villages.

If Mavji is otherwise a good man, fix a pay for him. It is necessary that such men get trained and pick up everything about weaving, so that we can employ thousands of them.

Show all the accounts to the gentleman who has come forward to pay the expenses of the Ashram. If he does, I see nothing wrong in accepting what he gives. I am writing[2] to Prabhudas to tell him that he may now come here if he wants to. It is quite true that, had Chhaganlal been late this time, he would have been too late to be of any help. As things have by chance come off in time at the last hour, one feels as if everything has been all right.

You want to know when my work here will be over. From the magnitude of the task, it would seem that it might take years. If I go by my faith, I think it will take six months. I have here men of sterling worth to help me. More are likely to join. I continue to have God's mercy in abundance. It is not true that Prabhudas's brain has grown dull for want of milk. Chi. Chhaganlal wonders if this is so. The reason is to be found in Prabhudas's passing from one phase of growth to another. When passing through an important change of this kind, many people feel disturbed in one way or another. Moreover, as I could see while teaching Prabhudas, he worked very hard competing with

[1] This is given by the addressee on the letter.
[2] This letter is not available.

Devdas. He has some excellent qualities. He has exerted himself beyond his limits, considering his age and capacity. He feels exhausted now.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: C.W. 5711. Courtesy: Radhabehn Choudhri

334. LETTER TO W. B. HEYCOCK

BETTIAH,
June 1, 1917

DEAR MR. HEYCOCK,

I think I promised to refer you to the report from which I had quoted to you regarding the methods the factories adopted to make the *raiyats* to do their will.[1] This report is dated the 22nd July 1914 and is signed by Mr. E. H. Johnston, S.D.O., Bettiah. It is a report about the Bettiah factory.

Yours truly,
M. K. GANDHI

From the original in Gandhiji's hand in the National Archives of India; also *Select Documents on Mahatma Gandhi's Movement in Champaran*, No. 110, p. 190

335. LETTER TO V. S. SRINIVASA SASTRI

MOTIHARI,
CHAMPARAN,
June 1 [1917]

DEAR MR. SHASTRIAR,

I wonder if the enclosed[2] has reached from another source. I know you would like it.

Hoping you are keeping well.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat of the original in Gandhiji's hand: G.N. 6296

[1] For this quotation, *vide* "Letter to Chief Secretary, Bihar", 30-5-1917.
[2] Not available

336. LETTER TO MAGANLAL GANDHI

BETTIAH,
Jeth Sud 11, Samvat 1973 [June 1, 1917]

CHI. MAGANLAL,

The friend Kishorelal about whom Chandulal wrote has arrived here. But his health is not too good and I am sending him back. He is a fine man. I have suggested to him that he may join the school. I take it that you will let him join.

In the letter I posted this morning, I could not complete the point towards the end. If Fulchand and Narahari were not included among the inmates, the idea was to suggest that, at the critical hour, they should be free to get some experience of jail here if they so desire. It is because of Sankalchand that the school has started. Even if he wants to, he cannot come here. I cannot imagine the school without Kaka at present. Sankalchand cannot run it by himself. And so Kaka must remain. He doesn't have anything more to learn here. I think he is a veteran. He can work hard enough. What he has to learn is to serve, tied down to one spot, and he has now such an opportunity. Mama can work half the time in the school and half on the loom or he can work all the time on the loom. He is much in the same position as Kaka. All that is to be learnt here is to suffer, when the hour comes, and go to jail. Mama has passed the test in this school. Without Chhotalal, how could you run the loom by yourself? For him, moreover, going to jail is a kind of indulgence, so to say. Jail is no hardship to him. If there is hardship anywhere, it is there. That, too, he bears and will go on bearing. If Santok remains there, the girls will be looked after and Vrajlal can also be free of the kitchen. Chhaganlal can be spared if Khushalbhai has gone over there. Punjabhai will then keep accounts as well as he may. Who will be asking for them? This is the arrangement that occurs to me. No one from among the teachers is obliged to join in work of this kind, nor do I expect them to. All that I have suggested is that, even if any of them want to join, only two can be spared. For the immediate present, however, I don't see the need for anyone besides Devdas to come. When you, Mama and Chhotalal have acquired full mastery over the loom, you yourselves will take up the fight, without depending on me, for the uplift of handloom workers. When Sankalchand and others are in full command of the

National School, the teachers will themselves take up the struggle for the spread of that type of education everywhere. If I am a free man and alive, I shall join in that effort too. If not, this struggle will have shown the way to you all.

One-pointed is the intellect
that functions with a purpose, son of Kuru!
Many-branched and infinite are the movements
of the intellect devoid of purpose.[1]

This covers everything.

Once we have decided what we want and are resolved not to be deterred by anything that may follow, the developments will show us the way. There is not much to be learnt in how I listen to people's tales [of suffering] and take their statements. This contains a reply to Mama's letter too. Show him the whole letter. It seems you have forgotten about the letter to Narandas, or the one from him, that you were to send to me. You may employ any labour that may be necessary except for weaving. As to the charges, we can go as far as reasonable market rates. What you say about the plan of the house seems all right to me. If you go to live there, put up the hedge immediately. What it will be of, you may consider and decide. I have already given the plan I should like. See that the verandahs around the house are wide enough. It will be all right to have the teachers' rooms in front, as also those for Lalji and others. I can't think [about the arrangement] for respected Khushalbhai. You may do so yourself. It also remains to be seen what he decides in response to my letter[2]. I think we shall have to spend up to Rs. 20,000 on the buildings; we can manage that. We shall be receiving Rs. 2,000 annually from Doctor Saheb. He has not so far paid the sum [for this year] but I take it that he will do so now. Let him know your needs. I am treating the land as a separate item. If you think it necessary to use full-baked bricks for the construction of the buildings, do so. The Executive Engineer there is Mr. Tyobji. He will help you. Punjabhai was with me when he took me to see the jail.

Yes, it is quite right to pay the salaries from the Ashram reserves. We shall see what to do when some one donates money for the school. The teachers' quarters will also be constructed out of the Ashram funds. They should, if they can, pay rent at the rate of six per cent, or any other rate which may be considered

[1] *Bhagavad Gita*, II.41
[2] Not available

reasonable, on the cost of the land and all the other expenses. This answers all your points.

Blessings from
BAPU

What Chhaganlal says about Jivanlalbhai having been paid up to the 15th is not right. I have already arranged that a fortnight's salary should be remitted to him in advance and that subsequently he should be paid on the first of every month. You can make sure by looking into the cheque book and consulting Fulchand. It is not our idea that we should meet our expenses in the future out of the interest. As far as possible, we shall live within whatever we receive, unasked, for the expenses. But, to the extent that we fail in our *tapascharya*, we shall appeal for donations. This is the way all great undertakings in the world are carried on. Institutions which are maintained out of interest lose vitality in the end. People will maintain any institution that they need. If the Shriji [temple] were without its rich wealth, the priests would be more concerned with their spiritual state. The teachers need not get alarmed by this view of mine or by the proposed arrangement. In the notes lying with Shukla Saheb[1] and Revashankarbhai, there is sufficient reserve to meet their needs for four years. I have, all the same, written to the Doctor asking him to undertake the responsibility of meeting all the expenses for the present, and I think he will. Send him a complete estimate for the year. When I am outside [jail] the question does not arise.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: C.W. 5713. Courtesy: Radhabehn Choudhri

[1] D. B. Shukla

337. LETTER TO MAHARAJA BAHADUR SIR RAMESHWAR SINGH

RANCHI,
June 4, 1917

DEAR MAHARAJA SAHEB BAHADUR[1],

In accordance with your suggestion, I reduce to writing my views about the proposed inquiry.

In my opinion, simultaneously with the appointment of a Committee of Enquiry (or arbitration, as suggested herein below), there should be declaration regarding the various points referred to in my letter to the Government dated the 13th May last.[2] *Tinkathia* in every shape and form, hand-notes being balances of *tawan* and *hundas* as in the Dhokraha *kothi*, should be declared as abolished or cancelled.

I have no desire, if I can help it, to lead evidence as to the coercive methods adopted by the planters to bend the *raiyats* to their will except in so far as it may be necessary regarding *sharahbeshi* and *tawan*. I am anxious to see cordial relations established between the planters and the *raiyats*. And in any inquiry that is the result of a mutual understanding, an investigation into methods of coercion can find no place.

There would then remain only the question of *sharahbeshi*, *sattas* and individual hardships, in the shape of *raiyats* having been dispossessed of their lands, etc., and the refund of *tawan* and *sharahbeshi* already taken. These the Committee will investigate. *Sharahbeshi* payments should meanwhile be suspended.

The Committee will confine its attention to *sharahbeshi sattas* not covered by the forthcoming judgment of the High Court, the latter to be accepted as final by both the parties. Inquiry into *sharahbeshi sattas* will then naturally be postponed till after the judgment of the High Court.

Upon the Committee being appointed, the scope of our work will be altered. It will then consist in collecting, collating and leading evidence and in simultaneously carrying out the educative and protective programme sketched before you.

Such a Committee, then, may be in the nature of an arbitration of which the planters' and the *raiyats'* nominees (one of each)

[1] Of Darbhanga, Member, Executive Council, Bihar and Orissa

[2] *Vide* "Report on Condition of Ryots in Champaran", 13-5-1917.

will be members with the right to them to appoint an umpire. The decision of the arbitration should be treated as final and binding on both the parties. Behind it, in the place of judicial authority, will be that of the Government, if either party failed to carry out the award of the arbitration. This is a domestic quarrel and if it is settled in the manner indicated by me, it will create a healthy precedent.

If, however, it may not be in the nature of an arbitration, it will then be a Committee appointed by the Government, two members being the same as under the arbitration scheme and the president being a High Court Judge.

If there is any point herein which requires elucidation and if it is so desired, I shall be prepared to wait on the Council at any time required.

I remain,
Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

Select Documents on Mahatma Gandhi's Movement in Champaran, No. 115, pp. 198-9

338. INTERVIEW WITH LT.-GOVERNOR OF BIHAR[1]

June 5, 1917

I discussed with Mr. Gandhi this afternoon, Chief Secretary being present, the question of the step to be taken in connection with the Champaran situation. I explained to Mr. Gandhi that he had now had ample time to obtain all the information he needed, and that the *raiyats* were getting in an excited state, and it was necessary in some way to put an end to a situation which was rapidly becoming a dangerous one. It is impossible for Mr. Gandhi himself to settle the questions which have been raised, as the planters would not recognise his authority; also for him to attempt to do so would be assuming the functions of Government. Government had intended to postpone their consideration of the points at issue until the settlement report had been received, but they recognise that, in present circumstances, this is no longer possible. It was decided, therefore, to appoint a Committee consisting of a senior revenue officer from another province (Mr. Sly) as President, and the following members:—Mr. Rainy, Deputy Secretary, Financial Department, Government of India; Mr. Adami, Legal Remembrancer; Mr. D. Reid, representative of the planters on the Legislative Council; Raja Harihar Prasad Narayan Singh of Amawan, as the representative of the zamindars; and Mr. Gandhi himself as the representative of the *raiyats*. The appointment of the last three gentlemen, of course, could only be made with their consent, and

[1] This is a note by Lt.-Governor, shown to Gandhiji and altered by him.

I asked Mr. Gandhi if he would agree to serve. He said at first that he would prefer to remain outside the Committee, so that he might lead the evidence. But, after some discussion, he admitted that there were advantages in his being on the Committee, provided that it was recognised by Government that he had his own pronounced views which he might not readily change, and also that he would wish to place his own evidence before the Committee in the form of a written statement, on which the other members of the Committee would of course examine him. He also wished that he might be given freedom to produce witnesses for examination. I said that even if he were on the Committee, he would have as much freedom in these respects as if he had remained outside it. Mr. Gandhi then asked for time to consult Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, and promised to let me know his decision as soon as he had seen that gentleman at Bankipore.

Mr. Gandhi agreed that the following terms of reference to the Committee were suitable, namely:

> "To enquire into the relations between landlord and tenant in the Champaran district as also into all disputes arising out of the manufacture and cultivation of indigo. The Committee to examine the material already available, supplementing it by such further enquiry, local and otherwise, as they consider desirable. They should report their conclusions to Government, if possible by the 15th October, and state the measures they recommend in order to remove any abuse or grievance which they might find to exist."

Mr. Gandhi asked if it might be taken as certain that the above terms of reference covered all the points mentioned in his note of 13th May[1], including the question of *sharahbeshi sattas*, although a case relating to them is pending in the High Court. I replied in the affirmative.

Mr. Gandhi presumed that the term "material already available" would include any evidence which he might wish to tender. I again replied in the affirmative.

Mr. Gandhi said that in his opinion the proceedings of the Committee should be of an informal and summary nature. I said I was inclined to agree but thought this might be left to the discretion of the Commissioners.

> Mr. Gandhi, on his part, undertakes at once to put a stop to his enquiry and to abstain henceforth from taking a single statement, and also from visiting any *dehat* or allowing any of his assistants to do so. Mr. Gandhi does not want the *raiyats* to feel that
> 'A' he has deserted them, and is unwilling on that account to leave the district altogether, pending the assembly of the Committee. But he undertakes not to go beyond Bettiah and Motihari; after short visits to these places, he will go on a visit to Ahmedabad.

[1] *Vide* "Report on Condition of Ryots in Champaran", 13-5-1917.

Mr. Gandhi asked that orders should issue at once putting a stop to illegal acts, such as the levy of *abwabs* and the impressment of labour. I said we could not do this unless at the same time we issued a notice which the planters asked us to issue, stating that Mr. Gandhi had no official recognition. Mr. Gandhi said he would be quite willing to see both statements made; but finally he agreed that in lieu of any such notice precise instructions should be issued to the local officers to take vigorous action to prevent all abuses that may come to light. For instance, the taking of *abwabs* must, as far as possible, be finally stopped, use being made where necessary of the power of refusing to renew leases. Similarly, the illegal impressment of labour, carts and ploughs must by all means be prevented wherever it comes to notice.

Mr. Gandhi asked that warnings should be sent to planters not to impress carts or coolies or collect *abwabs*, etc., during the interval which will elapse before the report of the Committee is received. I replied that the planters would take offence, if Government were to issue such a warning, as it would imply a prejudging of their case, but said that when the planter-member of the Committee is appointed, I would point out to him the harm that would be done if such practices occurred, and ask him to consider the desirability of making such a communication to his brother-planters.

The following action should now be taken:—

(1) The Government of India should be informed briefly of the decision arrived at, and it should be mentioned that Mr. Tanner has been selected as Secretary instead of Mr. Tallents.

(2) Mr. Reid and the Raja of Amawan should be asked if they will serve on the Committee.

(3) A letter should be sent to the Commissioner informing him of the fact that it has been decided to refer the whole question of the agrarian conditions in Champaran to a Committee, the constitution of which will be communicated to him as soon as possible and that, meanwhile, Mr. Gandhi has agreed (as at 'A' above). The Planters' Association should also be informed of the decision arrived at.

(4) A short resolution to be drafted appointing the Committee, so that it may be issued as soon as possible after the constitution has been finally settled.

E. A. G[AIT]
5-6-1917

I have kept original draft signed by His Honour and altered by Mr. Gandhi.

H. MCPHERSON[1]

Select Documents on Mahatma Gandhi's Movement in Champaran, No. 117, pp. 203-6

[1] Chief Secretary to the Government of Bihar and Orissa

339. TELEGRAM TO CHIEF SECRETARY, BIHAR

BANKIPORE,
June 7, 1917

SUBJECT RESERVATIONS[1] AGREED I HAVE MUCH PLEASURE IN ACCEPTING NOMINATION PROPOSED COMMITTEE TO DEAL WITH AGRARIAN QUESTION CHAMPARAN. REGRET COULD NOT WIRE EARLIER AS HON'BLE PANDIT MALAVIYA ARRIVED JUST NOW HAVING MISSED TRAIN CONNECTION.

Select Documents on Mahatma Gandhi's Movement in Champaran, No. 118, p. 207

340. TELEGRAM TO CHIEF SECRETARY, BIHAR

BANKIPORE,
June 8, 1917

WHAT PURPORTS TO BE THE AUTHORITATIVE INFORMATION APPEARS AS ASSOCIATED PRESS TELEGRAM TODAY'S "ENGLISHMAN"[2] IF PLANTERS DESIRE OPEN ENQUIRY I AM ENTIRELY SATISFIED; MY SUGGESTION REGARDING PRIVACY WAS WHOLLY IN THEIR INTEREST: CANNOT HELP EXPRESSING REGRET APPEARANCE INFORMATION MAKES MY POSITION DELICATE WITH FRIENDS WHO THOUGH ENTITLED TO INFORMATION CANNOT RECEIVE IT FROM ME PROCEEDING BETTIAH IMMEDIATELY.

Select Documents on Mahatma Gandhi's Movement in Champaran, No. 120, p. 210

341. LETTER TO ESTHER FAERING

BETTIAH,
June 9, 1917

MY DEAR ESTHER,

As you will have seen from the papers sent to you, I have been to Ranchi, from which place I returned only yesterday to find your letters.

[1] *Vide* the preceding item.

[2] This mentioned, *inter alia*, the appointment of a Committee of Enquiry, and attributing to Gandhiji suggestions for enquiry in private and a time-limit for the Committee's report.

Yours is a difficult question to answer. The total effect of European activity has not been for the good of India. The general body of Europeans who have come to India have succumbed to the vices of the East instead of imposing their own virtues on the East. It could not well be otherwise. Religion has not made a lasting impression on them, as we see demonstrated even by the present war. My theory is that modern civilization is decidedly anti-Christian. And what Europeans have brought to India is that civilization, not the life of Jesus. You and a handful of others are striving to represent that life. It is bound to leave its mark upon the soil. But it must take time. "The mills of God grind slowly." You and people like you are not affected by the evil that stares you in the face. You get behind it, discover the good lying underneath and add it to your own stock, thus producing a perfect blend. What I want is a reciprocity of that method. And so I welcomed your visit to the Ashram, as I welcome that of many European friends who are true to their best traditions and are broadminded enough to take in the best that this land has to give. Have I made myself clear? Please discuss this further and freely with me.

I am likely to serve on the Committee the Government are about to appoint. I am presently framing a general note[1] which will give you the details of the visit to Ranchi. It was a good thing I went.

Mrs. Gandhi and Devdas are here now and so is Polak. Had I been arrested, Mrs. Gandhi and Devdas would have worked among the poor *raiyats* and heartened them for the struggle. I am most anxious for you to meet Mrs. Gandhi at the earliest moment.

Please don't think that I am killing myself with work.

With love from us all,

Yours,
BAPU

My Dear Child, pp. 11-3

[1] *Vide* "Note on the Situation in Champaran–VI", 17-6-1917.

342. LETTER TO H. MCPHERSON

BETTIAH,
June 10, 1917

DEAR MR. MCPHERSON,

I thank you for your note[1] enclosing His Honour's note[2].

I enclose herewith the envelope in which your letter was enclosed. I was able to extract the contents without much difficulty.

The taking of statements in Bettiah has been stopped as from yesterday. I am going to Motihari tomorrow to stop the taking of statements there.

I am,
Yours truly,
M. K. GANDHI

From the original in Gandhiji's hand in the National Archives of India; also *Select Documents on Mahatma Gandhi's Movement in Champaran*, No. 125, pp. 212-3

343. LETTER TO H. MCPHERSON

BETTIAH,
June 11, 1917

DEAR MR. MCPHERSON,

I thank you for your letter of the 9th instant. The Associated Press message[3] becomes a perfect mystery if it is taken for granted, as I think it must be, that the leakage could not have taken place from my side. Apart from the intrinsic evidence the message bears of not having been received from my side, I may say that I had given the details of the interview to no one in Bankipore before 6 p.m., i.e., till after the arrival of the Hon'ble Pundit Malaviyaji and several things alluded to in the message were not even

[1] Of June 8, from Ranchi

[2] *Vide* "Interview with Lt.-Governor of Bihar", 5-6-1917.

[3] *Vide* "Telegram to Chief Secretary, Bihar", 8-6-1917.

mentioned during the conversation[1] I had with Mr. Malaviyaji and four other friends.

I am,
Yours truly,
M. K. GANDHI

From the original in Gandhiji's hand in the National Archives of India; also *Select Documents on Mahatma Gandhi's Movement in Champaran*, No. 127, p. 216

344. LETTER TO ESTHER FAERING

MOTIHARI,
June 11, 1917

MY DEAR ESTHER,

I am here for a day. I received your booklet[2] as I was going to the station. It put me in mind of some of the happiest hours I used to have years ago in South Africa. I read the booklet years ago when I found myself in the company of some very dear Christian friends. I have read it again today with better appreciation if one may write in this manner of a sacred work like this. For me truth and love are interchangeable terms. You may not know that the Gujarati for passive resistance is truth-force. I have variously defined it as truth-force, love-force or soul-force. But truly there is nothing in words. What one has to do is to live a life of love in the midst of the hate we see everywhere. And we cannot do it without unconquerable faith in its efficacy. A great queen named Mirabai lived two or three hundred years ago. She forsook her husband and everything and lived a life of absolute love. Her husband at last became her devotee. We often sing in the Ashram some fine hymns composed by her. You shall hear and one of these days sing them when you come to the Ashram.

Thank you for the precious gift. I need such thoughts as are contained in the work.

With love,

Yours,
BAPU

PS.

I am going to follow Drummond's prescription to read the verses on Love[3] daily for three months.

My Dear Child, pp. 13-4

[1] On 7th June
[2] *Corinthians*, XIII.
[3] *The Greatest Thing in the World* by Henry Drummond

345. LETTER TO H. MCPHERSON

BETTIAH,
June 13, 1917

DEAR MR. MCPHERSON,

I went over to Motihari yesterday and formally stopped the taking of statements. I have told the *raiyats* that the Government are about to appoint a committee of inquiry which is likely to commence its work about the middle of July next and which will listen to their tale in so far as it may be necessary. And I have told them that in view of the above mentioned decision of the Government, it is no longer necessary for me to take their statements.

I am shifting the headquarters to Motihari where my work and that of my colleagues will consist in studying and analysing the evidence we have already collected and in putting it in a presentable form. The *raiyats* will still continue to come to us for information and guidance. I do notice that to allow them to talk to us in any manner they choose is a great relief to them and they readily accept the advice that is given to them. They are being told not to disturb the existing situation pending the inquiry except where it is manifestly illegal and in no case to take the law in their own hands.

I am not leaving for Ahmedabad till the resolution[1] appointing the committee is published and the hot controversy going on in the Press has subsided a little. If you could please drop me a wire as to when the resolution is likely to be gazetted, I shall be obliged.

Pray send all letters to Motihari after receipt of this. I am in Bettiah all day tomorrow (Thursday).

I am,
Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From the original in Gandhiji's hand in the National Archives of India; also *Select Documents on Mahatma Gandhi's Movement in Champaran*, No. 131, p. 219

[1] *Vide* Appendix XI.

346. NOTE ON THE SITUATION IN CHAMPARAN-VI

CONFIDENTIAL AND NOT FOR PUBLICATION

MOTIHARI,
June 17, 1917

As it will be remembered, prior to the publication of the Government Resolution[1] appointing the Committee of Inquiry, Mr. Gandhi was summoned to Ranchi, the Government intention then being to remove him and his co-workers from Champaran. There was an exhaustive discussion[2] of the whole situation between the Lieutenant-Governor and Mr. Gandhi. The latter saw also the other members of the Executive Council[3] and after two days' discussion the Government desired to appoint a Committee and suggested that, in that event, Mr. Gandhi should stop taking statements. He readily accepted the suggestion. The Lieutenant-Governor inquired if he would then withdraw his co-workers and himself from Champaran. Mr. Gandhi said he could not do so, and his colleagues and he would be occupied in marshalling the evidence and preparing for the Committee. They could not do this well, out of Champaran. Moreover, he could not let the *raiyats* think that he had, in any way, deserted them. The Lieutenant-Governor then did not press the point but hoped that, pending the meeting of the Committee, neither Mr. Gandhi nor his companions would go to the villages. This, too, was agreed to. The taking of statements and visits to the villages have now been entirely stopped. The headquarters have been removed to Motihari and one of the workers remains at Bettiah to attend to the *raiyats* who may desire information or assistance. In all cases, they are being advised, pending the result of the inquiry, not to disturb the existing situation and it is Mr. Gandhi's firm opinion that whilst the mission has undoubtedly strengthened the *raiyats* in their resolve to combat coercion and heartened them for a struggle to gain their freedom, its presence serves to restrain any excess on the part of the *raiyats* who without guidance might easily be betrayed into action which might harm them in the end. The Committee meets about the 15th of July.[4] During the interval, Mr. Gandhi is paying a

[1] *Vide* Appendix XI.
[2] *Vide* "Interview with Lt.-Governor of Bihar", 5-6-1917.
[3] *Vide* "Letter to Maharaja Bahadur Sir Rameshwar Singh", 4-6-1917.
[4] *Vide* Appendix VII.

flying visit to Ahmedabad, returning to Motihari at the latest on the 28th instant.

As to the constitution of the Committee, Mr. Gandhi has accepted his own appointment on the clear understanding that he should be free to give his own evidence and prepare and give the evidence of the *raiyats* and be as to this in the same position in which he would be if he was not a member of the Committee. He has done so with the approval of the Hon'ble Pandit Malaviyaji and Bihar friends, whom he met at Bankipore on his return from Ranchi. The other nominations seem to have been made by the Government with much care and with a view to secure an equitable finding by the Committee. There was throughout the discussion at Ranchi a deep desire on the part of the Lieutenant-Governor to arrive at a fair settlement.

An unauthorised statement has been circulated by the Associated Press to the effect that Mr. Gandhi has advised private inquiry. In substance the report is true. Evidence collected is of an inflammatory nature and a heated newspaper discussion of the evidence is bound to create an atmosphere which will interfere with the conducting of a dispassionate inquiry. The mission has no wish to unnecessarily injure the planters' interest and so in their interest and to demonstrate that the mission desired nothing but justice for the *raiyats*, a private inquiry was suggested. The *raiyats* could not be hurt by this procedure. It is not to be inferred that the report was to be withheld from the public. On the appearance, however, of the Associated Press statement, Mr. Gandhi wired[1] to the Government saying that, as the suggestion was wholly in the planters' interest, he withdrew it and would welcome a public inquiry if the planters so desired.

It should be understood that whilst no more volunteers are required at present, no matter what the final result of the Government inquiry is, they will be required soon after the publication of the Government's decision on the Committee's report. Their work will be the most important and lasting and therefore it will be the final and essential stage of the mission. Volunteers should, without any advertisement in the Press, be got ready and where they do not know Hindi but possess other qualifications, they should be advised to learn Hindi sufficient for the purpose. They have to be grown up, reliable, hard-working men who would not mind taking the spade and repairing or making village roads and cleaning village cesspools and who will in their dealings with the land-

[1] *Vide* "Telegram to Chief Secretary, Bihar", 8-6-1917.

lords guide the *raiyats* aright. Six months of such training cannot fail to do incalculable good to the *raiyats*, the workers and the country at large.

M. K. GANDHI

From the typewritten office copy signed by Gandhiji: Courtesy: Gandhi Smarak Nidhi

347. LETTER TO ESTHER FAERING

MOTIHARI,
June 17, 1917

MY DEAR ESTHER,

I am going to Ahmedabad for 4 days. I return on the 28th instant at the latest. There is no secret about what I have and you have every right to ask. My faith in Truth and Love is as vivid as in the fact that I am writing this to you. To me they are convertible terms. Truth and Love conquer all.

Yours sincerely,
BAPU

My Dear Child, p. 14

348. TALK WITH TEACHERS OF THE NATIONAL SCHOOL

[AHMEDABAD,
June 23, 1917][1]

I take it that all of you have dedicated your lives to the school and I should like, therefore, to acquaint you with the present state of our finances. We have Rs. 10,000 in cash in the Ashram Fund. Besides this, I have jewellery and other gifts worth Rs. 20,000 given to me when I left for India. A friend, again, has promised to buy and donate land and this should mean Rs. 10,000. We have thus a total of Rs. 40,000 or thereabouts. It is my wish that the gifts I have received should not be put to sale in my life-time, though of course they will be used in the service of the nation and we may dispose of them if we find that necessary. This means that, even if we get no help just now and the position continues as at present, we have enough money to meet our needs for four years.

[1] Gandhiji was in Ahmedabad on this date, having left Motihari on the 18th. He was in Bombay on the 24th and returned to Motihari on the 28th.

I am confident, though, that we shall get all the money we need. It may happen, however, that we displease everyone as a result of our principles and that we get no money. At such a time, the teachers will have two courses open to them. One, that they leave the school and take up some other work. As for this, none of you is so entirely good for nothing that he cannot make a living somehow. The other course is to continue to run the school, no matter what happens, maintaining yourselves, if need be, on no more than the plainest bread. If it becomes necessary for you even to go begging for money, you should. In other words, you should be ready to turn yourselves into beggars for the sake of the school.

OBJECTS OF SCHOOL

1. To adopt a new method of education.
2. To pay special attention to character-building, the aim being that ten per cent of the pupils at any rate get trained for national service.
3. To raise the status of the Gujarati language.
4. To work for the spread of the national language, Hindi.
5. To open schools of the new pattern in every place, and make this school a model for them, and for Government as well, to copy. The aim is to have teachers trained in this school who will then go to villages and run schools there.
6. To get the new pattern adopted by the Government.

REQUIREMENTS FOR TEACHERS

1. Knowledge of Hindi and Marathi
2. Proficiency in weaving
3. Well-preserved health
4. Travel in India
5. Readiness for other work besides that in the school, that is, for work in the Ashram or as secretary to Bapu[1]

WORK TO BE ATTENDED TO BY TEACHERS, APART FROM TEACHING

1. Text-books
2. Vocabulary of technical terms

CO-EDUCATION

I am myself in favour of co-education, but I don't insist on it if the teachers hold a different opinion.

[1] Gandhiji, the report being indirect at this point

I am not in favour of common residence. Girls should not be kept in a hostel. I am of the view that they must live under the constant supervision of their mothers and nowhere else.

There should be holidays in summer and the school should be shifted to a cooler place. This, I believe, will enable the teachers and the pupils to work very much better at other times. The teachers and the pupils should spend the holidays together.

English should be an optional subject. One should know good, at any rate correct, English. It would be excellent if we could get an English teacher for the purpose, but I can think of no one at present except Miss Schlesin. If only she would come, we could want nothing better. She is a very capable person. A pupil of the school should be able to talk in English with any Englishman without being nervous.

Drawing will be taught not as a fine art[1] but because the pupil should be able to draw for practical purposes, draw maps, for instance, and straight lines, have a good hand-writing and should know memory drawing.

Rules should be framed for discipline[2] in the school, but no compulsion should be used to enforce obedience to them; they [the pupil] should feel inclined to obey them on their own. One should keep a watch on them whether they do. If any of them does not, we should express our disapproval and advise him.

To start with, 100 pupils should be admitted to the school, all of whom can pay for their own expenses. Nothing may be spent from the School Fund for any of the pupils. If there is a good but poor student, we may secure help for him from one of our friends and beg of another for his fees; but the School Fund cannot be used for the purpose.

History, Geography, Science and Hygiene can be part of Gujarati.

We have necessarily to come into contact with people from the South, and this is to our benefit too; everyone should, therefore, know Marathi.

From a photostat of the handwritten copy: S.N. 6318

[1] & [2] Gandhiji uses the English terms.

349. LETTER TO H. MCPHERSON

MOTIHARI,
June 29, 1917

DEAR MR. MCPHERSON,

Your letter of the 18th instant followed me whilst I was travelling. I returned from Ahmedabad yesterday afternoon after an absence of eleven days. My co-workers have not made it a point of absenting themselves from Champaran but most of them have been absent off and on for their own businesses. They have not been in evidence as their work has been confined to preparing for me a digest of the evidence collected by me and giving information to the inquirers. There is I think complete absence of stir as the taking of evidence and visits to the *dehats* have been religiously avoided.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From the original in Gandhiji's hand in the National Archives of India; also *Select Documents on Mahatma Gandhi's Movement in Champaran*, No. 138, p. 241

350. LETTER TO W. B. HEYCOCK

MOTIHARI,
June 29, 1917

DEAR MR. HEYCOCK,

I have arrived here yesterday afternoon. Dr. Deva of the Servants of India Society has been appointed by the Society to serve with me during the rest of my stay and work in Champaran. Though his services are not required at the present moment, he has come to study my method of work so that his work may be the easier when the volunteers go out to the villages to render assistance. Dr. Deva is naturally anxious to report himself to you and to wait on you whenever you can send an appointment for him.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From the original in Gandhiji's hand in the National Archives of India; also *Select Documents on Mahatma Gandhi's Movement in Champaran*, No. 139, p. 248

351. REPLY REGARDING DRESS TO "THE PIONEER"

MOTIHARI,
June 30, 1917

SIR,

I have hitherto successfully resisted the temptation of either answering your or Mr. Irwin's criticism of the humble work I am doing in Champaran. Nor am I going to succumb now except with regard to a matter which Mr. Irwin has thought fit to dwell upon and about which he has not even taken the trouble of being correctly informed. I refer to his remarks on my manner of dressing.

My "familiarity with the minor amenities of western civilization" has taught me to respect my national costume, and it may interest Mr. Irwin to know that the dress I wear in Champaran is the dress I have always worn in India except that for a very short period in India I fell an easy prey in common with the rest of my countrymen to the wearing of semi-European dress in the courts and elsewhere outside Kathiawar. I appeared before the Kathiawar Courts now 21 years ago in precisely the dress I wear in Champaran.

One change I have made and it is that having taken to the occupation of weaving and agriculture and having taken the vow of swadeshi, my clothing is now entirely hand-woven and hand-sewn and made by me or my fellow-workers. Mr. Irwin's letter suggests that I appear before the ryots in a dress I have temporarily and specially adopted in Champaran to produce an effect. The fact is that I wear the national dress because it is the most natural and the most becoming for an Indian. I believe that our copying of the European dress is a sign of our degradation, humiliation and our weakness, and that we are committing a national sin in discarding a dress which is best suited to the Indian climate and which, for its simplicity, art and cheapness, is not to be beaten on the face of the earth and which answers hygienic requirements. Had it not been for a false pride and equally false notions of prestige, Englishmen here would long ago have adopted the Indian constume. I may mention incidentally that I do not go about Champaran bare-headed. I do avoid shoes for sacred reasons, but I find too that it is more natural and healthier to avoid them whenever possible.

I am sorry to inform Mr. Irwin and your readers that my esteemed friend Babu Brijkishore Prasad, the "Ex-hon. member

of council," still remains unregenerate and retains the provincial cap and never walks barefoot and "kicks up" a terrible noise even in the house we are living in by wearing wooden sandals. He has still not the courage, in spite of most admirable contact with me, to discard his semi-anglicised dress and whenever he goes to see officials puts his legs into the bifurcated garment and on his own admission tortures himself by cramping his feet in inelastic shoes. I cannot induce him to believe that his clients won't desert him and the courts won't punish him if he wore his more becoming and less expensive "dhoti". I invite you and Mr. Irwin not to believe the "stories" that the latter hears about me and my friends, but to join me in the crusade against educated Indians abandoning their manners, habits and customs which are not proved to be bad or harmful. Finally, I venture to warn you and Mr. Irwin that you and he will ill-serve the cause both of you consider is in danger by reason of my presence in Champaran if you continue, as you have done, to base your strictures on unproved facts. I ask you to accept my assurance that I should deem myself unworthy of the friendship and confidence of hundreds of my English friends and associates —not all of them fellow-cranks—if in similar circumstances I acted towards them differently from my own countrymen.

M. K. GANDHI

The Pioneer, 5-7-1917

352. LETTER TO ESTHER FAERING

MOTIHARI,
June 30, 1917

MY DEAR ESTHER,

I have your two letters before me. I returned from Ahmedabad on the 28th. I had a nice time there.

The city life I have always found to be chilling; the village life, free, invigorating and godly.

'Why has God given us so many gifts, powers, skill to invent if we are not to use them?' You have asked a question which I have asked myself and thousands are always asking. My humble opinion is that God has placed temptations in our way the strength of which is the same as that of the possibilities of rise in moral grandeur. We may use our inventive faculty either for inward growth or for outward indulgence. I may devote my talents for utilizing the falls from the Himalayas; I only increase mankind's facilities for

indulgence. I may use my talents for discovering laws which govern the falls from the Himalayas within me; I serve myself and mankind by adding to the permanent happiness. You will make up for yourself countless illustrations showing that all our talents are to be utilized only for inward growth which can come from self-restraint alone.

Do please remember me to Mr. Bittmann[1] and thank him on my behalf for permittimg you to come to the Ashram whenever you are free.

Your experience of the young man is nothing extraordinary. Pray do not be impatient to reform men and women whom you meet. The first and the last thing we have to attend to is to reform ourselves. In trying to reform, we seem to be judging. These young men often become worse for our handling. The safest course is to let such men leave us when they are found wanting. I have not sufficiently expressed myself. But you will understand. If not, please ask.

Yours,
BAPU

My Dear Child, pp. 14-5

353. LETTER TO FULCHAND SHAH

MOTIHARI,
Ashadh Sud 11 [June 30, 1917][2]

BHAI FULCHAND,

I gave you one letter of Mrs. Besant to keep. I am sending you another. I hope you are preserving cuttings from the papers there.

Miss Faering's letter this time is worth reading. Her love for the Ashram adds to our responsibility. We would do well to cultivate and maintain the purity which comes naturally to a heart of transparent honesty like hers. Such striving is the only justification for our existence.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS

The very day I wrote to you, Surendra fell ill. The mistake was mine. I gave him full freedom all at once. His stomach

[1] A senior member of the Danish Mission in South India

[2] Gandhiji was in Motihari on this day.

had not improved enough to digest everything. He fasted yesterday. Today he is better. Everyone here has observed *ekadashi*[1] today.

From a photostat of the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand : S.N. 6364

354. LETTER TO V. S. SRINIVASA SASTRI

MOTIHARI,
June 30 [1917]

DEAR MR. SHASTRIAR,

Thank you for sending Dr. Deva and for your letter. I did want encouragement from you. If Dr. Deva does not find himself in gaol, you will know that it won't be for want of effort on my part. He is to see the District Magistrate tomorrow.

I want to write to you at length about your letter to Dr. Sapru[2] and I shall do so if I find the time. Meanwhile I send you copies of draft prepared for the Bombay friends and may write to Mr. Petit[3].

I do want to write a strong letter of protest against your ill-treatment of your body.

Yours sincerely,
M K GANDHI

From a photostat of the original in Gandhiji's hand: G. N. 6295

355 LETTER TO J. B. PETIT

MOTIHARI,
June 30, 1917

DEAR MR. PETIT,

After much careful consideration, I am unable to suggest any other act of universal application with a view to inviting imprisonment, save a vigorous propaganda among the masses, going to the villages, speaking to them, distributing among them leaflets, etc. The descent at the present moment upon the villages by you, Mr. Jinnah and such other leaders cannot but end in arrests.

[1] Eleventh day of each dark and bright fortnight, observed with a fast

[2] Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru (1875-1949), lawyer and statesman

[3] *Vide* the following item.

This propaganda must be carried on in spite of Government prohibition and to that extent it may be considered illegal but for a passive resister not unlawful.

There are various other methods which I am unwilling to advise until passive resistance in its present form has soaked into us a bit.

This, however, I should like to add that in this method there is no idea of punishment of the wrong-doer. There can, therefore, be no retaliation and no boycott. But there should be swadeshi of the purest type, not as a retaliatory measure but as the law of our being. We are bound in honour, being Indians, to prefer Indian goods to any other.

I do hope that whatever shape our action takes, the time-limit resolution will be accepted by you and our friend, and that we will not rest until the interned[1] are released.

I take it you will show this to Mr. Jinnah.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S. N. 6365

356. LETTER TO ESTHER FAERING

MOTIHARI,
July 1, 1917

MY DEAR ESTHER,

I have just received your letter telling you had entered upon a new year, you do not say what year. I appreciate your passion for the Ashram. May it satisfy all your wants and may it prove a place of joy and peace and of love such as you would find near your parents' hearth. Every year that closes upon us may be so much valuable time gained or lost as we have well or ill used it. To us who want to walk in the fear of God, every added year is added responsibility.

Please tell me what books you are reading for Tamil examination and what you are paying your *munshi*, if you have any.

Yours ever,
BAPU

My Dear Child, p. 16

[1] The reference is to Mrs. Besant and others who were arrested at Madras on June 16 and interned.

357. CIRCULAR LETTER FOR FUNDS FOR ASHRAM

FOR PRIVATE CIRCULATION ONLY

MOTIHARI,
CHAMPARAN,
Ashadh Sud 11, Samvat 1973 [*July 1, 1917*][1]

DEAR FRIEND,

All these days the expenses on the Satyagraha Ashram and its various activities could be met entirely from help voluntarily given by some friends; but these activities have now expanded so much that it does not seem possible to meet the expenses without asking for help.

The activities of the Ashram can be divided under the following heads :

(1) Boarding and lodging expenses of the Ashram inmates : The present strength of the Ashram, including adults and children, may be put down at 30. The expenses on their account, including rent, amount to Rs. 400/- a month. This figure includes expenditure on guests.

(2) Hand-weaving : No one in the Ashram knew this two years ago. Today practically everyone knows something of it. Some of them may actually be regarded as experts. There are seven looms working in the Ashram and five more under its supervision. This activity has taken up a capital of Rs. 3,000/-. Cloth gets sold as soon as it is produced. Cloth worth Rs. 500/- has been sold up to this time. This work has enabled four families which had given up weaving to resume it and in all 17 persons make their living by it. One family has learnt weaving recently and taken to it for a living. It cannot be said yet that it makes enough for a livelihood. The expectation is that in ten years thousands of weavers who have given up weaving as a profession will have resumed it. It is admitted on all hands that, even if the textile mills stay, there is sufficient scope in the country for hand-weaving. This activity involves some loss at present but ultimately there

[1] *Vide* "Letter to Fulchand Shah", 3-7-1917, which says: "I sent one copy to Ambalalbhai yesterday." The printed copy, however, bears the date *Ashadh Vad* 9, *Samvat* 1973, corresponding to July 13, 1917.

should be none. The current expenditure may be put down at Rs. 100/- a month.

[(3)] The third activity is the National School. We in the Ashram believe that the great harm that is being done to the country will continue so long as education is not given along national lines. Accordingly, a National School has been started as an experiment. The aim is to give higher education through the mother tongue and in a manner that will impose no strain. If the experiment succeeds, the intention is to ask the Government itself to provide such education, and to carry on ceaseless agitation for the purpose. Likewise, if the success of the experiment can be demonstrated, it is likely that private enterprise may start other experiments of a similar nature. In this experiment, both mental and physical education is provided. A curriculum extending over 13 years is visualized. This will include, besides training corresponding to a graduate's, instruction in the Hindi language, in agriculture and weaving. The responsibility for conducting this experiment has been undertaken by Professor Sankalchand Shah, formerly Professor of Science at Gujarat College. He has worked for ten years with Professor Gajjar[1]. His assistants are Shri Narahari Parikh, LL.B., Shri Dattatreya Kalelkar, B.A., Shri Fulchand Shah, B.A., Shri Kishorelal Mashruwala[2], B.A.,LL.B., and my nephew, Chhaganlal Gandhi. We are looking for one or two more teachers, who should be men of character. In the study of Sanskrit, Shastri Girijashankar of Ahmedabad has been giving help. Professor Anandshankar Dhruva supervises the experiment and makes suggestions. Help is also sought from other men of learning. The teachers draw maintenance allowance according to their needs. The experiment costs at present Rs. 500/- a month. This does not include rent since it has been included in the expenditure for the Ashram. The number of students at present is 12. The experiment has reached such a stage that it is proposed to admit day students now. So far, the students were either boys from the Ashram or sons of the teachers.

[(4)] The fourth activity is propagation of the Hindi language. There is no room for any difference of opinion about Hindi

[1] Tribhuvandas Kalyandas Gajjar (1863-1920), Professor of Chemistry, Baroda College, Baroda; pioneer of chemical industry in Western India

[2] Constructive worker and associate of Gandhiji; Editor of Gandhiji's weekly, *Harijan*; author of *Gandhi and Marx*

being entitled to the place which is at present usurped by English, but, to our misfortune, such a difference does exist. The educated class must have a common language and that can only be Hindi. It will be easy to work among the masses through it. And therefore the delay in Hindi gaining its rightful place means so much of harm to the nation. Efforts are being made in the country to stop this harm. The work by the Ashram will add one more to these efforts. The first step in this work consists mainly in securing Hindi teachers and training them. I estimate the monthly expenditure on this work at not less than Rs. 200/-.

[(5)] The fifth category consists of my political activities, on such matters only in which I can see my way. The only expenditure in this is on railway fare for me and my co-workers. It hardly comes to Rs. 100/- a month. So far, I have had to make no effort to find it. All the same, I include it here.

Thus, the total monthly expenditure comes to :	Rs.
For running Ashram	400
Weaving	100
School	500
Propagation of Hindi	200
My railway fare	100
	1,300

approximately.

The expenditure on the National School will increase by and by, so that it will not be an over-estimate to put the total expenditure at Rs. 1,500/-.

A large plot of land is required for all these activities. Such a plot, admeasuring about 55 *bighas*, has already been purchased on the banks of the Sabarmati near the Sabarmati jail. Efforts are proceeding to buy some more. A workshop for weaving, living rooms, kitchens for the Ashram and a building for the National School are to be constructed on this land. This is likely to cost Rs. 100,000. The responsibility for supervising the building construction has been taken over by Shri Amritlal Thakkar of the Hind Sevak Samaj[1].

My needs, therefore, adding a year's expenses to the cost of the buildings, come to Rs. 118,000. For the land, I have drawn

[1] Servants of India Society

upon the funds with me. There will be a trust for this land and the buildings.

If these ventures meet with your approval, I have no option but to hold out my hand to you and you have none but to give, to the best of your means, and induce others to give to the best of theirs. If you desire to help only in regard to a particular item in the programme, your contribution will be spent accordingly. Even if, however, you see nothing but eccentricity in all my activities, it is my request that all those who know me should help me that I may satisfy my own self. So long as I do not myself see my error, these activities will remain my very life. They sum up my services to the country.

I wanted to go myself and see you personally but I see no possibility of my being free to leave Champaran for about nine months. The activities will continue meanwhile and so also the expenses.

I don't want at present to go a-begging through newspapers. Before doing so, it is necessary to make some progress with the work and gather more experience. Kindly send what help you can directly to Satyagraha Ashram, Ahmedabad; alternatively, you may send it to me at the Motihari address. I also request you to obtain some help from your friends, if you possibly can. If you are not in a position yourself to offer monetary help, I would like you to solicit such help from friends who can. I do not want anyone to move outside his own circle for the purpose.

Careful accounts are maintained for all categories of activities. It is intended to circulate an abstract of the accounts among friends every year.

You may ask me any questions you like to.

Vandemataram from

MOHANDAS KARAMCHAND GANDHI

From the Gujarati original draft in Gandhiji's hand. Courtesy: Radhabehn Choudhri: S. N. 6378. Also a printed copy

358. LETTER TO MAGANLAL GANDHI

MOTIHARI,
Ashadh Sud 12 [July 2, 1917][1]

CHI. MAGANLAL,

I have written[2] to Mr. Ewbank[3] and told him that my ignorance of the subject is profound. I shall be busy in Champaran for some months. If, all the same, he wants me to speak, in the hope that I shall have the time, and if he sends me literature on the subject, I shall try to write out something[4].

Never mind if you have kept on the house-maid for some time longer. I had a letter from Fakira. In reply[5], I have asked him to go there. You and Chhotalal must get rid of cooking and miscellaneous chores. Unless that is done, I am afraid, we shall make no progress in weaving. How this can be brought about, it is for you to consider. Set Satyadevji[6] to the quern. It doesn't matter if he has been supplied chillies. That is a *yajna*[7] for us on his account. Let us see if it is rewarded. I wonder. One needn't worry if he takes chillies only for the sake of health. A *yajna* must be performed cheerfully. We have done what we have done because we think it right and so must we do everything and supply him [the chillies] with love and in cheerfulness.

I am sending the enclosed cutting to be preserved. You must have ordered *Pataliputra* there. I heard in Prayag that the best paper is supposed to be *Pratap*. I was also told that its editor[8] is a man of utter self-sacrifice.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: C.W. 5720. Courtesy: Radhabehn Choudhri

[1] Gandhiji was in Motihari on this day.

[2] This letter is not available.

[3] Registrar of Co-operative Societies, Bombay

[4] *Vide* "The Moral Basis of Co-operation", pp. 532-7.

[5] Not available

[6] Swami Satyadev Parivrajak, who taught Hindi at the Ashram

[7] Act of sacrifice

[8] Ganesh Shankar Vidyarthi. He met a martyr's death, being killed during the Hindu-Muslim riots at Kanpur in 1931.

359. LETTER TO FULCHAND SHAH

MOTIHARI,
Ashadh Sud 13 [July 3, 1917][1]

BHAISHRI FULCHAND,

Let the enclosed letter[2] be read by all of you and then passed on to Punjabhai. More copies are being made ready. It is possible the figures in the letter need to be revised. If so, revise them and let me know. If you have anything to suggest about the ideas, the arguments, etc., do so. I sent one copy to Ambalalbhai[3] yesterday. I am sending one for Punjabhai today. The other copies will be despatched tomorrow. I invite your comments, all the same. The English version[4] is also getting ready.

Did you make the soap? How many come to learn Hindi? How do you find the teaching? How many attend the evening prayers?

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS

From a photostat of the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: S. N. 6366

360. CIRCULAR LETTER FOR FUNDS FOR ASHRAM

MOTIHARI,
CHAMPARAN,
[On or after *July 3, 1917*][5]

DEAR MR. SHASTRIAR,

I have been conducting the Satyagraha Ashram at Ahmedabad now for the last two years. The object of the Ashram is to bring together men, women and children whose aim or whose parents' aim for their children is national service for life. The Ashram at present contains after much weeding out 30 inmates including men, women and children. So long as its activity was confined

[1] Gandhiji was in Motihari on this day.

[2] *Vide* "Circular Letter for Funds for Ashram", 1-7-1917.

[3] Ambalal Sarabhai, an industrialist of Ahmedabad who took keen interest in Gandhiji's activities

[4] *Vide* the following item.

[5] *Vide* the preceding item.

to self-training, its expenses were met from support given by friends without the necessity of a formal appeal being made to them. The expenses including those of a considerable number of temporary visitors have amounted to Rs. 400/- per month on an average.

But its activity has gradually widened and includes (i) weaving by means of handlooms, (ii) an experiment in evolving a national type of education, (iii) spread of Hindi as a common medium for educated India.

These activities mean much greater expenditure of money than has come to me as above stated. For developing them a permanent habitation on a fairly large plot of land is a necessity. Out of funds already in my possession over fifty *bighas* of land has been purchased on the banks of the Sabarmati on a healthy site some distance from the central gaol. It affords an easy access to the College students who have in ever-increasing numbers been making use of the Ashram Library which contains a fair volume of selected literature and newspapers and magazines, the latter being kindly supplied free of charge by the respective publishers. According to a rough estimate made by Mr. Amritlal Thakkar of the Servants of India Society, who is drawing up the plans, the cost of the buildings will be Rs. 100,000. The educational experiment is costing Rs. 500/- per month. The handloom industry Rs. 100/- per month. The Hindi propaganda for the ensuing year will cost Rs. 200/- per month. The educational and Hindi expenditure are a progressive charge. To these may be added my own travelling expenses Rs. 100/- per month in connection with one public activity or other. These last are easily met. Thus the whole figure comes to capital expenditure of Rs. 100,000 and Rs. 1,300, say Rs. 1,500, allowing extra Rs. 200/- per month for progressive expenditure, making rupees 18,000/- for the next twelve months.

I shall attempt only the briefest description of the activities mentioned above.

The handloom weaving is in a dying condition. Everyone admits that whatever may be the future of the mill industry, the handlooms ought not to be allowed to perish. Dr. Mann[1] in his recent pamphlet says that probably one of the causes of the growing poverty observed by him in particular villages was the destruction of handlooms which complemented agricultural occupation. The object of the Ashram, therefore, is for every inmate to learn handweaving and thus study at first hand the secrets and defects of the

[1] Of Poona Agricultural College; author of *Land and Labour in a Deccan Village*

art and then find out the means of saving the industry. Every inmate, though none belongs to the weaving class, now knows something of the art. And a few have attained considerable skill in the art. The Ashram is already supporting weaving families numbering 17 souls and one family having learnt the art at the Ashram has set up independently and is trying to support itself from the business. Seven looms are working at the Ashram. It has involved a capital expenditure of Rs. 3,000/-. It ought soon to be self-supporting. Nearly Rs. 500 worth of stuff has already been sold by the Ashram and many who have hitherto used the shoddy mill-made stuff, whether foreign or home-made, are using the durable Ashram-made cloth. This enterprise is expected in 10 years' time to resuscitate hundreds of weavers who have for the moment abandoned their trade in hopeless despair. The system of education at present in vogue is, it is held, wholly unsuited to India's needs, is a bad copy of the western model and it has by reason of the medium of instruction being a foreign language sapped the energy of the youths who have passed through our schools and colleges and has produced an army of clerks and office-seekers. It has dried up all originality, impoverished the vernaculars and has deprived the masses of the benefit of higher knowledge which would otherwise have percolated to them through the intercourse of the educated classes with them. The system has resulted in creating a gulf between educated India and the masses. It has stimulated the brain but starved the spirit for want of a religious basis for education and emaciated the body for want of training in handicrafts. It has criminally neglected the greatest need of India in that there is no agricultural training worth the name provided in the course. The experiment now being carried on at the Ashram seeks to avoid all the defects above noted. The medium of instruction is the provincial vernacular. Hindi is taught as a common medium and handloom-weaving and agriculture are taught from the very commencement. Pupils are taught to look up to these as a means of livelihood and the knowledge of letters as a training for the head and the heart and as a means of national service. The curriculum has been mapped so as to cover all the essentials of the graduate course in the existing institutions within a period of 13 years. The experiment is in the hands of Professor Shah, late of the Gujarat College. Mr. Shah was associated with Professor Gajjar for 10 years. He is assisted by Mr. Narhari, B.A.,LL.B., Mr. Fulchand Shah, B.A., Mr. Dattatreya Kalelkar, B.A., Mr. Chhaganlal Gandhi and Mr. Kishorelal Mashruwala, B.A., LL.B. All but the last named have pledged themselves exclusively to the work for life on a pittance enough to support them and

their families. Mr. Kishorelal has given his services free for one year, having means of his own, and will if he finds the work congenial at the end of the year cast in his lot with the rest. The experiment is confined to about 12 lads including two girls belonging to the Ashram or being children of the teachers. It is being supervised by Professor Anandshankar Dhruva, Vice-Principal of the Gujarat College. I build the highest hopes upon it. My faith in it is unquenchable. It may fail but if it does, the fault must not be in the system but with us the workers. If it succeeds, voluntary institutions after its model can be multiplied and the Government called upon to adopt it.

That Hindi ought at the earliest moment to displace English seems to be a self-demonstrated proposition. Hindi can not only become the common medium between the educated classes but it opens the door to the hearts of the masses in a way which no other vernacular does and English certainly never can. Madras alone presents a difficulty but I have sufficient faith in the spirituality and the imaginative faculty of the southerners to know that they will not be long before they take up Hindi as the common medium. No presidency in India has the same aptitude for learning languages that Madras has. That is my South African experience. Although the preponderating element there is Dravidian, the Tamils and the Telugus picked up Hindi instead of the Hindustani-speaking races picking up Tamil or Telugu.

It is then for these experiments that I ask for your pecuniary support. I hope you will send me what you can, if you at all agree with any of the activities. You may earmark your donation if you wish.

A trust will be created of the land and buildings. Accurate account of the expenditure in the various branches is being kept and an abstract will be rendered to the donors.

I do not want if I can help it as yet to make an appeal through the Press. The activities have not advanced far enough to warrant such an appeal. But I do not hesitate to approach with confidence those who know me personally either to assist me themselves or advise their friends to do so.

Yours sincerely,

M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat of the typewritten original signed by Gandhiji: G. N. 6297; also a photostat of the office copy: S. N. 6378

361. LETTER TO PRIVATE SECRETARY TO VICEROY

BANKIPORE,
July 7, 1917

DEAR MR. MAFFEY,

I am on my way to Ranchi in connection with the work of the Champaran committee. I write this regarding the Annie Besant agitation. As I am taking part in it by keeping myself in touch with the leaders and pressing on their attention my views regarding it,[1] I feel that I could not do so without His Excellency knowing the fact and knowing also my position in the agitation.

In my humble opinion, the internments are a big blunder. Madras was absolutely calm before then. Now it is badly disturbed. India as a whole had not made common cause with Mrs. Besant but now she is on a fair way towards commanding India's identity with her methods. Having had breathing time, I had gone down to Ahmedabad for some work connected with the institution I am conducting there, I passed through Bombay and Allahabad on my return and I was able to gauge the situation. I myself do not like much in Mrs. Besant's method. I have not liked the idea of the political propaganda being carried on during the War. In my opinion, our restraint will have been the best propaganda. But the whole country was against me. And no one could deny Mrs. Besant's great sacrifice and love for India or her desire to be strictly constitutional, nor could the country's right to carry on the propaganda be denied if it chose to do so. Many of us have respectfully differed from Mrs. Besant but all have recognised her powers and devotion. The Congress was trying to 'capture' Mrs. Besant. The latter was trying to 'capture' the former. Now they have almost become one. I plead with all the earnestness I can command for the boldest policy, i.e., to acknowledge the blunder in the frankest manner and to withdraw the orders of internment and to declare that the country has the right to carry on any propaganda that is not subversive of the British Constitution and is totally free from violence. Such an act will be a demonstration of strength, not of weakness. Only a government having the desire always to do the right and the power to crush the wrong can do it.

[1] *Vide* "Letter to J. B. Petit", 30-6-1917.

If unfortunately timid counsels prevail, there will be no rest in the country and the cult of violence will surely spread. Open violence one could understand and deal with. That may not be practised, but secret violence would be attempted. No one would be or feel responsible for it. Young minds without any lead from anybody in particular are, I regretfully observe, drifting in that direction. My life is dedicated to the preventing of the spread of the disease and its uprooting in so far as it has gained a foothold. I have presented to the youths and to Indians in general in my humble way a better and more effective method and that is the method of soul force or truth force or love force which for want of a better term I have described as passive resistance. And I am asking the leaders to adopt this method fully and boldly at this critical juncture. It involves self-suffering and that alone throughout. No government in the world can afford continually to imprison or molest innocent men; the British Government cannot afford it. It is its great secret and character that even when it does wrong, it seeks to justify it before the world on moral grounds.

I think I have sufficiently explained myself. I hope, I shall not be misunderstood. I ask for forgiveness for the presumption in writing this letter and earnestly pray for the acceptance of my proposal.

Please place this before His Excellency. If my presence is required at Simla, I am at H.E.'s disposal.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

PS.

I shall be in Ranchi care of Hon'ble Mr. Sahay up to the 11th instant, and then at Motihari, Champaran.

M. K. G.

From a photostat of the original draft in Gandhiji's hand: S. N. 6372

362. LETTER TO ESTHER FAERING

RANCHI,
July 8, 1917

MY DEAR ESTHER,

I have come here in connection with the Committee work. I leave here on the 11th for Motihari. This is supposed to be a healthy place being on a plateau.

Here is a copy of a letter[1] I wrote to *The Pioneer*. I know you will like it. The letter has created quite a stir here. It has been favourably received so far.

Could you send a copy of *The Greatest Thing in the World*[2] to Mr. Polak? I cannot procure it here. I copied out the verses and sent them to him. He now asks for the booklet. The book with me is being used.

Yours,
BAPU

My Dear Child, pp. 16-7

363. LETTER TO RAMNAVAMI PRASAD

RANCHI,
[About *July 8, 1917*][3]

DEAR SHRI RAMNAVAMI PRASAD,

My heart cries out at what Babu Brij Kishore tells me about your physical condition. You ought not to be ill. There is much work to be done for the country, and what will happen if the country's soldiers become ill? Keeping this in mind, I hope, you will try to rid yourself of the ailment. Physicians will not be able to remove the ailment. The cause of the illness is self-indulgence, its cure restraint. We are not always able to spot out self-indulgence and do not always know the kind of

[1] *Vide* "Reply regarding Dress to *The Pioneer*", 30-6-1917.

[2] By Henry Drummond; *vide* "Letter to Esther Faering", 11-6-1917.

[3] Gandhiji was in Ranchi between July 8 and 11; *vide* the preceding item.

self-control we should exercise. But on a little reflection we can see both.

Yours
MOHANDAS GANDHI

From a photostat of the Hindi original in Gandhiji's hand: G. N. 734

354. LETTER TO FULCHAND SHAH

RANCHI,
Sunday [July 8, 1917][1]

BHAISHRI FULCHAND,

A letter[2] similar to the one I sent to Punjabhai has been sent or will be sent to the following persons: Ambalal Sarabhai, Ranchhodbhai Patwari, Becharlal Kalidas, Kunvarji Anandji, Govindji Dahyabhai, Barrister Shukla[3], Barrister Devchandbhai[4], Dr. Mehta, Mangaldas Sheth[5], Narottamdas Morarji[6], Lallubhai Shamaldas[7], Dr. Edul Behram, Revashankarbhai[8], Mansukhlal, Ramjibhai [of] Madras, Sitaram Pandit[9], Ratilal Sheth, [Mohanlal] Kameshvar Pandya, Amritlal Thakkar, Gopalji Thakkar[10], Krishna Rao, Pattani, and Shankarlal Banker[11]. If you or Maganlal or others think of any names besides these, let me know. I am thinking of

[1] From the reference to the letter sent to Punjabhai, this letter appears to have been written after "Letter to Fulchand Shah", 3-7-1917. Again, Gandhiji was in Ranchi on Sunday, July 8, and from there he reached Motihari on Thursday, July 12.

[2] *Vide* "Circular Letter for Funds for Ashram", 1-7-1917.

[3] Dalpatram Bhavanji Shukla of Rajkot, a fellow-student of Gandhiji in London

[4] Parekh, a fellow-student and life-long friend of Gandhiji

[5] An industrialist of Ahmedabad who gave financial assistance to Gandhiji at the time of the latter's settling down in Ahmedabad

[6] A business man and liberal politician of Bombay who took keen interest in Gandhiji's activities

[7] A business man and liberal politician of Bombay; pioneer of co-operative movement in Western India

[8] Zaveri

[9] A barrister-friend of Gandhiji practising at Rajkot

[10] A business man of Bhavnagar

[11] Shankarlal G. Banker, publisher of *Young India*. He was convicted with Gandhiji in 1922.

sending a copy to Mr. Popatlal Chudgar[1] as also to our Popatlal. I am sending an English version[2] herewith. Copies of it have been sent to non-Gujaratis at Madras and other places. If any reply or help is received from them, let me know.

There was a letter in *The Pioneer* from Mr. Irwin. Having got a chance of criticising it, I sent a reply[3] which you must have of course seen there. I have received a good many cuttings, however, and so I send one to you. That letter has proved more effective than any number of speeches could have been. I hope all cuttings are being preserved. You may not have the cutting from *The Bengalee*; I am sending one.

I am here up to Wednesday. I will then go to Motihari. Your letters should continue to be directed there. There is a possibility that I may have to go to Bombay before the 29th in connection with [the internment of] Annie Bai[4]. Do tell me every time how Muljibhai keeps. Punjabhai was to leave for Marwar. Has he left? Have the books expected from Bombay arrived?

Has any arrangement been made concerning Shivpujan's[5] box? Chi. Maganlal knows about this. Are the Ashram inmates able to utilize the presence of Swamiji for learning Hindi? I suppose the women are not able to do so.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS

Got your letter after I wrote this. Received the statement. I see that this is a laborious job. You should inform me only when there is some notable item of expenditure or income. . . . Otherwise don't worry. Rs. 20/- is sent [every month] for. . . . 's mother. The amount should be debited to the Ashram account.

From a photostat of the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: S.N. 6376

[1] A practising barrister of Rajkot; for long associated with the States' People's Movement; retired as Judge of the Saurashtra High Court

[2] *Vide* "Circular Letter for Funds for Ashram", on or after 3-7-1917.

[3] *Vide* "Reply regarding Dress to *The Pioneer*", 30-6-1917.

[4] Mrs. Annie Besant

[5] A boy who came to India from Phoenix with Maganlal Gandhi in August, 1914

365. A FEW WORDS TO ORPHANAGES[1]

[Before *July 11, 1917*]

In the course of my travels in India, I have examined a number of orphanages, some of them closely and others cursorily, and have expressed my views on some of them before the managers. Like anyone else, I also think well of my ideas and I feel that it will not be amiss to place them before the public.

An *anathashrama* may be correctly defined as a place which gives shelter to those who are *anatha*[2] and makes them *sanatha*[3]. In respect of such institutions, the term *anatha* is especially applied to children who have no living parents or guardians. Their claim is, or ought to be, to make good the want of a guardian. *Anathashram* is a translation of the English term 'orphanage'. Though this is the meaning of the term *anatha*, besides children, young men who can earn their livelihood are also accommodated in orphanages. In addition, the disabled, the lame, the crippled and the blind are also admitted and now even foundling-boxes have been introduced in orphanages. It is my opinion that this way one of the purposes is served fully. Though, superficially considered, it might suggest a more philanthropic attitude, on deeper reflection it will be seen that this state of affairs comes of a commercial mentality. I have no doubt that the future of the orphanages is the same as that of misers who would earn the highest interest on their moneys and so ultimately ruin themselves. I have used the word 'future' only to be on the safe side. Personally, I see their degradation in the present. An arrangement like this is a sign of our fear, of our lack of faith. We assume that, for all our institutions, we get help from the rich only with the utmost efforts. "We cannot but protect the disabled and we are bound to take care of babies born in secret; so let us manage that from *whatever we have received*." This is an abject attitude. I am convinced that for a good cause money will be available even in this poor country of India. It is for those in charge to prove that the cause is good. Institutions have declined

[1] The article originally appeared in *Chitramaya Jagat*, a Marathi journal, under the title "A Few Words to Orphanages". Its publication was noticed in *Kheda Vartaman* of 11-7-1917.

[2] Unprotected

[3] Protected

not for lack of funds but for lack of organizers with steadfastness, faith and integrity. Whether or no this view is right, one thing is certain, that, in trying to ride three horses at once the orphanages succeed in managing none.

In these conditions, how can the 'orphans' cease to be 'orphans'? They are constantly reminded of the fact of their being such. We would never want to leave our children in charge of these institutions. Here is the real test of an orphanage. We would not welcome the companionship of the disabled, the blind, or the crippled for our children. If these institutions were [really] the guardians of those without any guardians, we would find the manager's children among the inmates. They would have no hesitation in placing their children in the midst of the orphans, if for no other reason, at least in order to test themselves. I submit, on the strength of my extensive experience, that this is not too excessive an expectation. That the orphans are placed with the disabled is not all; the other arrangements also are mostly such that the children are constantly reminded of their destitute condition. If orphanages were reserved for orphans alone, they could be self-supporting in a very short time. We have much to learn from the Salvation Army[1] in this respect. The orphanages which they run have a soul in them. Ours are by comparison soulless. They have given refuge to thousands of children, have made men of them, have found employment for them. The children in our orphanages have not been given this sense of security. Some have been found petty jobs. These may be left out of account. The general practice in our orphanages is to send away the children when they come of age. Not so with the Salvation Army. In its institutions, the orphans, when they come of age, start working in its factories, in the same way that a son in the family who has grown up is regarded as an additional shield and support for the family. It is necessary that such a family feeling be injected in our institutions too.

We can educate them in the institutions and find work for them in the factories of the institutions even as we provide them with lodging, boarding and clothing. We can launch great national experiments in the institutions, can impart education on national lines, teach them crafts, teach them agriculture, and save the professions which are dying out. If affairs are managed in this manner, the orphans of today can become teachers, artisans, and leaders in their

[1] Organisation for religious philanthropic work founded by William Booth in 1880

own orphanages. We can also raise an Indian Defence Force suited to our conditions from among the inmates of such orphanages.

If I am right in these calculations, a common standard can be set up for all the institutions by bringing together the heads of all the institutions, or at least of those in the Bombay Province, and consulting their views. If there is a central executive body for all, it can supervise them and make such changes as are called for by experience. If we are not ready for such an integrated scheme, a policy like the one indicated above can surely be introduced in those institutions which have more of life in them.

In some institutions, I noted a tendency to coax children into staying on there. To me this seems to be an ill-considered thing to do. The boys who do not want to continue in the orphanages are not orphans but free persons [who can look after themselves]. The worth of an orphanage should not be judged by the number of inmates, but rather by the number of citizens it turns out.

There are enough institutions to meet the needs of the disabled. That, wherever necessary, such institutions should be set up separately, requires no elaborate proof.

The problem of admitting foundlings is a serious one. I am not yet convinced that providing for such admissions is ethically sound. I have a kind of feeling that such facilities lead to increase in indulgence. It can in no way be proved that keeping alive every creature that is born, no matter how, is a part of humanitarianism. It is indeed futile to make such an effort. One detects a hidden pride behind it. I, for one, realize every moment from experience that the term 'humanitarianism' is not easy to understand. I have in some measure made that subject my own and hence I have ventured to be so emphatic. Humanitarianism does not mean saving a definite number of lives. It is the very property of the soul. Because of this fact, living creatures in the presence of a compassionate soul have an immediate and direct experience of its compassion. There is no room for arithmetic in humanitarianism. Unclean flour is infested with numberless lives. To preserve such flour is no humanitarianism. It lies rather in covering up the flour with earth or destroying it, though either way the vermin in the flour perish. Numberless vermin perish even in the process of keeping our bodies clean. Pure humanitarianism will seek ways to prevent the infesting of the flour and keeping the body from becoming unclean. So also, pure humanitarianism will look for the cause of surreptitious admissions and take measures to promote moral purity. It will not encourage and shield laxity by accepting the burden of such admissions.

I need hardly say that my criticism is only meant to be helpful and is not prompted by a desire to cast aspersions. It is also not true that all the comments apply to every institution. The sole purpose of this article is to see that all the institutions attain the highest possible level.

In almost all our institutions, we notice more of the attitude of the *vanik*[1] than anything else. It is imperative to keep this in the background and give prominence to the (venturesome) spirit of the Kshatriya, to the (far-sighted) vision of the brahmin, above all, to the Sudra's spirit (of service).

[From Gujarati]

Mahatma Gandhini Vicharsrishti

366. LETTER TO ESTHER FAERING

MOTIHARI,
July 14, 1917

MY DEAR ESTHER,

I have just returned from Ranchi to find your letter awaiting me.

You never told me you had taken to vegetarianism. I am sure it is the proper thing for this climate, apart from its religious value. A convert to vegetarianism is often told to eat of pulses, butter, cheese and milk more than during the meat-eating period. This is a mistake. Pulses may be eaten only sparingly. If one takes a fair quantity of milk, very little butter is required.

In my opinion, it is wrong to possess unnecessary things; they presuppose defence of things possessed against those who may covet them. They require care and attention which might well be devoted to more important matters and loss of them always leaves a pang, no matter how detached you may feel about them.

The sittings of the Committee commence on Monday.

I was delighted to see your thoughtful gifts to Mrs. Gandhi.

With love from us all,

Yours,
BAPU

My Dear Child, pp. 17-8

[1] Trader

367. LETTER TO MAGANLAL GANDHI

MOTIHARI,
Ashadh Vad 11, Samvat 1973 [July 15, 1917]

CHI. MAGANLAL,

Put into a box whatever cloth, and of whatever type, you can spare there and send it to Motihari.

Have it made into pieces and state the price per yard; you will also do well to attach [price-]slips with gum. Dhotis are needed, as many as you can send, 10 yards by 50 inches and 10 yards by 45 inches. Napkins and handkerchiefs too are needed. Also some kind of cloth for scarves. And caps as well. Can't the women living there be asked to work on these? They may be paid a small amount. The caps must be hand-stitched, even if they cost more. Did you get my letter[1] about Santok? It has not been acknowledged. Tell Fulchand not to send me the accounts every week. It will be enough if he sends, from time to time, items of special note.

1. How much Hindi, and how well, is the Swamiji able to teach?
2. How many turn up to learn it?
3. Have you opened a class in the city?
4. Has Anandshankarbhai turned up again, as he was to? Has he started teaching?
5. What came out of the proposal to buy new land?
6. Has it been possible for Chhotalal to be completely free from cooking?

Either you or Fulchand may please answer these questions.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: C.W. 5719. Courtesy: Radhabehn Choudhri

[1] Not available

368. SPEECH AT CHAMPARAN ENQUIRY COMMITTEE MEETING

BETTIAH,
July 19, 1917

The Champaran Agrarian Enquiry Committee resumed their sitting today. At the outset the Chairman[1] said some of the written statements put before them contained events relating to specific acts of coercion alleged to have occurred many years ago. Some were about twenty or twenty-five years old. It was quite impossible for them for their inquiry to extend back to such remote periods. Their inquiry related to the present agrarian conditions of Champaran District and their concern with the past history would be inasmuch as it would elucidate present conditions. He did not think any advantage would accrue by inquiring into individual cases that occurred a long number of years ago and he ruled the Committee should confine itself to more recent events for the reason that there was a special inquiry made by Mr. Gourlay in 1909 which dealt with all agrarian conditions prior to that date and he proposed the Committee should undertake only an inquiry of conditions after Mr. Gourlay's inquiry. That seemed to him to be the reasonable time to adopt. The second point he wished to put forward was that certain incidents referred to matters which had been the subject of decisions of judicial courts of the country. Again, it would be useless for them to attempt to review those cases. Already those cases had been heard and decided by judicial courts and it was not in the province of the Committee to revise the decisions of the judicial courts of the country. Therefore, so far as those cases were concerned, all that they could consider was the judicial record and not any extra facts connected with it.

Mr. Gandhi said he wished to say just a few words on the subject as he was responsible for putting in those statements. He bowed to the Chairman's ruling but he thought it was necessary to put those matters in statement as otherwise he would not have done justice to those men unless he allowed them to give their story in its historical sequence. He did not wish the Committee to go behind judicial decisions, but he thought the Committee should have an opportunity of having the full story of the ryots.

The Chairman said they could not enquire into allegations that judgements of courts were based on false facts.

Mr. Gandhi said he agreed, but he thought it was proper not to withhold anything from the Committee.

The Hindu, 20-7-1917

[1] Sir Frank George Sly

369. QUESTIONS DURING EVIDENCE BEFORE CHAMPARAN ENQUIRY COMMITTEE

July 23, 1917

Mr. Gandhi, who questioned witness [Mr. A. Ammon[1]], said the case about Sant Raut was not that his house was looted, but that when he returned in January he found his field granaries, grain, utensils, sal tree logs, etc. looted.

Witness replied that it was not true, so far as he knew. He did not know that Sant had filed a petition a few days before the alleged occurrence before the magistrate saying he was in fear of these things being looted. He heard of the loot for the first time from the newspapers. . . .

The Pioneer, 25-7-1917

370. LETTER TO MAGANLAL GANDHI

MOTIHARI,
Shravan Sud 5, 1973 [July 24, 1917]

CHI. MAGANLAL,

Your birthday has come and gone. That means your body has one year less to live. I have built on you hopes much like Shaikhchalli's[2], so that in wishing continuing growth of purity in you, I serve my interest as well. You are all that I have and all I desire. It is my prayer to God and my blessing to you that you realize all your high aspirations, live long and grow healthier, that you become an ideal for your family, for the country and the world at large.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: C.W. 5721. Courtesy: Radhabehn Choudhri

[1] Manager of the Belwa Factory

[2] The young man in the folk tale who, going out to sell some ghee, dreamt of setting up a poultry farm with the proceeds and by and by becoming the head of a family.

371. LETTER TO SECRETARY, PASSENGERS' GRIEVANCES COMMITTEE, RANGOON

MOTIHARI,
July 25, 1917

TO
THE SECRETARY
PASSENGERS' GRIEVANCES COMMITTEE
RANGOON

SIR,

I have the honour to submit the enclosed note on the matter before your Committee for its consideration.

I am,
Yours faithfully,

[ENCLOSURE]

NOTE

PART I

GRIEVANCES

The undersigned has considerable experience of travelling, having travelled in several parts of the world during the past 25 years.

The undersigned had occasion during 1901[1] and again in 1915[2] to travel to Burma. The undersigned used to travel, as a rule, first class up to nearly 4 years ago. Latterly he has travelled as a deck passenger. In the opinion of the undersigned:

1. Deck passengers making use of the British India Steam Navigation Service do not receive adequate attention from the Company's employees or the police.
2. The passengers are hustled about by both, are spoken to roughly, often sworn at and not unoften assaulted.
3. The employees do not put themselves out for receiving complaints.
4. The crew maltreat the passengers and almost invariably take bribes.

[1] Actually 1902; *vide* Vol. III, p-224.
[2] *Vide* "Letter to Agents of B. I. S. N. Company", 19-3-1915.

5. Passengers are huddled together anyhow, there being absolutely no supervision as to how and where they seat themselves; the result is that the strongest or the richest secure the best accommodation.
6. Female passengers are similarly treated as in clause (5) and have no privacy of any kind reserved for them.
7. The deck is often in a filthy condition.
8. There is no control over the passengers' behaviour; the result is that dirty passengers spit and eat anywhere and anyhow, much to the discomfort of the cleanly ones.
9. Closets are filthy beyond description; closets allotted for females are often used by men; Mrs. Gandhi had to be specially accompanied each time she wanted to use the closets. There are, as a rule, no locks to the doors.
10. Bathing accommodation, such as it is, is often taken up by the crew. There is hardly any facility for washing clothes.
11. Accommodation referred to in (9) and (10) is too little for the number of passengers taken.
12. During his voyages, the undersigned felt that the passengers taken were too many for the space reserved for deck passengers.
13. There seemed to be no control over the disposition of the luggage of the passengers; the result was that much space was taken up by the passengers' luggage.
14. The undersigned found that through ignorance, fear, laziness and such other causes, passengers seemed to be reluctant to make complaints.

REMEDIES

PART II

In the opinion of the undersigned:

1. There should be special, trusted representatives of the Company approved by the Government who would go out of their way to understand deck passengers and their grievances.
2. For the wharves assistance of trustworthy volunteers should be sought from known organisations conducted in the interest of the passengers.
3. Deck, closet and bathing accommodation should be increased.
4. The representatives mentioned in clause (1) of Part II should inspect every ship and satisfy themselves as to [clause] (3) [of] Part II.
5. The representatives aforesaid should meet every steamer and inquire of the passengers as to their experiences.

6. Medical Officer on board should be empowered and be expected to look after the physical comforts of the passengers in every way. The undersigned was told by a medical officer that the looking after the accommodation of passengers, their cleanliness, the closet arrangement, their condition did not fall within his province.
7. An instruction book in several vernaculars should be issued for the passengers and a copy handed to each passenger on his receiving his ticket.

Should the Committee desire further information from the undersigned, he will gladly endeavour to give it.

From a photostat of the typewritten draft with corrections in Gandhiji's hand: S. N. 6382

372. LETTER TO W. B. HEYCOCK

MOTIHARI,
July 25, 1917

DEAR MR. HEYCOCK,

I thank you for your confidential note[1] of the 23rd instant just received. I had no intention of misconstruing your silence. But I appreciate the absolute fairness of your warning. The step I wish to take after a settlement of the question is, I know, full of possibilities and I wish to give you the assurance that nothing will be done by me without the fullest details being known by the Government and without due regard to every material circumstance.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From the original in Gandhiji's hand in the National Archives of India; also *Select Documents on Mahatma Gandhi's Movement in Champaran*, No. 150, pp. 280-1

[1] It was in reply to "Letter to W. B. Heycock", 29-6-1917 and said: ". . . my silence should not be construed as an indication that Government approve of your idea. I am not aware what attitude Government will adopt towards the proposed importation of volunteers. . . ."; *vide* Select Document No. 149.

373. QUESTIONS DURING EVIDENCE BEFORE CHAMPARAN COMMITTEE[1]

MOTIHARI,
July 26, 1917

The only witness examined today by the Champaran Agrarian Enquiry Committee was Mr. W. S. Irwin, Manager of Motihari Limited. Examined by the Chairman, witness said his concern consisted of six factories. It was an indigo concern before, but it was not now. He converted the *tinkathia* system in 1911 by taking their *tawan* of *sharahbeshi*. Under the *tinkathia* obligation every ryot had to work three *cottahs*[2] of indigo. The claim was against every ryot. Witness had taken *sharahbeshi* in *mukarrari* villages and *tawan* in *thikadari* villages.

Asked whether he claimed that an exclusive right was created because the Raj had allowed it, witness said that the Raj had taken a good deal more than they were allowed to collect under the terms of their leases. When he said Government recognised the obligation he meant that they recognised it tacitly, because they said that so long as indigo was grown rents could not be raised.

Witness then gave similar evidence to the previous witnesses about the imposition of fines and employment of labour.

To Mr. Gandhi, witness said he had not fined any person Rs. 500/- when told that Mr. Gandhi had a man who alleged witness had fined him a thousand rupees. Witness said:

"If Mr. Gandhi were to remain in this part of the country for the length of time I have (and it is 35 years), he would be convinced what a consummate liar the Champaran ryot is." There were several good qualities in the Champaran ryot, but certainly truth was not one of them. Before his letter to *The Pioneer*, there was not a single complaint made against him.

Mr. Gandhi said that from Mr. Heycock's (Collector's) summary, it appeared during the last four years, 27 petitions had been sent to the Collector from 20 different villages against the factory.

Witness said he had thirty thousand tenants, and if in four years 27 petitions were sent, it was natural they might not come to his notice.

Witness was next questioned about specific cases of oppression and in one it was alleged he had destroyed the crop of one Lakhan Rai.[3]

Witness said that in November 1914 at a court auction sale he had purchased a certain plot of one Alam. A portion of the holding was in Lakhan Rai's name as a sub-ryot, but at the attestation Lakhan Rai told the Settlement

[1] This report is included in full as a sample of such reports.
[2] *Katha*, a measurement of land equal to 1/20th of a *bigha*
[3] *Vide* "Letter to W. S. Irwin", 24-5-1917.

Officer he was no longer a sub-ryot. Witness here produced a certified copy to substantiate his statement and said that at the time there was a crop of oats on the land and he let Lakhan Rai have half of it. In May last he ordered the whole of this land to be prepared for indigo and it was then discovered that in two *cottahs* in a corner Lakhan Rai had surreptitiously sown china. This he had absolutely no right to do, and witness' men ploughed up the whole land. The crop was of very poor quality and the damage was very slight.

With regard to a second incident about which he was asked, witness admitted that to a certain extent he was in the wrong. The story relating to this incident, he said, was that about the 23rd May last his *Gumashta*[1] reported to him that three factory carts had gone to complainant's village to bring the factory's half share of *batai bhusa*. There at the instigation of Bataidar, his cartmen were assaulted and the *bhusa* was thrown from the carts. When the men went to witness he admitted he gave them a few cuts on the leg with a light riding cane, but he was very angry at the time. They had assaulted his men badly. It was true he had threatened to fine them, but he had not actually done so. As for their being shut up in witness's hen house, it was absolutely fasle. The men were nowhere near it.

MR. GANDHI : Then half of the ryot's story is true?

It was true he had converted some of the ryots' lands into *zirat* lands, but he had given lands in exchange and there was no complaint about it. On the exchange lands, the ryots had actually sown and reaped their crops. Witness had to convert these lands, as it was necessary to have all *zirat* lands in one place to ensure effective supervision. It was the practice in all *zamindaris* to effect this exchange of lands.

This concluded witness's evidence and the Committee shortly after left for Bettiah to go to villages in the interior where they intend to have local inspection.

The Pioneer, 28-7-1917

[1] Agent

374. EXTRACTS FROM MINUTES OF CHAMPARAN COMMITTEE MEETING

GUEST HOUSE,
BETTIAH,
July 27, 1917

* * *

POUNDS—Mr. Gandhi considered that pounds should be directly managed by the Board and not auctioned. . . .

(1) *Cost of Cultivation*:—Mr. Reid said it cost planters Rs. 7 to Rs. 8 per acre for *zirat* cultivation. Raja Kirtyanand Sinha[1] confirmed this from his own experience. Mr. Gandhi said that *raiyats* estimated it not below Rs. 20 or Rs. 25 per acre, but he would examine the question further after seeing the factory books. . . .

. . . Mr. Gandhi urged that voluntary contracts should be limited to one year. . . .

SHARAHBESHI—As regards enhancement of rent in lieu of *tinkathia* (*sharahbeshi*) recognized at the resettlement, Mr. Gandhi thought that it ought to be revised and reduced to the ordinary enhancement allowed for rise in prices. The President and other members were not prepared to agree and it was pointed out that under the law the enhancement could not be touched in most cases.

TAWAN—All agreed that *tawan* was an unjustifiable practice and should be stopped for the future. The question was then discussed as to what action, if any, should be taken in cases where it had already been taken. Mr. Gandhi thought that where sums had already been paid, no action could be taken, but that factories should be required to cancel all outstanding debts on this account. He recognized that this could only be applied to factories which were still the property of the persons who had taken the bonds and had not been sold in the meantime. This could be enforced by the Court of Wards refusing to renew the leases of *thikadars*[2] who refused to agree to this arrangement. Other members felt that there were difficulties in the proposal which required further consideration.

* * *

Mr. Gandhi's proposals were:

1. That the Court of Wards should not extend the *thika* system.

[1] Of Banaili, a member of the Bihar and Orissa Legislative Council, who was appointed on July 9, 1917 a member of the Champaran Agrarian Enquiry Committee on the resignation of Raja Harihar Prasad Narayan Singh

[2] Contractors

2. If in the case of existing *thikas* the estate decided to renew the leases, (they) should contain conditions enforcing the recommendations of the Committee, including

(1) no indigo to be grown except in a voluntary system,

(2) no *abwabs* to be taken,

(3) no *hurja*[1] or *tawan* to be taken.

These proposals were accepted.

Select Documents on Mahatma Gandhi's Movement in Champaran, No. 152, pp. 287-9

375. LETTER TO JAMNALAL BAJAJ

MOTIHARI,
Shravan Shukla 1 [July 28, 1917][2]

DEAR SHRI JAMNALALJI[3],

I have your letter and draft for Rs. 1,500/-. I am grateful. Your donation will be earmarked for the spread of Hindi. If some other people send [money] for this specific purpose and some amount is saved, your donation will also be spent on other activities.

I shall let you know if I have to go to Wardha again.

Yours
MOHANDAS GANDHI

From a photostat of the Hindi original in Gandhiji's hand: G. N. 2833

376. CONFIDENTIAL NOTE TO CHAMPARAN COMMITTEE MEMBERS ON SHARAHBESHI

BETTIAH,
July 29, 1917

In my humble opinion (1) the existence of the committee is due to the evils of the *tinkathia* system; (2) its chief function is to deal with it in an equitable manner; and (3) it is expected to make such recommendations as would settle the matter once for all, would restore harmony between zamindars or *thikadars* and the

[1] Demurrage

[2] Gandhiji was in Motihari on this day.

[3] (1889-1942), whom Gandhiji regarded as his fifth son; Treasurer of the Indian National Congress for a number of years; identified himself with Gandhiji's constructive activities

raiyats and would prevent future disputes whether in the shape of law suits or otherwise.

If *tinkathia* is abolished for a consideration, the committee will have neglected its primary duty. The committee has been appointed in spite of the *tinkathia* system being the subject-matter of a law suit. The committee has overwhelming proof before it to know that *tinkathia* has bound the *raiyat* like the coil of a serpent from which whether it be legal or not the *raiyats* have ever striven to get free and from which the Government have hitherto made unsuccessful attempts to free them. Official evidence before us goes to show that it has taxed the officials' wit to the utmost in their endeavour to get out of it; they attribute everything to *tinkathia*. There is much truth in Mr. Whitty's remark that though he can produce no direct evidence to show that *tinkathia* is responsible for the *abwabs*, etc., he has felt it to be so. In the circumstances the committee, I venture to submit, is bound to condemn it in unequivocal terms and advise its abolition without any consideration whatsoever being paid by the *raiyats*. The legality of slavery, when once its sinfulness was recognized, did not require a price from the slave for his freedom.

It is submitted therefore that the least the committee can do is:

(1) to abolish *tinkathia* unconditionally;

(2) to abolish *sharahbeshi* without interference with the past collections at the *sharahbeshi* rates;

(3) to cancel *sharahbeshi* whether registered as a matter of contract or compromise subject however to enhancement of the pre-*sharahbeshi* rent as in *kham*[1] or *thika* villages.

The result of such a settlement will mean withdrawal of the High Court case and lasting peace so far as *tinkathia* and *sharahbeshi* are concerned.

The result of leaving the matter to be decided as a matter of law pure and simple will be a fruitful source of interminable disputes in which the longest purse alone must win. It will promote bitterness between parties and reopening of many cases in the event of the *raiyats* winning, decided under the Sweeney[2] Settlement and will mean a loss to the landlord of the enhancement offered under the foregoing scheme. Neither the Government nor the committee can contemplate with equanimity such a state of things. Finally,

[1] An estate under direct management

[2] J. A. Sweeney, Settlement Officer, North Bihar

if *tawan* is bad, *sharahbeshi* is worse from the *raiyats'* standpoint. The former has pinched the present party, the latter leaves a legacy to generations yet unborn. We know too that *sharahbeshi* was proposed and taken when indigo was no longer a profitable proposition for the planter and that the Rajpur concern has shown that *khuski* indigo has been taken up practically without any extra cost to the planter. So with *sharahbeshi* he has a fair prospect of having obtained the utmost enhancement in his rents and a continuance of profits from indigo under another form.

M. K. GANDHI

From the typewritten original signed by Gandhiji in the National Archives of India; also *Select Documents on Mahatma Gandhi's Movement in Champaran*, No. 153, pp. 290-1

377. LETTER TO FULCHAND SHAH

MOTIHARI,
Shravan Sud 13 [August 1, 1917][1]

BHAISHRI FULCHAND,

Preserve this letter after reading it. The money has been sent to Revashankarbhai. Debit it to his account. All the letters received yesterday have been misplaced by Devdas. One of them gave the figure for cloth. Send it again when you write next. The bale has not been received yet.

You will manage to publish Gokhale's speeches only if you start the work right from today, and you must do so.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS

Prabhudas has left today. He should reach there by Saturday, 8.30 p.m.

From a photostat of the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: S. N. 6386a

[1] Gandhiji was in Motihari on this day.

378. LETTER TO ESTHER FAERING

NADIAD,
August 3, 1917

MY DEAR ESTHER,

You have raised big questions. I think the command of Jesus is unequivocal. All killing is bad for one who is filled with love. He will not need to kill. He will not kill. He who is filled with pity for the snake and does not fear him will not kill him and the snake will not hurt him. This state of innocence is the one we must reach. But only a few can reach it. It seems to me to be impossible for nations to reach it. Equal progress in all is an inconceivable situation. Nations will therefore always fight. One of them will be less wrong than the other. A nation to be in the right can only fight with soul-force. Such a nation has still to be born. I had hoped that India was that nation. I fear I was wrong. The utmost I expect of India is that she may become a great restraining force. But she must acquire the ability to fight and suffer before she can speak to the world with any degree of effect.

The pertinent question for you and me is what is our duty as individuals. I have come to this workable decision for myself, 'I will not kill anyone for any cause whatsoever but be killed by him if resistance of his will render my being killed necessary.' I would give similar advice to everybody. But where I know that there is want of will altogether, I would advise him to exert his will and fight. There is no love where there is no will. In India there is not only no love but hatred due to emasculation. There is the strongest desire to fight and kill side by side with utter helplessness. This desire must be satisfied by restoring the capacity for fighting. Then comes the choice.

Yes, the very act of forgiving and loving shows superiority in the doer. But that way of putting the proposition begs the question, who can love? A mouse as mouse cannot love a cat. A mouse cannot be commonly said to refrain from hurting a cat. You do not love him whom you fear. Immediately you cease to fear, you are ready for your choice—to strike or to refrain. To refrain is proof of awakening of the soul in man; to strike is proof of body-force. The ability to strike must be present when the power of the soul is demonstrated. This does not mean that we must be bodily superior to the adversary.

This is not a satisfactory letter but I think you will follow my argument. But in matters such as these, prayer is the thing.

With love,

My Dear Child, pp. 18-9

379. LETTER TO POPATLAL

Shravan Vad 5 [August 7, 1917][1]

BHAISHRI POPATLAL,

I was extremely happy to read of your going to the Ashram. Take whatever subject suits you after consulting everyone there. Be careful that you do not spoil your eyes.

I hope to be back there next week.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS

From a photostat of the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: S. N. 6384

380. EXTRACTS FROM MINUTES OF CHAMPARAN COMMITTEE MEETING

BETTIAH,
August 8, 1917

* * *

Mr. Gandhi suggested that the report should specify the more general kinds of *abwab*, so that there could be no doubt as to their condemnation. This was agreed to.

* * *

FINES—The outstanding point to be settled about fines was the recommendation in respect of cases to which the landlord was a party. The President said that, in his opinion, to adopt Mr. Gandhi's suggestion that in all such cases the matter should go to a court would be injurious to the *raiyats* and would moreover require legislation. He thought Mr. Gandhi's objection might be met if it were clearly laid down and understood—

(1) that the payment was entirely voluntary,

(2) that if the *raiyat* thought he was not liable, or that the payment was excessive, it was open for him to refuse to pay.

[1] Found with Gandhiji's correspondence of 1917, the letter is placed in that year. Again, Gandhiji left Bettiah for Ahmedabad on August 16.

. . . Mr. Gandhi said that as the fines were few, so also would be the number of cases in which the landlords would have to report to the court. He thought the power of the landlord over the *raiyats* was so great that it would be difficult to ensure that payments were voluntary. After some discussion it was agreed, on the suggestion of Mr. Reid, that the assessing of damages should be left to arbitration. . . .

Select Documents on Mahatma Gandhi's Movement in Champaran, No. 156, pp. 293-4

381. LETTER TO MATHURADAS TRIKUMJI

MOTIHARI,
Shravan Vad 7 [August 9, 1917]

CHI. [MATHURADAS],

I got your letter. It has been misplaced; moreover, being very busy with my work, I forgot all about it. I can hardly keep an account of births and deaths. In these matters, I have ceased to be of any use to the family. These tides and ebbs scarcely affect me either. This is the third death in the family I have heard of in recent days. I think for a moment and then the thing goes out of my mind. This condition has come to me with no effort on my part but I feel it is worth while cultivating it. Death is but an inevitable transformation of the present state. Why should it occasion fear? Birth is also a sign of the same process of change. Why do we hail it with joy? The aspiration for deliverance from both the contingencies, for us as well as for the whole world, is described as supreme *purushartha*[1]. Such being the case, what consolation shall I give to Anand? She is given to religious devotions. This is a very good occasion for her to understand the true meaning of religion.

Blessings from
MOHANDAS

[From Gujarati]
Mahatma Gandhini Vicharsrishti

[1] Deliverance from both birth and death is the last of the four ends of life, *viz.*, *dharma*, *artha* (material prosperity), *kama* (pleasure), *moksha* (liberation).

382. EXTRACTS FROM MINUTES OF CHAMPARAN COMMITTEE MEETING

August 10, 1917

*   *   *

(1) *Cost of Cultivation*[1] :—Mr. Gandhi said that he had not yet got certain figures from Mr. Jameson[2] but subject to anything new that these might disclose, it was recorded as the conclusion of the Committee that the maximum cost was Rs. 15 per *bigha* (8½ *hath laggi*[3]) or Rs. 10 an acre.

*   *   *

(2) Mr. Gandhi said the cost of seed of country crops was small but the President remarked that for *rabi*[4] crops, it was a considerable item. . . .

Khuski *Indigo*—Mr. Gandhi suggested that a minimum rate should be fixed for *khuski* indigo. Mr. Reid thought that there might be a danger of this suggestion extending to other crops, e.g., sugarcane. After discussion it was agreed that during the transition stage in view of the past history of indigo, it was desirable that the Association, with the approval of the Commissioner, should fix a minimum rate for *khuski* indigo, the transition stage being considered to last until Government was satisfied that the *raiyats* knew that they need not grow indigo unless they liked.

*   *   *

Compensation for abolition of tinkathia—The next point for discussion was whether on abolition of the system, compensation was to be allowed in case where the growing of indigo was recorded as an incident of the tenancy. The President, in putting his view before the Committee, said he was anxious to remove anything unjust to the *raiyats*. . . . He thought that perhaps Mr. Gandhi from his experience of a *raiyatwari* tract had not fully appreciated the landlord's position. The proposal he put before the meeting was that a special court should be created to deal with these cases. This court would decide, subject to appeal to a special judge,

(a) if the incident of tenancy existed, and if so

(b) a fair rate for commutation of the incident.

[1] The subject under discussion was *tinkathia* indigo.

[2] J. V. Jameson, Manager, Jallaha Factory

[3] A unit of land measurement used in Champaran

[4] Winter crops

The commutation should be made by an addition to rent and not by a lump sum. In fixing a fair rent as commutation, the court should

(a) consider the loss incurred by the *raiyat* under *tinkathia*

(b) the actual enhanced rents paid in similar circumstances for commutation, and

(c) in no circumstances fix a total rent which was not fair and equitable.

The enhancement might be made progressive if it exceeded 25 per cent.

Mr. Gandhi said he did not wish to enter into legal points but merely to regard the question from the point of view of equity. The result of the proposal would be that *raiyats* in villages under direct management would be placed in a better position than *raiyats* in indigo villages, although the latter had borne this heavy burden in the past which was inequitable. He thought that the evil of the system had not been properly recognised by the Committee. Government had never agreed that indigo-growing was an obligation, and all the papers showed that the system and its accompaniments formed an intolerable burden on the *raiyats*. The proposal did not free the *raiyats*; on the other hand, it was a free gift to the planters, it was the planters who wished to give up indigo because, whatever might be the case now, indigo was not paying when the conversions were made, and it was not fair to the *raiyats* to make them pay for giving up indigo. He had considered the matter from the landlords' point of view, as was shown by his agreement in the matter of *tawan*. In the present question, he could not separate the *raiyats* of *mukarrari* villages from those of *thika* villages. They were in the same position and should be regarded in the same way. He could not therefore agree to anything beyond an enhancement of rent under the ordinary provision of the law, and opposed any special enhancement in lieu of *tinkathia*. He foresaw complications in the action proposed. A settlement by a special court would take some months, which was undesirable in the present state of unrest. An immediate and automatic remedy was required, and this would be the merit of his suggestion of an enhancement at a fixed rate on the ground of the rise in prices, that is, of 3 annas in the rupee all round. . . .

The President pointed out that in comparing the position of the non-indigo *raiyats* with the indigo *raiyats*, it had to be considered that in villages where *abwab* were taken, they were higher than *sharahbeshi*, and, that where *abwab* were not taken (e.g., Madhuban Estate), the rent was enhanced to a higher pitch than elsewhere. Admittedly in Bettiah *kham* villages these considerations did not apply but it was impossible to secure absolute equality, and in any case the proposal would improve the position of the *raiyat* who had been growing indigo. As to the criticism that the proposal was a free gift to planters, he said that it was only proposed to allow an enhancement where the legal property of the planter existed and even then the full value of this property was not being given. He did not think the difficulties of the special court would

be great. The settlement records would give a good basis and the area to be dealt with was not large.

. . . Mr. Rainy[1] said the proposal was similar to that adopted in Chhota Nagpur where legislation compelled the computation of predial conditions. He denied that Government had never recognised the fact that the obligation might be an incident of tenancy, for section 29 proviso (iii) was clear evidence that they had and so was the Board's letter No. 5032-R(A) dated the 16th October, 1912, regarding Mr. Irwin's *sharahbeshi*. Mr. Gandhi said that if the legal right was not consistent with equity or had been grossly abused as in this case, no compensation should be given. . . .

Mr. Reid said that most of the *raiyats* took their holdings under an agreement to grow indigo. Mr. Gandhi said the complaint was not against indigo itself but against the manner and method of growing it. . . . the complaint was not against the system but against the moral and intellectual damage caused by it to the *raiyats* by keeping them backward. The President pointed out that his proposal gave much to the *raiyats*, viz., freedom

(1) from growing indigo if they did not wish,
(2) from having their best lands selected for indigo,
(3) from supervision by factory servants,
(4) from paying compensation for this freedom except in cases where the obligation was the legal property of the landlord and even then full compensation would not be given.

Mr. Gandhi said that this included nothing that was not offered by the planters themselves but Mr. Rainy pointed out that whereas the planters offered their own terms, the proposal contemplated that they should be compelled to accept terms fixed by a court.

The President said that Mr. Gandhi's position practically amounted to the proposition that the *raiyats* should get off paying an equitable rent on the ground of past oppression, which position did not appear to him to be sound.

At this stage, the meeting adjourned.

Select Documents on Mahatma Gandhi's Movement in Champaran, No. 158, pp. 296-300

[1] Sir G. Rainy, member, Champaran Agrarian Enquiry Committee

383. EXTRACTS FROM MINUTES OF CHAMPARAN COMMITTEE MEETING

August 11, 1917

Resuming the discussion of the previous day, Mr. Gandhi said that the average amount of *sharahbeshi* taken was about 50 per cent of the rent. The note circulated by Raja Kirtyanand Sinha suggested a compromise of an enhancement of four annas in the rupee to cover *sharahbeshi* and ordinary enhancement on the score of rise in prices. He was anxious to meet the views of his fellow-members so far as that was possible, and he was prepared to agree to a small enhancement over and above that admissible for a rise in prices but would not support a penal enhancement. The greatest difficulty would be as regards the *sharahbeshi* already taken. He thought that anything very much larger than the enhancement allowed for the rise in prices would be near the danger point. . . . The President said that he understood the proposal to be that, in cases where the obligation to grow indigo existed as an incident of tenancy or had been commuted by *sharahbeshi*, a slight enhancement though not a penal one in excess of the enhancement generally admissible for a rise in prices should be allowed. He pointed out that it was impossible to fix a definite figure for the total enhancement, because it was still uncertain what enhancement would eventually be allowed by the courts on account of the rise in prices. The proposal therefore could only refer to the amount of enhancement above this figure. He asked Mr. Gandhi to what extra enhancement he was prepared to agree. Mr. Gandhi said he thought not more than one anna in the rupee.

. . . The President said that the facts were that by a settlement between the planters and *raiyats*, there had been a *sharahbeshi* enhancement of 50 per cent, which Mr. Gandhi thought excessive because the legal property in exchange for which this enhancement was taken was inequitable and therefore the enhancement should be reduced. Mr. Gandhi added that there was also the fact that the tenants were not paying rents and in one case their resistance had been successful. By adopting his suggestion, the Committee would put a stop at once to the present trouble and it was not open to the Committee to shift responsibility by suggesting another tribunal. Mr. Adami held the view that one anna was not sufficient and, considering the difficulties which had been pointed out by Mr. Rainy, he would be inclined to adopt the suggestion of a general settlement of rents in *mukarrari* villages by a special tribunal in all cases where the obligation still existed or where it had been converted. Raja Kirtyanand Sinha supported the proposal in his note for an enhancement of four annas in the rupee. Mr. Gandhi remarked that if Mr. Adami's proposal was accepted, the Committee would only have half done its work, but his main

objection to it was that it would add to a ferment which already existed. The Committee had the right to confer with the planters and he thought it would be far better if they could come to some agreement with the planters without the necessity of appointing any tribunal which would delay a final agreement. Mr. Reid pointed out that the three concerns mainly affected were Motihari, Pipra and Turkaulia and he was prepared to put the proposal before these three concerns. The President remarked that it should first be decided whether the proposal was to be put before the planters as a final one which they could adopt or not or merely as a basis for discussion. He inclined to the latter. There was a tremendous advantage in getting the question settled without reference to any court and, as he himself doubted whether one anna was adequate, he thought the suggestion should be used as a basis for discussion. Mr. Gandhi said that he would not go so far as to say that he could not agree to anything above one anna, but at the same time he could not say that he would go beyond this point. The one anna was pure concession on his part, because he did not think the *raiyats* should be called upon to pay any enhancement beyond that allowed by the rise in prices. Mr. Reid doubted if the planters would agree to anything under eight annas enhancement and pointed out that even in Pipra which had taken the biggest enhancement, the rents were only Rs. 2 an acre.

Mr. Reid then suggested that it would be a fairer proposal if the amount of *sharahbeshi* was reduced by a fixed percentage, say, by 25 per cent. Mr. Gandhi said he would be very willing to consider that as a basis for a settlement and would be prepared to go a long way to get good will established. It was generally agreed that this was a fairer basis for discussion than the original proposal, and that Messrs Irwin[1], Hill[2], and Norman[3] should be asked to come on the following day in order that the proposal might be put to them.

Tawan—The proposal left over for decision from the first meeting was that no action should be taken in cases where *tawan* had been already paid but that outstanding bonds on account of *tawan* should be cancelled. The President said one difficulty about this proposal was that some bonds were mixed and included amounts taken on accounts other than *tawan*, and some sort of enquiry would therefore be necessary before the question of these bonds could be finally disposed of. The other difficulty was that the proposal worked unequally both on *raiyats* and planters. Mr. Gandhi pointed out that the first difficulty could be got over by examining the factory books, and he would leave it to the Bettiah Raj to satisfy itself that outstanding amounts on account of *tawan* had been foregone. Mr. Reid said that he thought the only factory where such mixed bonds were taken was Bairia where in some cases the debts of *raiyats* had been

[1] W. S. Irwin of Motihari Factory
[2] J. L. Hill, Manager, Turkaulia Concern
[3] J. B. Norman, Manager, Pipra Indigo Concern

taken over and added to the *tawan*. He would be inclined to apply the same suggestion to *tawan* that he made in the case of *sharahbeshi*, namely, to deduct a percentage from outstandings and to refund a percentage on the *tawan* already paid. This would only apply to *thika* villages. . . .

The next point considered was whether the Raj could claim an enhancement of rent in cases where *tawan* had been taken. Mr. Rainy said he was inclined to agree to the proposal that no enhancement should be applied for in such cases, but the President felt that the interests of the Bettiah Raj also needed consideration. He would propose that the Raj should not be debarred from claiming an enhancement of rent in cases where *tawan* had been taken but that for a period of years, say five, the enhanced rent should not be realized. Mr. Gandhi suggested that the enhancement of rent should be foregone until the following settlement. Mr. Rainy remarked that the 15-year period could not be justified if the amount of *tawan* taken did not cover 15 times the enhancement. His idea was that the Raj should forego enhancement so far as it was covered by the *tawan*. Mr. Reid pointed out that the Raj was to blame to some extent for the position. After discussion, it was decided to recommend that in cases where *tawan* had been taken, the Raj was not to be debarred from claiming enhancement but it would forego realisation of the enhancement for a period of seven years. . . .

* * *

Mr. Gandhi made the following proposals:

(1) That the Committee should make a general recommendation that the orders passed by Government on the Committee's report should be communicated in the vernacular to the *raiyats*. This was accepted.

(2) That the kerosene oil monopoly should be stopped. This was agreed to.

(3) He proposed that *raiyats* should be informed that *dasturi* was illegal. It was agreed to say in the report that it had been brought to notice that *amla* took commissions on payments which were entirely illegal and that every effort should be made to stop them and to recommend that a proclamation should be issued to the *raiyats*, informing them that this *dasturi* was not legally payable.

(4) He suggested that some officer should be deputed to enquire periodically if the orders of Government on the Committee's recommendations were being carried out. It was agreed that a paragraph should be included to emphasise that an important part of the duties of the district staff would be to see that Government orders on the recommendation were carried out which would apply especially to the staff of the Bettiah Raj until Government was satisfied that the full effect of these orders had been secured. . .

Select Documents on Mahatma Gandhi's Movement in Champaran, No. 159, pp. 300-5

384. EXTRACTS FROM MINUTES OF CHAMPARAN COMMITTEE MEETING

August 12, 1917

At the resumption of the discussion, Messrs Irwin (Motihari), Norman (Pipra) and Hill (Turkaulia) were present by invitation. The President explained that this discussion must be entirely confidential. The Committee had come to the unanimous conclusion that the *tinkathia* system should go and should be replaced by the *khuski* system under short-term agreement. It had, therefore, been necessary to consider the question of the commutation of the indigo obligation both in cases where it still existed and in cases where it had already been commuted. . . . Mr. Gandhi had said that he was prepared to consider the possibility of a settlement on certain lines. He, therefore, asked Mr. Gandhi to put his proposal before the planters present. Mr. Gandhi said that his object was to promote harmony; he had no doubt that *sharahbeshi* had caused considerable difficulty to the *raiyats*, seeing the large numbers that had protested against it. At the time of conversion of the obligation, indigo was not profitable and it was mutually beneficial to both parties to cancel the obligation. Any burden imposed, therefore, on the *raiyats* beyond the ordinary legal enhancements was one against which they were justified in protesting. As to the amount of the ordinary enhancement about which on the previous day there appeared to be some doubt, he referred to the judgment of the special judge in special appeal No. 14 of 1916, and said that it appeared from that that the enhancement eventually decided on would be three annas and not four annas eight pies. He had suggested as a concession an extra anna on account of *sharahbeshi*. The planters would no doubt consider that it called for considerable self-denial on their part to give up anything of the *sharahbeshi* which they had already obtained, but he appealed to them to think of the *raiyats'* position; he would be prepared to accept a proposal on the basis of an all-round reduction in the *sharahbeshi* already taken which was perhaps a better basis for discussion. He pointed out how desirable it was that some figure should be agreed upon between the parties because, in the event of this not being done in either of the ways suggested, the only course remaining was the settlement of rents by a special tribunal which would give rise to endless quarrels, and would postpone settlement of the disputes over a considerable period. If, however, the planters would prefer to have a special tribunal, he would be prepared to consider the proposal. The President remarked that so far as the discussion had gone, the Committee favoured a settlement on the lines of proportionate reduction of *sharahbeshi* taken rather than the proposal to an all-round enhancement of a certain amount on the original rents, because the former was more equi-

table in view of the varying conditions of different concerns. . . . Mr. Reid said he had a long talk that morning with the three planters present. At first they had been averse from agreeing to any decrease to the enhancement which had been mutually agreed upon and approved by the Settlement Court. Their view was that they had valuable property which the Committee was asking them to give up in part. He had put the view to them that it was extremely desirable to avoid future litigation and trouble even if it involved some sacrifice on their part. Finally, they had agreed reluctantly to remit a certain proportion. Mr. Hill, however, had pointed out that his enhancements were low and that he thought that the reduction in his case should be less than in that of others. Mr. Gandhi said he was prepared to accept the principle of a different rate of reduction for different concerns but the difficulty was that the Committee had not got the figures before them and he doubted if the settlement records would give them sufficient data for arriving at a proper variation in the reduction without further enquiry. The President said that the advantage of getting a settlement by agreement was immense not only to the planters but also to the *raiyats*. . . . If the Committee could decide on a particular percentage of reduction, they would get a long way towards settlement and he, therefore, thought that an endeavour should be made to get down to a particular figure. The alternative to a settlement by agreement was one which would lead to increased bitterness of feeling and even then the decisions of the special court might not be accepted with good-will. He would, therefore, ask the planters to state what was the outside figure of the reduction of the *sharahbeshi* enhancement to which they are prepared to agree. Messrs Irwin and Norman said they were prepared to forego 25 per cent. and Mr. Hill said he was prepared to forego 20 per cent. as a maximum. Mr. Gandhi said that he was not in a position at present to say off hand what percentage of reduction he would consider to be fair and he was not sure whether the Committee were in a position to arrive at a figure at the present moment. . . . Mr. Gandhi wanted to know if the planters would agree to leave the percentage to be fixed by the Committee. The planters explained their position to be that if the Committee recommended any deduction up to 25 per cent, they would accept it; if the Committee recommended a higher figure than 25 per cent, they would oppose it; and on the understanding that this would be binding on all with no possibility of litigation outside such agreement. The President remarked that he thought that any agreement would require binding by legislation and that it now remained for the Committee to try and arrive at some agreement on the percentage. He pointed out that in all these *sharahbeshi* cases, the enhanced rents had been passed by the Settlement Courts as fair and equitable, so that the Committee could be quite certain that any rents fixed after such a reduction of *sharahbeshi* as was proposed would be *a fortiori* fair to the *raiyats*. In disputed cases, the rent had only been passed as fair and equitable by the Settlement Courts where they held that the *tinkathia* obligation was proved and the original rent was low. He thought, therefore, that

there was no fear that the new rents after reduction would not be fair and equitable. Mr. Gandhi observed that the Settlement Officer was, in his opinion, wrong in the decisions he gave and had misinterpreted the law. He doubted whether the Settlement Court's decisions would stand legal scrutiny. He also thought that the settlement decisions were wrong in equity and again referred to the judgment of the Special Judge in Special Appeal No. 14 of 1916 in which the contention of the Settlement Officer that Re. 0-4-8 per rupee was an unfair enhancement had been upheld by the Special Judge. If the Settlement Courts had considered Re. 0-4-8 to be an unfair enhancement and had allowed only 3 annas, how could they in other cases hold enhancements rising as high as 100 per cent to be fair and equitable? . . . Mr. Rainy thought that Mr. Gandhi was confusing a legal enhancement with a fair and equitable rent. The applications of the Bettiah Raj for the settlement of their rent depended on the presumption that the existing rents were fair and equitable. In the *sharahbeshi* cases, that presumption did not arise because the rents were specially low. It was necessary to distinguish carefully the legal and equitable points of view.

Mr. Gandhi said that in determining what was a fair and equitable rent, the outturn of the soil alone should not be taken into consideration. It did not follow because the rent was only a small proportion of the produce, that it was too low. His difficulty was that his view-point and that of the planters were different and there were no cases so difficult to settle by agreement as those in which the view-points differed. He could not agree to a penal enhancement and the proposal of a 25 per cent reduction at present appeared to him to involve a penal enhancement. He wanted an opportunity to examine the figures before deciding. Mr. Irwin instanced the case of Bisambharpur, a village belonging to petty *maliks*[1] and not in lease to him although entirely surrounded by Bettiah Raj villages which he held in lease; the rates of rent in Bisambharpur varied from Rs. 9 to Rs. 14 a *bigha*, whereas the rate of rent in the surrounding villages in lease to him only averaged Rs. 4 to Rs. 5 a *bigha*, even including the *sharahbeshi*. He did not see how it was possible to contend that from the *raiyats'* standpoint, the proposal was a favourable one, as it would give them a considerable advantage. Mr. Gandhi, however, said that the legal position from the *raiyats'* stand-point was not hopeless.

* * *

Mr. Gandhi said that he worked out the figures as follows:

The *sharahbeshi* enhancements varied from 19 or 20 annas up to 30 or 32 annas per *bigha*. A 25 per cent reduction would reduce these enhancements to amounts varying from 14 annas 9 pies or 15 annas to 22 annas 6 pies or

[1] Owners or proprietors

24 annas. According to his calculation, if the rent rate was Rs. 2-6-0 per *bigha*, the enhancement under his proposal would be 10 annas per *bigha* only and the difference between this and the results of the other proposal was very considerable. The President said that in Motihari, the *sharahbeshi* was 60 per cent of the former rent. It was now proposed to reduce it to 47 per cent, whereas Mr. Gandhi's proposal would give only 25 per cent; the difference was, therefore, one of 20 per cent. Mr. Rainy pointed out that it was misleading in some cases to judge by percentage because in cases where the percentage was high, e.g., Pipra, the absolute amount of the rent was low. The President pointed out that both in Turkaulia and Motihari the *raiyats* had paid enhanced rents for 6 years with no objections, save in a very few cases, and he thought that a reduction of 25 per cent was a very considerable concession to the *raiyats*. Mr. Gandhi said that he looked at it from the point of view of what the *raiyats* had the right to demand 6 years ago, because it was only through their ignorance of their legal position that they had not raised any objections before. The President said that he saw no other way of avoiding a tribunal except settlement by consent, and it was very uncertain whether the *raiyats* would get such good terms from the tribunal as those now offered. Even if Mr. Gandhi was not satisfied that the present rent including *sharahbeshi* reduced as proposed was fair and equitable, could he not be satisfied that the rent was capable of being easily paid? Mr. Gandhi said that he thought the Champaran *raiyat* was poor and he was not prepared to admit that the rent could be paid easily. . . . Mr. Gandhi said that the class of *raiyats* had to be considered as well as the possibilities of the soil and the Champaran *raiyat* was by nature a bad cultivator. In his opinion, if rents were apparently low, there was generally a very good reason for it. He considered that the *raiyats* had fully paid for this concession of abstention from rent enhancement and his view of the legal position was that the *raiyats* could free themselves from the obligation without paying any compensation. In saying this, he did not mean to imply that he wished indigo to disappear; he would advise the *raiyats* to grow indigo, provided they got reasonable rates for it. . . . Mr. Rainy said on the basis of Mr. Sweeney's figures of produce the Pipra rents were very low, the Motihari rents moderate and even the Turkaulia rents were not high; if 25 per cent of the *sharahbeshi* was taken off, it would give an ample margin of safety. Mr. Gandhi said he could not bring himself to accept the proposal of a 25 per cent reduction. Mr. Reid enquired whether the alternative to a settlement by agreement was the suggestion of a tribunal. Mr. Gandhi said that if the Committee could not come to an agreement, he would be prepared to accept the suggestion of a tribunal, but he asked whether the Committee could not recommend a higher reduction. The President said that he thought the Committee had got the highest possible figures out of the planters and he was not prepared to agree to higher figure. He could not imagine that any *raiyats* would ever regret having accepted this proposal; the only *raiyats* who might be discontented were the few

raiyats who still grew indigo. Mr. Gandhi said that the *raiyats* thought that they could get rid of *sharahbeshi* by legal methods even in cases where it had been settled under section 10 (C). He did not see, therefore, that they would regret not accepting the present proposal.

Mr. Gandhi enquired what was to be done in the case of the Jalaha concern in the event of the Committee reaching a conclusion on the general question. In that concern, *sharahbeshi* had been taken by making tenants surrender their holdings which were then resettled with their relatives on an enhanced rent. The Civil Court had held in some cases that the old tenants should be restored at the former rent. The President said that this was the first occasion that the matter had been brought to his notice and he thought that they ought to ascertain the facts and hear what Mr. Jameson had to say before coming to any conclusion about it. . . .

Returning to the general question, Mr. Adami said that the equity of the position would be to wash out the past 50 years and put the parties back in the position they would have been if indigo had not been grown. Mr. Gandhi said that this could not be done as the *raiyat* had given up far more than he had gained during that period. Mr. Rainy pointed out the high rents in Madhuban Babu's estate. Mr. Gandhi admitted that Indian zamindars had enhanced their *raiyats'* rents. . . . The President then said that as Mr. Gandhi could not agree to the 25 per cent reduction, there were two courses open—the Committee could recommend the view of the majority that a 25 per cent reduction was fair; Mr. Gandhi would in a note of dissent give his reasons for thinking that a higher figure was required and it could be left to Government to decide between these two views and legislate accordingly. That course, however, could only be adopted if he was satisfied that the decision of Government whatever it might be would be accepted. If it was not accepted, the position of strife and unrest would still remain and in that event the Committee would have to recommend the alternative procedure of settlement of rents by a special tribunal. He hoped that in the interest of peace, it would be possible to adopt the first alternative, it being understood that whatever Government decided would be loyally accepted. Mr. Gandhi said that he could promise to accept the decision of Government and would refrain from advising the *raiyats* to resist it. Mr. Reid enquired what should be done as regards pending legislation. Mr. Gandhi said that he thought it desirable to forward their recommendation to Government at once, so that a decision might be reached and pending legislation stopped as soon as possible. Mr. Adami pointed out that the legislation would take time and the President added that Government would probably decide first to publish the Committee's report and give time to the public and the parties to consider the proposals. It would facilitate the preparation of the report and possibly increase the chance of Government being able to arrive at a decision if Mr. Gandhi could put before the Committee the reduction to which he

was prepared to go. Mr. Gandhi said that he would go through the figures again and give his minimum figure.

* * *

Select Documents on Mahatma Gandhi's Movement in Champaran, No. 160, pp. 305-12

385. LETTER TO ESTHER FAERING

BETTIAH,
August 12, 1917

MY DEAR ESTHER,

I have a moment to spare today. The lines you send are good and true. Belief and hope are great. They are indispensable for success. But love is greater. I find here that too great a strain is put upon it. Only this morning a powerfully built man came to me and insisted on my giving him help which was not in my power to give him. He would not leave me. I begged of him. He began weeping and beating his breast. His case is nothing. He came out of hope and love. How would I, wanting to love him, treat him? Assuming that his weeping was sincere, must I put up with his presence and go on talking to him? Such problems arise every day. Love has to be patient. How to apply the injunction in cases such as I have quoted? The only safe guide is the monitor within if one is pure-minded and sure of one's sincerity. We often deceive ourselves.

You may write for the time being to Ahmedabad which I expect to reach within a week from now. The Committee will have finished its deliberations within 3 days from today.

What treatment did you receive when you had the snake bite? How did you manage to get bitten? Where did it bite you? Was the snake caught and killed? I am always interested in the question of snake-bites and snakes.

With love from us all,

Yours,
BAPU

My Dear Child, p. 20

386. LETTER TO CHAIRMAN, CHAMPARAN COMMITTEE

BETTIAH,
August 13, 1917

DEAR MR. SLY,

I have thought, slept, prayed and read 1 Cor. XIII which latter I always do before coming to the committee meetings. I have discussed the question with my friends too. I was surprised to find in Babu Brajkishore the strongest supporter of Mr. Rainy's energetic defence of the fairness of the enhancement so far as it is measured by the outturn. All the others resisted him. Babu Brajkishore to my astonishment held his ground and said that on the score of lowness of rent he was entirely at one with Mr. Sweeney's finding. His argument however is totally unconvincing. But all my friends held that I would sell the *raiyats*' cause, if I agreed to the planters' proposition. They unanimously appreciated the fact that the planters who are so strong in every way had at all accepted the idea of a reduction of *sharahbeshi.* The majority of them would have me to buy peace from the committee even though it may mean a big sacrifice. I thought that I ought to mention these pleasing incidents. They augur well for the future. My friends who represent, as I hold, the culture of Bihar are not fanatics as planter-friends have so often urged. There is no greater fanatic among us than myself.

Now for my offer which is absolutely final. My last state was to accept the Raja Saheb's proposition[1]. That reduced to percentage represents a reduction of 55 per cent as against the planters' 25 per cent. And if I am to write a dissenting minute, I should write in defence of that offer with the clearest conscience. For the sake of securing unanimity among ourselves, I am prepared to accept a reduction of 40 per cent only, i.e., 15 per cent more than the planters' offer. For me this borders, in my language, upon the penal. Under the planters' offer, they get Re. 0-6-7 per rupee, under mine Re. 0-5-3 per rupee. My final offer therefore covers all possibilities, the possibility even of Mr. Whitty's[2] appeal succeeding.

My own original offer was a rise of Re. 0-3-0 in the rupee. That is equivalent to a reduction of 66 per cent. My present offer

[1] Raja Kirtyanand Sinha's proposal circulated to members, Select Document No. 161, not given here

[2] J. T. Whitty, Manager, Bettiah Raj

represents a reduction of 40 per cent. I have therefore put up 26 per cent. If then pressure is now to be applied, it must be not to me but to the planters.

Mr. Irwin has without the slightest justification taken large sums in *tawan* and has collected *sharahbeshi* for the past 6 years. He can have little to grumble about if he accepts my offer. For both Turkaulia and Peeprah, there is evidence before the committee of sufficient pressure exerted upon the *raiyats* to vitiate *sharahbeshi*. We have it on record that Mr. Sweeney in coming to his decision on coercion had not read the judgment in Lomraj Singh's case nor had he the full Bench decision before him on undue influence. It is settled law now that there is no distinction between undue influence and coercion. I just mention these facts to show that we as a committee dare not ignore them. It is not possible to base our decision merely on the theoretical ground of the so-called lowness of rent.

I am sure the committee will think a hundred times before putting on the Government the strain of arbitrating upon a figure dispute between its members. I have gone to the furthest limit in order to avoid any such calamity. If you and the other members cannot find it in your conscience to accept my approach, I shall sorrowfully write my minute of dissent but it will be, as I have said, in support of 55 per cent reduction. 40 per cent reduction is for the consideration of the members (and the planters only, if, in your opinion, they should be consulted again).

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

I have omitted decimals in my figures.

M. K. GANDHI

From the typewritten original signed by Gandhiji in the National Archives of India; also *Select Documents on Mahatma Gandhi's Movement in Champaran*, No. 162, pp. 313-5

386. LETTER TO CHAIRMAN, CHAMPARAN COMMITTEE

BETTIAH,
August 13, 1917

DEAR MR. SLY,

I have thought, slept, prayed and read 1 Cor. XIII which latter I always do before coming to the committee meetings. I have discussed the question with my friends too. I was surprised to find in Babu Brajkishore the strongest supporter of Mr. Rainy's energetic defence of the fairness of the enhancement so far as it is measured by the outturn. All the others resisted him. Babu Brajkishore to my astonishment held his ground and said that on the score of lowness of rent he was entirely at one with Mr. Sweeney's finding. His argument however is totally unconvincing. But all my friends held that I would sell the *raiyats'* cause, if I agreed to the planters' proposition. They unanimously appreciated the fact that the planters who are so strong in every way had at all accepted the idea of a reduction of *sharahbeshi*. The majority of them would have me to buy peace from the committee even though it may mean a big sacrifice. I thought that I ought to mention these pleasing incidents. They augur well for the future. My friends who represent, as I hold, the culture of Bihar are not fanatics as planter-friends have so often urged. There is no greater fanatic among us than myself.

Now for my offer which is absolutely final. My last state was to accept the Raja Saheb's proposition[1]. That reduced to percentage represents a reduction of 55 per cent as against the planters' 25 per cent. And if I am to write a dissenting minute, I should write in defence of that offer with the clearest conscience. For the sake of securing unanimity among ourselves, I am prepared to accept a reduction of 40 per cent only, i.e., 15 per cent more than the planters' offer. For me this borders, in my language, upon the penal. Under the planters' offer, they get Re. 0-6-7 per rupee, under mine Re. 0-5-3 per rupee. My final offer therefore covers all possibilities, the possibility even of Mr. Whitty's[2] appeal succeeding.

My own original offer was a rise of Re. 0-3-0 in the rupee. That is equivalent to a reduction of 66 per cent. My present offer

[1] Raja Kirtyanand Sinha's proposal circulated to members, Select Document No. 161, not given here

[2] J. T. Whitty, Manager, Bettiah Raj

represents a reduction of 40 per cent. I have therefore put up 26 per cent. If then pressure is now to be applied, it must be not to me but to the planters.

Mr. Irwin has without the slightest justification taken large sums in *tawan* and has collected *sharahbeshi* for the past 6 years. He can have little to grumble about if he accepts my offer. For both Turkaulia and Peeprah, there is evidence before the committee of sufficient pressure exerted upon the *raiyats* to vitiate *sharahbeshi*. We have it on record that Mr. Sweeney in coming to his decision on coercion had not read the judgment in Lomraj Singh's case nor had he the full Bench decision before him on undue influence. It is settled law now that there is no distinction between undue influence and coercion. I just mention these facts to show that we as a committee dare not ignore them. It is not possible to base our decision merely on the theoretical ground of the so-called lowness of rent.

I am sure the committee will think a hundred times before putting on the Government the strain of arbitrating upon a figure dispute between its members. I have gone to the furthest limit in order to avoid any such calamity. If you and the other members cannot find it in your conscience to accept my approach, I shall sorrowfully write my minute of dissent but it will be, as I have said, in support of 55 per cent reduction. 40 per cent reduction is for the consideration of the members (and the planters only, if, in your opinion, they should be consulted again).

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

I have omitted decimals in my figures.

M. K. GANDHI

From the typewritten original signed by Gandhiji in the National Archives of India; also *Select Documents on Mahatma Gandhi's Movement in Champaran*, No. 162, pp. 313-5

387. *MINUTES OF CHAMPARAN COMMITTEE MEETING*

August 14, 1917

The President said that a letter[1] received from Mr. Gandhi stated that a compromise on the basis of a reduction of 25 per cent was outside the possibility of his acceptance. Mr. Gandhi further wrote that provided he obtained the unanimous consent of the Committee, he would agree to a 40 per cent reduction, but if that was not accepted, he would in a note of dissent recommend a reduction of 55 per cent. The President put this proposal to the meeting. Mr. Reid said that he could not recommend the planters to give up more than 25 per cent and it would be useless for him to go to them again. In particular, he referred to the case of Mr. Hill where the reduction of 25 per cent would bring his rents down to little more than he could have got from the ordinary enhancement on the ground of rise in prices. Mr. Gandhi said that he would always be prepared to recognise the principle of a different reduction in different concerns. The President, however, pointed out that it was clear that the proposal for a settlement by compromise had failed. He assumed that Mr. Gandhi would now write a minute of dissent advocating a 55 per cent reduction. He did not wish to press him for further concessions, but asked him to consider one point. Both parties were anxious not to have a special tribunal or to have matters settled by the ordinary courts. If the report went up with the recommendation in its present form, Government would have to arbitrate between a reduction of 25 per cent and one of 55 per cent, and he was very doubtful if Government would consent to arbitrate between such wide limits, though they might possibly be inclined to arbitrate between the narrower limits of 25 per cent and 40 per cent. He, therefore, asked Mr. Gandhi if it would not be possible in his minute of dissent to put his figure at 40 per cent. Mr. Gandhi said he did not see why Government should refuse to arbitrate if the limits were wide. The President then made another suggestion that if he approached Government on the subject of arbitration on the basis that Mr. Gandhi stated in his minute of dissent his willingness to abide by the decision of Government, he asked whether Mr. Gandhi would object to his telling Government that an offer of compromise at 40 per cent had been made from his side. Mr. Gandhi said he was willing to let Government know all the facts including the fact that he had offered to compromise at 40 per cent but was not prepared to agree that the limits for arbitration should be any other than between 25 per cent and 55 per cent. Mr. Reid pointed out that the planters' offer of 25 per cent was final and it should be put in on the same basis as Mr. Gandhi's final offer of 40 per cent. Mr. Gandhi said that he was willing for Government to arbi-

[1] *Vide* the preceding item.

trate between the extreme limits of no reduction at all and a 100 per cent reduction and also that they should know that the planters were prepared to go as far as 25 per cent and that he was prepared to go as far as 40 per cent. He was also prepared to state this in his minute of dissent in order to show how reasonable he had been. The President then said that he had a final proposal to put forward. He knew that Mr. Gandhi was aware of his personal view that the *raiyats* would be well advised to accept 25 per cent. He had gone through Mr. Gandhi's views and had done his best to realise the *raiyats*' position. He was personally unwilling to put forward any proposal for arbitration by Government, because the Committee would thus have failed in its full task and because the Government could hardly be in a better position to arbitrate than the Committee. As Mr. Gandhi was willing to allow Government to arbitrate, he asked if he would have sufficient trust in him to leave the arbitration in his hands, subject to three conditions:

(1) That in no case would he arbitrate at a figure lower than the mean between 25 per cent and 40 per cent,

(2) He would endeavour to secure the consent of the planters to the figure which he fixed, and

(3) He would endeavour to secure the unanimous consent of the Committee.

Mr. Gandhi agreed that the Committee should bear the burden itself, if possible. He doubted whether it was possible for the President at this stage to bring a fresh mind to bear on the situation, particularly after the President had advocated enhancement of rent in lieu of *abwab* which was diametrically opposed to his views. The President said that he could only arbitrate between the limits of 25 per cent and 40 per cent and, as a matter of fact, had already practically fixed a figure. Mr. Gandhi said that in that case, as the President had made up his mind, he could not agree as there was no hope of his being able to convince the President of the justice of the *raiyats*' case. The President then said that as the offer had not been accepted, he now wished to put before the Committee another proposal. The utmost limit to which the planters would agree was 25 per cent. The utmost limit to which Mr. Gandhi would agree on behalf of the *raiyats* was 40 per cent. There was a difference of 15 per cent. In thinking out a possible means of bridging this chasm, a solution had occurred to him while considering Mr. Gandhi's arguments. Mr. Irwin had, in the course of the discussion on the 12th of August, stated that his *mukarrari* leases were unprofitable on the old rental and Mr. Gandhi's reply to this was that the planters should have squeezed the Bettiah Raj and not the *raiyats*. The lines, therefore, on which he had thought of a solution were that the Committee should recommend a reduction in *sharahbeshi* approximating to 40 per cent, of which the planters would be responsible for 25 per cent and the Bettiah Raj would bear the balance until the next settlement. He proposed a limitation of period as regards the contribution of the Bettiah Estate by analogy with the case of

tawan, in which it had been decided that the Raj should forego enhanced rents for a certain period. Mr. Gandhi said that the proposal was attractive in theory but he would want a strong evidence that the *mukarrari* leases were not a paying proposition before he could agree. The President pointed out that Mr. Whitty had told him that on the whole the profit on the *mukarrari* leases was very small. At the time they were given the *jama* was fixed at the full rental or in excess thereof and the increase of rent since that time had been small. Mr. Gandhi thought that they could state in the report that one planter had given evidence that the *mukarrari* leases without indigo involved a loss and that if this was proved to the satisfaction of the Court of Wards to be generally the case, the Committee recommended that the Bettiah Estate should bear part of the burden. He did not think that on the evidence before him they could definitely make a proposal of this nature because hitherto all the enquiries had been directed towards the relations between the planters and the *raiyats* without considering the position of the Bettiah Estate. The President said that his proposition was that whatever balance there was between 25 per cent and the figure agreed upon should be borne by the Raj. This would be done by the Raj reducing their *mukarrari* rental by this figure for a period of years. He had satisfied himself that the proposal was equitable, as far as the Estate was concerned. The *mukarrari jama* received by the Bettiah Estate was high owing to the indigo industry; the Estate had, therefore, profited by the industry and, if the obligation of indigo-growing had to be commuted, it was fair that a portion of this should be borne by the Estate. Moreover, if there was no settlement of the present dispute by agreement, the Estate might find it hard to realise their *jamas* owing to the difficulties of the planters and further from the point of view of a good landlord, the Estate should contribute towards the settlement of the dispute. As the Estate was now getting an enhancement of rents in its *kham* and *thika* villages, its finances would be well able to bear this extra payment. The actual amount of *sharahbeshi*, so far as it could be ascertained, was about Rs. 1½ lakhs, 15 per cent of which was Rs. 22,500, this being the maximum amount which the Estate would have to forego annually if the full reduction of 40 per cent was fixed. He did not think that it was just that the Raj should forego it in perpetuity and for that reason he limited it to a period extending up to the next settlement 15 or 20 years hence. Mr. Gandhi said that before agreeing he would have to satisfy himself that the Estate had not profited by indigo and he would like to know the circumstances under which the leases had originally been given. The President thought that the Estate could equitably bear part of the burden whether the leases had been favourable or not because but for indigo the Estate would not have secured such high *jamas*. Mr. Reid pointed out that in addition to the high *jama*, very large *nazarana* had been paid at the time the leases were given. Mr. Gandhi observed that the taking of the leases was a commercial bargain and, if owing to present circumstances the bargain turned out unprofitable, that was no

reason why the Bettiah Raj should suffer now. The President said that it was just because it was a commercial bargain that the Bettiah Estate should now bear a part of the burden of giving up the obligation on which the bargain was based. Mr. Gandhi replied that the Bettiah Raj and the planters were the only parties to the bargain and he asked why the Raj should pay because accidents had happened. The material before the Committee was, he thought, too small to come to a conclusion. The President said that the only additional evidence that was required as far as he could see was information as to the rental paid in each village and a comparison of that with the *mukarrari jama*. Mr. Gandhi said that if the planters were going to get the same amount of indigo on the *khuski* system by paying a fair rate, he did not see that any loss would accrue to them from the commutation. Mr. Adami pointed out that if a struggle went on between the planters and the *raiyats*, the Bettiah Estate would inevitably lose money by it and it was therefore to the interests of the Estate to make some sacrifice in order to bring about a settlement. Mr. Gandhi replied that these were considerations outside the main point of the equity of making the Raj pay but he was willing to embody in the report a statement of the planters' case against the Bettiah Raj but he did not think that the Committee were called upon to decide that case. Mr. Adami said he thought they might state the outside limit to which the two parties would go, namely, 25 per cent and 40 per cent. After stating the case for the planters against the Estate, he suggested that the Estate should pay the difference if Government found the case to be proved. The President asked if the Committee could not go further and find that it was proved. Mr. Gandhi doubted whether they could get sufficient information as to the *mukarrari* leases. The President pointed out that the information from the Government records was that the Maharaja himself gave the leases in order to get security for the sterling loan.[1]

Mr. Gandhi said that he looked at the matter purely as a commercial transaction and could not see why the Bettiah Raj should pay anything because the transaction had become unprofitable to the planters. He thought that by friendly relations and good will in the district, there was a future for indigo. Mr. Reid observed that after the next settlement, the planters would be bearing the full burden. Mr. Gandhi pointed out that they would get the usual enhancement at that time on the ground of rise in prices but the President ob-

[1] Some indigo planters secured permanent leases from the Bettiah Raj in 1888, taking advantage of the latter's necessity to obtain a loan of £475,000 which was floated in England on the security of the indigo planters. The loan was negotiated through a Calcutta firm with the help of another in London and was within the knowledge of the Government of India and the Lt.-Governor of Bengal. A condition attached to the loan was that the Maharaja of Bettiah could appoint a successor to T. M. Gibbon, the then Manager of the Raj and an ex-planter, only with the approval of the Lt.-Governor of Bengal. *Vide Select Documents on Mahatma Gandhi's Movement in Champaran*, p. 6.

erved that the planters would never get back the 25 per cent which they were now giving up. Mr. Rainy said that, under the provisions of the Bengal Tenancy Act, once the landlord had foregone his rent enhancement, he could never recover it. Mr. Gandhi remarked that Indian *thikadars* were able to drive a coach and four through the Bengal Tenancy Act; although the big estates could not do this, the small estates found it easy to get their tenants to pay enhanced rents. Mr. Reid said that he had no objection to accept the proposal if Mr. Gandhi agreed to it, though he considered it hard on the planters. Mr. Rainy said that he agreed with Mr. Gandhi that it was necessary for the Committee to be sure of its ground. He would not have hesitated to suggest the proposal to the Raj with a view to promoting a settlement of the dispute if there had been à Maharaja but, as Government was trustee for the management of the Estate, it was necessary to consider the proposal carefully before suggesting it. He did not think that the Estate could divest itself of responsibility for the present position. The President asked if it would not be sufficient if the Committee examined the correspondence regarding the *mukarrari* leases and considered the *mukarrari jama* and the rentals of the villages both at the time when the leases were granted and at present. Mr. Gandhi thought that this would not be sufficient as the Court of Wards would want to know if there was going to be a loss to the planters in future; that the Committee was now bringing in a third party and was bound to consider that party's position. Mr. Reid asked why they could not leave it to Government; but the President pointed out that if possible the Committee ought to decide for themselves. He said that if this proposal was not accepted, there was no alternative but to recommend a special tribunal or to leave the decision of cases to the ordinary courts. If there had been only one dissent to the proposal about Government arbitration, it might have been possible to leave it to Government but Raja Kirtyanand Sinha's dissent made arbitration impossible. He thought the planters stood to lose by this course and that the *raiyats* stood to lose even more. Mr. Adami said that it was clearly to the interests of the Raj to agree to the proposal which should be recommended to Government who would naturally consult the Board of Revenue before passing orders. He was prepared to accept the proposal. Raja Kirtyanand Sinha also said he was prepared to accept the proposal, though the ultimate orders of Government would depend on the view taken by the Court of Wards. Mr. Rainy agreed but that the Committee should try and convince Government that the proposal was a fair one. Mr. Gandhi said that even if he satisfied himself that the proposal was fair, he would not agree to let the Raj bear the loss for so long a period as 15 years. Mr. Reid pointed out that it was for Government to satisfy itself on the point. Mr. Gandhi said he thought he would be on dangerous ground if he accepted the proposal without knowing the facts, and even so he could not accept it without knowing what was going to happen in future. He thought that the Committee could not bind down the Raj to a prospective loss. He,

therefore, put forward an alternative proposal. He said that the dispute was merely as to figures and that if the Committee had accepted his view, there would have been no need to bring the Bettiah Raj into consideration. He proposed that the planters on the one side and he on the other on behalf of *raiyats* should put their views to arbitration, not by Government, nor by the Committee but by a separate body. He proposed as arbitrators Mr. Apperley[1] and Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya who would select a third arbitrator as an umpire between them, or, if the Committee did not agree to that, he would suggest Mr. Heycock. Both parties would state their case to the arbitrators who would have before them also the views of the Committee. They would then give their decision which would be embodied in the Committee's report. Mr. Reid said that he could not agree to this proposal. The planters had already gone to the full extent of their concession and he was sure that they would not agree to this suggestion of arbitration. Mr. Rainy also thought that the planters would not consent. With a 25 per cent reduction, the average enhancement in the Turkaulia concern would be 4 annas 10 pies; if the rates of permissible enhancement in the Sardar Sub-division worked out at much the same as they had in the Bettiah Sub-division, the Turkaulia concern could go to the Munsif's Court and get the enhancement at 4 annas 8 pies in the rupee; it was clear, therefore, that it would be no advantage to them to consent to an arbitration which would almost certainly involve a loss. The President said that in these circumstances the matter would have to be left in the position that his proposal regarding the Bettiah Raj was supported by the majority of the Committee, and Mr. Gandhi would not oppose it if Government satisfied itself that it was fair to the Bettiah Estate. Failing that, the alternative solution of a special tribunal would be recommended.

. . . . The President then said there was one small point which he desired to bring to notice. Mr. Gandhi had all along agreed that *raiyats* should have their rents enhanced by the amount permissible on account of the rise in prices. There was a possibility of difficulty arising in the Rajghat concern owing to its forbearance. He asked therefore if Mr. Gandhi agreed to a special recommendation that in the Rajghat concern there should be an enhancement of rent on the ground of rise in prices and an increase of rent on the ground of excess area by the application of section 112, Bengal Tenancy Act. Mr. Gandhi agreed.

Tawan: In connection with the question of *tawan*, Mr. Gandhi said that he had been looking up cases of *tawan* in recently leased villages and had made a list of the cases in which he thought indigo *sattas* had been taken merely for the purposes of realising *tawan* and he suggested that in any case where *tawan* had been taken in villages where indigo had been grown for less than 10 years, the whole of the *tawan* should be refunded. The President asked if the Committee could not agree to a general recommendation that, if *tawan* had been imposed

[1] Perhaps F. W. Apperley, Manager of Rajghat Concern

in a village within the last few years which had never grown indigo, the whole should be refunded. Mr. Reid suggested that the decision of such cases should be left to the Bettiah Raj. Mr. Rainy pointed out that the objectionable cases were those in which it was certain that *sattas* had been executed for the purpose of taking *tawan* and nothing else. It was unsafe to rely on dates in this matter and he could not agree to a fixed period of 10 years. He thought that it would be easy to find a form of words to which they could all agree and suggested that they should recommend that when it appeared to the Bettiah Estate that indigo *sattas* were taken with the object of taking *tawan* and not for growing indigo, the Estate should insist on the whole of the *tawan* being refunded. The President suggested the addition that where the factory after growing indigo for one year proceeded to take *tawan*, it should be presumed that the *sattas* were taken for the purposes of levying *tawan* and nothing else. This was agreed too.

Thika *Leases*: Mr. Gandhi suggested that the Committee should recommend that *thika* leases should be for short periods only. The President said that in his experience short-term leases were a very great temptation to the *thikadars* to fleece the *raiyats*. The policy in the Central Provinces had been to lengthen the leases but to impose strict conditions as to their cancellation, and he thought that this policy was much wiser than that of short leases. Mr. Gandhi withdrew his suggestion. . . .

Special Tribunal: As regards the proposals for the special tribunal, Mr. Gandhi suggested as an amendment that an appeal should be allowed to the High Court. Mr. Rainy thought that if any amendment was necessary it was in the other direction, his idea being that the tribunal should be composed of a senior Revenue Officer and a senior Judicial Officer and that there should be no appeal from their decision. What was wanted was finality, and several appeals would make matters little better than if they were left to be dealt with by the ordinary courts. Mr. Gandhi said that he would prefer a special court of three members if there was to be no appeal, but would like to think the matter over.

The Committee then adjourned.

Select Documents on Mahatma Gandhi's Movement in Champaran, No. 163, pp. 315-22

388. LETTER TO J. B. NORMAN

MOTIHARI,
August 15, 1917

DEAR MR. NORMAN,

Here are some statements from your *raiyats*. I have been sending some of such statements to the Collector. He however is loath to take executive action. From his standpoint he is right. I want to avoid court cases if I can. I am therefore taking the liberty of sending the enclosure to you for your investigation. If the statement is true, you will admit that your *raiyats* shall be free from such molestation.

Yours truly,
M. K. GANDHI

From the original in Gandhiji's hand in the National Archives of India; also *Select Documents on Mahatma Gandhi's Movement in Champaran*, No. 165, p. 323

389. LETTER TO JAMNALAL BAJAJ

AHMEDABAD,
Bhadrapad Shukla 4 [August 21, 1917][1]

DEAR SHRI JAMNALAL,

I have your letter. I have come here for a few days. There is no need for you to go to Champaran. The Committee's work is almost over now.

Yours
MOHANDAS GANDHI

From a photostat of the Hindi original in Gandhiji's hand: G. N. 2834

[1] From the reference to Champaran, the letter appears to have been written in 1917.

390. SPEECH AT MEETING OF BUSINESS MEN, AHMEDABAD[1]

August 24, 1917

It would seem that what we have been fighting for was within our reach. The officials think that the lawyers and doctors in the country, having nothing else to do, go on talking endlessly and discussing political matters but this meeting proves them wrong. The Government has prohibited students [from attending political meetings], but that has not kept away all of them.[2] And now the business community is also realizing the importance of political movements. It is my view that, until the business community takes charge of all public movements in India, no good can be done to the country. British merchants have earned a name by fighting for their freedom. Ahmedabad is the capital of Gujarat and wields much influence. If business men elsewhere start taking livelier interest in political agitations, as you of Ahmedabad are doing, India is sure to achieve her aim.

[From Gujarati]

Prajabandhu, 26-8-1917

391. TALK WITH MAHADEV DESAI

August 31, 1917

. . . . On the morning of 31st August, certain words of Bapuji created in me the mixed feelings of love, dismay and joy. I shall now try to pen in this letter my short talk with him on that day, although it cannot be easily put into words. Bapuji said:

It is not without reason that I have asked you to visit my place every day. I want you to come and stay with me. I have seen your capacity during the last three days. I have found in you just the type of young man for whom I have been searching for the last two years. Will you believe me if I tell you that I have got in you the

[1] The meeting was held under the auspices of the local Home Rule League to demand the release of Mrs. Besant and her co-workers. Gandhiji was in the chair.

[2] In May-June 1917, the Madras, Bombay and Bengal Governments issued orders prohibiting students in schools and colleges from attending or taking part in political meetings.

man I wanted—the man to whom I can entrust all my work some day and be at ease, and on whom I can rely with confidence? You have to come to me. Leave the Home Rule League, Shri Jamnadas and everything else. I have spoken like this only to three persons before this, Mr. Polak, Miss Schlesin and Shri Maganlal. Today I am speaking in the same way to you and I am very happy to do so, for I have found three outstanding qualities in you. They are regularity, fidelity and intelligence. When I first picked up Maganlal, to all appearances he had nothing special about him. But today you are surprised by his personality. He was not educated. I trained him first for press work. He learnt composing in Gujarati and then in English, Hindi, Tamil and other languages. I was surprised at the speed at which he mastered the art. Since then he has shown his skill in various kinds of work. Let us, however, leave aside Maganlal. The intelligence I have found in you I did not see in him. I am confident that you will be useful to me in various ways because of your good qualities.

I listened to all this with surprise and shyness, without speaking a single word. I interrupted by saying, 'I have never shown you anything I have done', to which he answered as follows:

How do you know? I can judge people in a very short time. I judged Polak within five hours. He read my letter published in a newspaper and wrote me a letter. He then came to see me and I at once saw what he was, and since then he became my man. He married and started his practice as a pleader only after he joined me. He told me before marriage that he must earn a little for his children. I told him plainly, 'You are mine and the responsibility to provide for you and your children is mine, not yours. I am getting you married, as I see no objection to your marrying.' His marriage was celebrated at my residence. But to revert to the point under discussion. I advise you to give up all thought about the Home Rule League or Jamnadas. Go to Hyderabad. Enjoy yourself for a year or so. Enjoy the pleasures of life to your satisfaction. The moment you start feeling that you are losing yourself, resign from there and come and join me.

At this I told him that I was prepared even then to join him. But he replied :

I know that you are prepared but I want you to see a little more of life and enjoy yourself. I would need your knowledge of the Co-operative Movement also. We have to free that department from its defects. Do not be anxious about anything and come back to me after enjoying life for a little longer. I need

you for me personally, not for the school, nor for any other work. You may continue where you are for a year or six months. I shall manage without you till then.

Send me back this letter after you have read it, for I have given Bapu's talk in his own words. They may be forgotten in course of time.

Mahadev Desai's letter dated 2-9-1917 to Narhari Parikh reproduced in *Mahadev Desai's Early Life*, pp. 52-4

392. INDIAN COLONIAL EMIGRATION

I have carefully read the resolution issued at Simla by the Government of India on the 1st instant, embodying the report of the Inter-Departmental Conference recently held in London.[1] It will be remembered that this was the conference referred to in the Viceregal speech of last year at the opening of the sessions of the Viceregal Legislative Council. It will be remembered, too, that this was the conference which Sir James Meston and Sir S. P. Sinha were to have attended but were unable to attend owing to their having returned to India before the date of the meeting of the conference.[2] It is stated in the report under discussion that these gentlemen were to discuss the question of emigration to certain English colonies informally with the two Secretaries of State, i.e., the Secretary of State for India and the Secretary of State for the Colonies. Lord Islington[3], Sir A. Steel Maitland[4] and Messrs Seton[5], Crindle[6], Green[7] and Macnaughton[8] constituted the Conference. To take the wording of the Resolution, this Conference sat "to consider the proposals for a new assisted system of emigration to British Guiana, Trinidad, Jamaica and Fiji". The public should therefore note that this assisted emigration is to be confined only to the four Crown Colonies mentioned and not to the self-governing Colonies of South Africa, Canada or Australia, or the Crown Colony of Mauritius.[9] What follows will show the importance of this distinction. It is something to be thankful for, that

[1] In May 1917 to discuss a new system of emigration

[2] Sir James Meston and S. P. Sinha represented India at the Imperial War Conference held in April, 1917. They were also nominated by the Government of India as its representatives to the Inter-Departmental Conference, but both of them had to return to India before the Conference could meet formally.

[3] Chairman

[4,5,6,7 & 8] Members of the respective Secretaries of State's establishments

[9] *Vide* also "Statement on Abolition of Indentured Labour", after 7-2-1917.

"the Government of India have not yet considered the report and reserved judgement on all the points raised in it". This is as it should be on a matter so serious as this and one which only last year fairly convulsed the whole of India and which has in one shape or another agitated the country since 1895.

The declaration too that "His Majesty's Government in agreement with the Government of India have decided that indentured emigration shall not be re-opened" is welcome as is also the one that "no free emigrants[1] can be introduced into any colony until all Indian emigrants already there have been released from existing indentures".

In spite however of so much in the report that fills one with gladness, the substantive part of it which sets forth the scheme which is to replace indentured emigration is so far as one can judge, to say the least of it, disappointing. Stripped of all the phraseology under which the scheme has been veiled, it is nothing less than a system of indentured emigration no doubt on a more humane basis and safeguarded with some conditions beneficial to the emigrants taking advantage of it.

The main point that should be borne in mind is that the conference sat designedly to consider a scheme of emigration not in the interests of the Indian labourer but in those of the Colonial employer. The new system therefore is devised to help the colonies concerned. India needs no outlet at any rate for the present moment for emigration outside the country. It is debatable whether in any event the four colonies will be the most suitable for Indian colonisation. The best thing therefore that can happen from an Indian stand-point is that there should be no assisted emigration from India of any type whatsoever. In the absence of any such assistance, emigration will have to be entirely free and at the risk and expense of the emigrant himself. Past experience shows that, in that event, there will be very little voluntary emigration to distant colonies. In the report, assisted emigration means, to use a mild expression, stimulated emigration; and surely with the industries of India crying out for labour and with her legitimate resources yet undeveloped, it is madness to think of providing a stimulus for the stay-at-home Indian to go out of India. Neither the Government nor any voluntary agency has been found capable of protecting from ill-usage the Indian who emigrates either to Burma or Ceylon, much less can any such protection avail in far-off Fiji or the three other colonies.

[1] "emigration" in the report published in *The Indian Review*, September 1917

I hope that leaders of public opinion in India will therefore take their stand on the one impregnable rock of not wanting any emigration whatsoever to the colonies. It might be argued that we, as a component part of the Empire, are bound to consider the wants of our partners, but this would not be a fair plea to advance so long as India stands in need of all the labour she can produce. If, therefore, India does not assist the colonies, it is not because of want of will, but it is due to want of ability. An additional reason a politician would be justified in using is that, so long as India does not in reality occupy the position of an equal partner with the colonies and so long as her sons continue to be regarded by Englishmen in the colonies and English employers even nearer home to be fit only as hewers of wood and drawers of water, no scheme of emigration to the colonies can be morally advantageous to Indian emigrants. If the badge of inferiority is always to be worn by them, they can never rise to their full status and any material advantage they will gain by emigrating can therefore be of no consideration.

But let us for the moment consider the new system.

> The system to be followed in future will be one of aided emigration[1] and its object will be to encourage the settlement of Indians in certain colonies after a probationary period of employment in those colonies to train and fit them for life and work there and at the same time to acquire[2] a supply of the labour essential to the well-being of the colonists[3] themselves.

So the re-settlement is to be conditional on previous employment under contract and it will be seen in the course of our examination that this contract is to be just as binding as the contracts used to be under indenture. The report has the following humorous passage in it:

> He will be in no way restricted to service under any particular employer except that for his own protection a selected employer will be chosen for him for the first six months.

This has a flavour of the old indentured system. One of the evils complained of about that system was that the labourer was assigned to an employer. He was not free to choose one himself. Under the new system, the employer is to be selected for the protection of the labourer. It is hardly necessary for me to point out that the would-be labourer will never be able to feel the protection devised for him.

[1] *The Indian Review* report has "colonization".
[2] *The Indian Review* report has "afford".
[3] *The Indian Review* report has "Colonies".

The labourer is further

to be encouraged to work for his first three years in agricultural industries by the offer, should he do so, of numerous and important benefits subsequently as a colonist.

This is another inducement to indenture and I know enough of such schemes to be able to assure both the Government and the public that these so-called inducements in the hands of clever manipulators become nothing short of methods of compulsion in respect of innocent and ignorant Indian labourers. It is due to the framers of the scheme that I should draw attention to the fact that they have avoided all criminal penalties for breach of contract. In India itself if the scheme is adopted, we are promised a revival of the much-dreaded depots and emigration agents, all no doubt on a more respectable basis, but still of the same type and capable of untold mischief.

The rest of the report is not likely to interest the public, but those who wish to study it will, I doubt not, come to the conclusion to which I have been driven, that the framers have done their best to strip the old system of many of the abuses which had crept into it, but they have not succeeded in placing before the Indian public an acceptable scheme. I hold that it was an impossible task. The system of indenture was one of temporary slavery; it was incapable of being amended, it should only be ended and it is to be hoped that India will never consent to its revival in any shape or form.

The Indian Review, September 1917

393. LETTER TO MAGANLAL GANDHI

BOMBAY,
Bhadarva Sud 15 [September 1, 1917][1]

CHI. MAGANLAL,

I had made all preparations to leave for that side today, but I am in no position to do so. Mrs. Polak has been running a temperature for the fourth day in succession. I should not leave her in that condition. That is her wish and I think so too. Mrs. Petit cares for her wonderfully well but Mrs. Polak thinks that, if she is to be laid up for a long time, it should not be at her place. It will not be surprising, therefore, if I have to stay on for two or three days more, or even longer. I shall send you a wire.

[1] From the reference to the building plan to be prepared by Amritlal Thakkar, the letter appears to have been written in 1917. Again, Gandhiji was in Bombay on this day.

Mr. Polak left yesterday.

Matters are proceeding satisfactorily about satyagraha. There is a meeting today at which I have some hope that an agreed resolution will be passed.[1]

Amritlalbhai[2] has fallen ill. That is the reason why he is late. He is somewhat better now and will be ready with the plan for our building in eight or ten days perhaps.

I hope everyone is all right there. Thakorelal is to be paid Rs. 15 every month. I have spoken to Fulchand. Resume forwarding the post [to me here]. You have to send for Mavji's brother yarn worth Rs. 30 for socks at the place that he will indicate. Inquire of him and make the necessary arrangement.

Mangaldas Sheth has promised to supply all our requirements of yarn at two annas less than the market rate.

Blessings from
BAPU

As you did not inform Imam Saheb, he felt a little hurt. I had no idea that the cloth was for him. I was wondering for whom it could be.

From the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: C. W. 5722. Courtesy: Radhabehn Choudhri

394. SPEECH AT BOMBAY PROVINCIAL CONGRESS COMMITTEE MEETING

September 2, 1917

A heated discussion took place. . . . M. K. Gandhi, on being asked, stated that the campaign of passive resistance could not be carried on by an institution like the Congress. Passive resistance could be described merely as a matter of conscience or force of soul, when it was useless to go to lawyers.

After Gandhi had delivered his opinion, it was suggested that B. G. Tilak should, after consultation with Gandhi, suggest to the meeting some acceptable amendment. On this Gandhi himself suggested an amendment but Tilak insisted on making his own alterations in it before placing it before the meeting. . . . The President, after some discussion with Tilak and his party, declared that a certain amendment had been drawn up in agreement with Tilak and his party. The amendment was as follows:

[1] The meeting was adjourned due to differences over the resolution and only an agreed amendment passed; *vide* the following item.

[2] Amritlal Thakkar

'Though the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee is of opinion that there is a strong feeling among the people to support the campaign of passive resistance on account of the coercive measures recently taken by the Government, it advises that, taking into consideration the fact that Mr. Montagu[1] is coming on a visit to this country and that the reasons of his coming are well known, the work of the consideration of and giving opinion on the principles underlying passive resistance and the measures necessary to put them into effect, which has been entrusted to this committee by the All-India Congress Committee and the Council of the All-India Muslim League, be for the present held in abeyance, and the meeting expresses the hope that the Government will take the necessary steps to allay the bitter feeling aroused among the people by action of internments and coercive measures taken by the authorities. This course will enable the Secretary of State to fulfil the work entrusted to him under normal conditions.'

. . . it was unanimously passed amidst cheers. . . .

Bombay Secret Abstracts, 1917, pp. 620-1

395. LETTER TO SHANKARLAL ON 'IDEAS ABOUT SATYAGRAHA'

[September 2, 1917][2]

BHAISHRI SHANKARLAL,

You want to know my ideas about satyagraha. Here they are in brief:

The English phrase "passive resistance" does not suggest the power I wish to write about; "satyagraha" is the right word. Satyagraha is soul-force, as opposed to armed strength. Since it is essentially an ethical weapon, only men inclined to the ethical way of life can use it wisely. Prahlad, Mirabai, and others were satyagrahis. At the time of the Morocco fighting, the Arabs were under fire from French guns. The Arabs were fighting, as they believed, solely for their religion. Reckless of their lives, they advanced running towards the French guns with cries of "Ya Allah"[3]. Here, there was no scope at all for fighting back to kill. The French gunners refused to fire on these Arabs and, throwing up their caps, ran to embrace these brave Arabs with shouts of joy. This is an

[1] E. S. Montagu (1879-1924), Secretary of State for India, 1917-22 and co-sponsor of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms

[2] Published in *Gujarati*, 2-9-1917

[3] Glory to God

example of satyagraha and the success it can achieve. The Arabs were not satyagrahis by deliberate choice. They got ready to face death under pressure of a strong impulse, and had no love in their hearts. A satyagrahi bears no ill-will, does not lay down his life in anger, but refuses rather to submit to his "enemy" or oppressor because he has the strength himself to suffer. He should, therefore, have a courageous spirit and a forgiving and compassionate nature. Imam Hassan[1] and Hussain[2] were merely two boys. They felt that an injustice had been done to them. When called upon to surrender, they refused. They knew at the time that this would mean death for them. If, however, they were to submit to injustice, they woud disgrace their manhood and betray their religion. In these circumstances, they yielded to the embrace of death. The heads of these fine young men rolled on the battlefield. In my view, Islam did not attain its greatness by the power of the sword but entirely through the self-immolation of its fakirs. It is soldierlike to allow oneself to be cut down by a sword, not to use the sword on another. When he comes to realize that he is guilty of murder, the killer, if he has been in the wrong, will feel sorry forever afterwards. The victim, however, will have gained nothing but victory even if he had acted wrongly in courting death. Satyagraha is the way of non-violence. It is, therefore, justified, indeed it is the right course, at all times and all places. The power of arms is violence and condemned as such in all religions. Even those who advocate the use of arms put various limits on it. There are no limits on satyagraha, or rather, none except those placed by the satyagrahi's capacity for *tapascharya*, for voluntary suffering.

Obviously, it is irrelevant to raise issues about the legality of such satyagraha. It is for the satyagrahi to decide. Observers may judge satyagraha after the event. The world's displeasure will not deter a satyagrahi. Whether or not satyagraha should be started is not decided by any mathematical rule. A man who believes that satyagraha may be started only after weighing the chances of defeat and victory and assuring oneself of the certainty of victory, may be a shrewd enough politician or an intelligent man, but he is no satyagrahi. A satyagrahi acts spontaneously.

Satyagraha and arms have both been in use from time immemorial. We find them praised in the extant scriptures. They

[1] & [2] Sons of Ali by his wife Fatima, daughter of the Prophet. They refused to acknowledge the authority of Yazid (Caliph, 680-3). Hussain revolted against him, but was defeated and killed at Karbala.

are the expressions, one of the *daivi sampad*[1] and the other of the *asuri sampad*[1]. We believe that in former times in India the *daivi sampad* was much the stronger of the two. Even today that is the ideal we cherish. Europe provides the most striking example of the predominance of the *asuri sampad.*

Both these forms of strength are preferable to weakness, to what we know by the rather plain but much apter word 'cowardice'. Without either, swaraj or genuine popular awakening is impossible. Swaraj achieved otherwise than through resort to one or the other will not be true swaraj. Such swaraj can have no effect on the people. Popular awakening cannot be brought about without strength, without manliness. Let the leaders say what they like and the Government strive its utmost, unless they and we, all of us, strengthen the forces of satyagraha, the methods of violence are bound automatically to gain ascendancy. They are like weeds which grow wild in any soil. The crop of satyagraha requires willingness to exert oneself or a venturesome spirit by way of manure. Just as, moreover, the seedlings are likely to be lost among the weeds if the latter are not plucked out, so also will weeds of violence keep growing unless we keep the land free of them by *tapascharya* and, with compassion, pluck out those which have already grown. We can, with the help of satyagraha, win over those young men who have been driven to desperation and anger by what they think to be the tyranny of the Government and utilize their courage and their mettlesome spirit, their capacity for suffering, to strengthen the *daivi sampad* of satyagraha. It is therefore very much to be desired that satyagraha is propagated as quickly as can be. This is in the interest both of the rulers and the ruled. The satyagrahi desires to harass neither the Government nor anyone else. He takes no step without the fullest deliberation. He is never arrogant. Consequently, he will keep away from 'boycott' but be always firm in the vow of swadeshi as a matter of duty. He fears God alone, so that no other power can intimidate him. He will never, out of fear of punishment, leave a duty undone.

I need hardly say now that it is our duty to resort to satyagraha to secure the release of the learned Annie Bai and her co-workers. Whether we approve of every or any action of hers is another question. I, for one, certainly do not approve of some of them; all the same, her incarceration by the Government is a great

[1] Godlike equipment and demoniac equipment (*Vide Bhagavad Gita*, XVI, 3, 4)

mistake and an act of injustice. I know, of course, that the Government does not think it a mistake. Maybe the people are wrong in desiring her release. The Government has acted according to its lights. What can the people do to express their outraged feelings? Petitions, etc., are good enough when one's suffering is bearable. When it is unbearable, there is no remedy but satyagraha. Only when people find it unbearable will they, and only those who find it unbearable will, devote their all, body, mind and possessions, to securing the release of Annie Bai. This will be a powerful expression of popular feeling. It is my unshakable faith that before so great a self-sacrifice even the power of an emperor will give way. People may certainly restrain their feelings in view of the forthcoming visit of Mr. Montagu. That will be an expression of faith in his sense of justice. If she is not released, however, before his arrival, it will be our duty to resort to satyagraha. We do not want to provoke the Government or put difficulties in its way. By resorting to satyagraha, we reveal the intensity of our injured feelings and thereby serve the Government.

From a photostat of the Gujarati draft in Gandhiji's hand: S. N. 6373

396. SATYAGRAHA—NOT PASSIVE RESISTANCE[1]

[About *September 2, 1917*][2]

The force denoted by the term 'passive resistance' and translated into Hindi as *nishkriya pratirodha* is not very accurately described either by the original English phrase or by its Hindi rendering. Its correct description is 'satyagraha'. Satyagraha was born in South Africa in 1908. There was no word in any Indian language denoting the power which our countrymen in South Africa invoked for the redress of their grievances. There was an English equivalent, namely, 'passive resistance', and we carried on with it. However, the need for a word to describe this unique power came to be increasingly felt, and it was decided to award a prize to anyone who could think of an appropriate term. A Gujarati-speaking[3] gentleman submitted the word 'satyagraha', and it was adjudged the best.

'Passive resistance' conveyed the idea of the Suffragette Movement in England. Burning of houses by these women was called

[1] The original Gujarati is not available.
[2] This article appears to belong to the same date as the preceding item.
[3] The source has 'Hindi-speaking'.

'passive resistance' and so also their fasting in prison. All such acts might very well be 'passive resistance' but they were not 'satyagraha'. It is said of 'passive resistance' that it is the weapon of the weak, but the power which is the subject of this article can be used only by the strong. This power is not 'passive' resistance; indeed it calls for intense activity. The movement in South Africa was not passive but active. The Indians of South Africa believed that Truth was their object, that Truth ever triumphs, and with this definiteness of purpose they persistently held on to Truth. They put up with all the suffering that this persistence implied. With the conviction that Truth is not to be renounced even unto death, they shed the fear of death. In the cause of Truth, the prison was a palace to them and its doors the gateway to freedom.

What is Satyagraha?

Satyagraha is not physical force. A satyagrahi does not inflict pain on the adversary; he does not seek his destruction. A satyagrahi never resorts to firearms. In the use of satyagraha, there is no ill-will whatever.

Satyagraha is pure soul-force. Truth is the very substance of the soul. That is why this force is called satyagraha. The soul is informed with knowledge. In it burns the flame of love. If someone gives us pain through ignorance, we shall win him through love. "Non-violence is the supreme dharma"[1] is the proof of this power of love. Non-violence is a dormant state. In the waking state, it is love. Ruled by love, the world goes on. In English there is a saying, "Might is Right". Then there is the doctrine of the survival of the fittest. Both these ideas are contradictory to the above principle. Neither is wholly true. If ill-will were the chief motive-force, the world would have been destroyed long ago; and neither would I have had the opportunity to write this article nor would the hopes of the readers be fulfilled. We are alive solely because of love. We are all ourselves the proof of this. Deluded by modern western civilization, we have forgotten our ancient civilization and worship the might of arms.

Worhsip of Armed Might

We forget the principle of non-violence, which is the essence of all religions. The doctrine of arms stands for irreligion. It is due to the sway of that doctrine that a sanguinary war is raging in Europe.

[1] *Ahimsa Paramo Dharmah*

In India also we find worship of arms. We see it even in that great work of Tulsidas. But it is seen in all the books that soul-force is the supreme power.

RAMA AND RAVANA

Rama stands for the soul and Ravan for the non-soul. The immense physical might of Ravana is as nothing compared to the soul-force of Rama. Ravana's ten heads are as straw to Rama. Rama is a yogi, he has conquered self and pride. He is "placid equally in affluence and adversity", he has "neither attachment, nor greed nor the intoxication of status". This represents the ultimate in satyagraha. The banner of saytagraha can again fly in the Indian sky and it is our duty to raise it. If we take recourse to satyagraha, we can conquer our conquerors the English, make them bow before our tremendous soul-force, and the issue will be of benefit to the whole world.

It is certain that India cannot rival Britain or Europe in force of arms. The British worship the war-god and they can all of them become, as they are becoming, bearers of arms. The hundreds of millions in India can never carry arms. They have made the religion of non-violence their own. It is impossible for the *varnashram* system to disappear from India.

WAY OF VARNASHRAM

The way of *varnashram* is a necessary law of nature. India, by making a judicious use of it, derives much benefit. Even the Muslims and the English in India observe this system to some extent. Outside of India, too, people follow it without being aware of it. So long as this institution of *varnashram* exists in India, everyone cannot bear arms here. The highest place in India is assigned to the brahmana dharma—which is soul-force. Even the armed warrior does obeisance to the brahmin. So long as this custom prevails, it is vain for us to aspire for equality with the West in force of arms.

PANACEA FOR ALL ILLS

It is our *kamadhenu*[1]. It brings good both to the satyagrahi and his adversary. It is ever victorious. For instance, Harishchandra was a satyagrahi, Prahlad was a satyagrahi, Mirabai was a satyagrahi. Daniel, Socrates and those Arabs who hurled themselves on the fire of the French artillery were all satyagrahis. We see from these examples that a satyagrahi does not fear for his body, he does

[1] Mythical cow which yielded whatever one wished

not give up what he thinks is Truth; the word 'defeat' is not to be found in his dictionary, he does not wish for the destruction of his antagonist, he does not vent anger on him; but has only compassion for him.

A satyagrahi does not wait for others, but throws himself into the fray, relying entirely on his own resources. He trusts that when the time comes, others will do likewise. His practice is his precept. Like air, satyagraha is all-pervading. It is infectious, which means that all people—big and small, men and women—can become satyagrahis. No one is kept out from the army of satyagrahis. A satyagrahi cannot perpetrate tyranny on anyone; he is not subdued through application of physical force; he does not strike at anyone. Just as anyone can resort to satyagraha, it can be resorted to in almost any situation.

Historical Evidence

People demand historical evidence in support of satyagraha. History is for the most part a record of armed activities. Natural activities find very little mention in it. Only uncommon activities strike us with wonder. Satyagraha has been used always and in all situations. The father and the son, the man and the wife are perpetually resorting to satyagraha, one towards the other. When a father gets angry and punishes the son, the son does not hit back with a weapon, he conquers his father's anger by submitting to him. The son refuses to be subdued by the unjust rule of his father but he puts up with the punishment that he may incur through disobeying the unjust father. We can similarly free ourselves of the unjust rule of the Government by defying the unjust rule and accepting the punishments that go with it. We do not bear malice towards the Government. When we set its fears at rest, when we do not desire to make armed assaults on the administrators, nor to unseat them from power, but only to get rid of their injustice, they will at once be subdued to our will.

The question is asked why we should call any rule unjust. In saying so, we ourselves assume the function of a judge. It is true. But in this world, we always have to act as judges for ourselves. That is why the satyagrahi does not strike his adversary with arms. If he has Truth on his side, he will win, and if his thought is faulty, he will suffer the consequences of his fault.

What is the good, they ask, of only one person opposing injustice; for he will be punished and destroyed, he will languish in prison or meet an untimely end through hanging. The objection

is not valid. History shows that all reforms have begun with one person. Fruit is hard to come by without *tapasya*. The suffering that has to be undergone in satyagraha is *tapasya* in its purest form. Only when the *tapasya* is capable of bearing fruit, do we have the fruit. This establishes the fact that when there is insufficient *tapasya*, the fruit is delayed. The *tapasya* of Jesus Christ, boundless though it was, was not sufficient for Europe's need. Europe has disapproved Christ. Through ignorance, it has disregarded Christ's pure way of life. Many Christs will have to offer themselves as sacrifice at the terrible altar of Europe, and only then will realization dawn on that continent. But Jesus will always be the first among these. He has been the sower of the seed and his will therefore be the credit for raising the harvest.

Educating Ignorant Peasants in Satyagraha

It is said that it is a very difficult, if not an altogether impossible, task to educate ignorant peasants in satyagraha and that it is full of perils, for it is a very arduous business to transform unlettered ignorant people from one condition into another. Both the arguments are just silly. The people of India are perfectly fit to receive the training of satyagraha. India has knowledge of dharma, and where there is knowledge of dharma, satyagraha is a very simple matter. The people of India have drunk of the nectar of devotion. This great people overflows with faith. It is no difficult matter to lead such a people on to the right path of satyagraha. Some have a fear that once people get involved in satyagraha, they may at a later stage take to arms. This fear is illusory. From the path of satyagraha [clinging to Truth], a transition to the path of *a-satyagraha* [clinging to untruth] is impossible. It is possible of course that some people who believe in armed activity may mislead the satyagrahis by infiltrating into their ranks and later making them take to arms. This is possible in all enterprises. But as compared to other activities, it is less likely to happen in satyagraha, for their motives soon get exposed and when the people are not ready to take up arms, it becomes almost impossible to lead them on to that terrible path. The might of arms is directly opposed to the might of satyagraha. Just as darkness does not abide in light, soulless armed activity cannot enter the sunlike radiance of soul-force. Many Pathans took part in satyagraha in South Africa abiding by all the rules of satyagraha.

Then it is said that much suffering is involved in being a satyagrahi and that the entire people will not be willing to put up with this suffering. The objection is not valid. People in general

always follow in the footsteps of the noble. There is no doubt that it is difficult to produce a satyagrahi leader. Our experience is that a satyagrahi needs many more virtues like self-control, fearlessness, etc., than are requisite for one who believes in armed action. The greatness of the man bearing arms does not lie in the superiority of the arms, nor does it lie in his physical prowess. It lies in his determination and fearlessness in face of death. General Gordon was a mighty warrior of the British Empire. In the statue that has been erected in his memory he has only a small baton in his hand. It goes to show that the strength of a warrior is not measured by reference to his weapons but by his firmness of mind. A satyagrahi needs millions of times more of such firmness than does a bearer of arms. The birth of such a man can bring about the salvation of India in no time. Not only India but the whole world awaits the advent of such a man. We may in the meanwhile prepare the ground as much as we can through satyagraha.

Use of Satyagraha

How can we make use of satyagraha in the present conditions? Why should we take to satyagraha in the fight for freedom? We are all guilty of killing manliness. So long as our learned Annie Besant is in detention, it is an insult to our manhood. How can we secure her release through satyagraha? It may be that the Government has acted in good faith, that it has sufficient grounds for keeping her under detention. But, at any rate, the people are unhappy at her being deprived of her freedom. Annie Besant cannot be freed through armed action. No Indian will approve of such an action. We cannot secure her freedom by submitting petitions and the like. Much time has passed. We can all humbly inform the Government that if Mrs. Annie Besant is not released within the time limit prescribed by us, we will all be compelled to follow her path. It is possible that all of us do not like all her actions; but we find nothing in her actions which threatens the "established Government"[1] or the vested interests. Therefore we too by participating in her activities will ask for her lot, that is, we shall all court imprisonment. The members of our Legislative Assembly also can petition the Government and when the petition is not accepted, they can resign their membership. For swaraj also, satyagraha is the unfailing weapon. Satyagraha means that what we want is truth, that we deserve it and that we will work for it even unto death.

[1] The English phrase is used.

Nothing more need be said. Truth alone triumphs. There is no dharma higher than Truth. Truth always wins. We pray to God that in this sacred land we may bring about the reign of dharma by following satyagraha and that this our country may become an example for all to follow.

[From Hindi]

Mahatma Gandhi, Ramchandra Varma

397. LETTER TO ESTHER FAERING

AHMEDABAD,
September 5, 1917

MY DEAR ESTHER,

I have your two letters really to answer, the last one is most touching. The cause of the terrible pain I have suffered was within myself. I twice ate when I ought not to have. The result was dysentery in a most acute form. I am now much better and am making daily progress. In four or five days, I shall be out of bed.

With love,
BAPU

My Dear Child, p. 21

398. LETTER TO ESTHER FAERING

AHMEDABAD,
September 6, 1917

MY DEAR ESTHER,

I was delighted to receive your note. I hope to be in Madras for a day only on the 14th instant. I shall have to leave on the 15th instant in the evening.

Ever since my arrival here, I have been on the move trying to spread the gospel of satyagraha in the place of methods of violence. It is an uphill task. You will see from the enclosed what I mean by satyagraha.

It was not my intention that your remarks upon dress should be published. I forgot to warn Dr. M. about it. He liked your views so much that he could not restrain himself. I do hope you

don't mind my sending to Dr. M. such of your letters as may appear to be helpful.

'To be free from desire' is a technical expression and means desire to be or possess something short of the highest. Thus, love of God is not 'a desire'. It is the natural longing. But to possess a fortune so that I may do good is a desire and therefore to be curbed. Our good acts must be as natural to us as the twinkling of our eyes. Without our desiring, they act automatically. The doing of good should be just as natural to us.

Yours ever,
BAPU

My Dear Child, pp. 21-2

399. LETTER TO BHAGWANJI VAKIL

AHMEDABAD,
Bhadarva Vad 9 [September 9,1917][1]

BHAISHRI BHAGWANJI[2],

Will you do one thing to help me? Will you send a brief note on the evils in every State? I must have the freedom to publish it. Even if you don't give me such freedom, send the note at any rate. For instance, I have heard that in Jamnagar there is a tax on the Brahmin's kit and a tax to be paid on the calving of a buffalo. In Wadhwan, hand-spun yarn is taxed in three ways. Mill yarn and mill cloth are exempt. These are the more obvious examples I have mentioned. I want these and the like, even graver ones. Note the hardships resulting from laws and the manner of enforcing them. Send the thing immediately. I shall get it wherever I happen to be.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS GANDHI

From the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: C. W. 3024. Courtesy: Narandas Gandhi

[1] This appears to have been written before "Letter to Bhagwanji Vakil", 3-10-1917.

[2] Bhagwanji Anoopchand of Rajkot

400. LETTER TO KALYANJI MEHTA

AHMEDABAD,
[*September 11, 1917*][1]

BHAISHRI,

I am leaving for Madras today. I shall be in Poona on the 17th and the 18th. I shall come away from Poona on the 19th morning. You can then see me in Bombay. On the same date I shall leave for Ranchi by Nagpur Mail.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS

BHAISHRI KALYANJI MEHTA
Patel Bandhu Office
Surat

From a photostat of the original postcard in Gujarati in Gandhiji's hand: G. N. 2665

401. PETITION TO E. S. MONTAGU

[Before *September 13, 1917*][2]

THE RIGHT HON'BLE MR. E. S. MONTAGU
SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA

THE PETITION OF THE BRITISH SUBJECTS OF GUJARAT

HUMBLY SHEWETH,

(1) The petitioners have considered and understood the Swaraj Scheme prepared by the Council of the All-India Moslem League and the All-India Congress Committee and unanimously adopted last year by the Indian National Congress and the All-India Moslem League.

(2) The petitioners approve of the Scheme.

[1] The date is fixed on the basis of Gandhiji's tour itinerary given in the letter.

[2] This was drafted by Gandhiji in Gujarati as stated in "Circular Letter by Gujarat Sabha", 13-9-1917; *vide* Appendix VIII. Identical petitions were presented in other Indian languages; for example, the Hindi petition reproduced at page 521 of *Select Documents on Mahatma Gandhi's Movement in Champaran*.

(3) In the humble opinion of the petitioners, the reforms proposed in the aforementioned Scheme are absolutely necessary in the interests of India and the Empire.

(4) It is further the petitioner's belief that without such reforms India will not witness the era of true contentment.

For these reasons the petitioners respectfully pray that you will be pleased to give full consideration and accept the reform proposals and thus render successful your visit taken at great inconvenience and fulfil the national hope.

And for this act of kindness the petitioners shall for ever remain grateful.

Date	Petitioner's signature	Occupation	Address

From a facsimile published in *Mahatma*, Vol. I

402. *INTRUCTIONS TO VOLUNTEERS*[1]

[Before *September 13, 1917*]

Mr. Gandhi also devised the following rules for the Volunteers to obtain signatures :

1. In taking signatures to the petition, first it must be ascertained whether the person signing correctly understands the scheme described in the petition or not.

2. In order to make people understand the scheme, it should be read out to the inhabitants of the place, called together by a notification prepared by the Sabha. If in such reading the people raise any new question, which cannot be answered out of the Foreword, then the Volunteer should not decide the point himself but should refer it to the Chief of his own Circle; and the questioner should not be allowed to sign so long as he has not been satisfied.

3. It should be clearly kept in mind that no kind of pressure is to be used on any inhabitant of any place.

4. Care should be taken that Government servants, as also people who are unable to understand, do not sign by oversight.

5. Signatures should not be taken from young people, who appear to be under the age of eighteen.

[1] These were framed by Gandhiji; *vide* Appendix VIII.

6. Signatures should not be taken from school-going students, whatever their age may be.

7. There is no objection in taking signatures from any man or woman if the Volunteer is convinced that he or she can understand the matter.

8. A man or woman, who is unable to read or write, should be made to put his or her cross and an authentication of it by a well-known person of the place should be placed opposite the cross.

9. It should be kept in mind that each signature is to be taken on two forms.

10. The papers should be preserved without being soiled or crumpled.

11. The papers which are not signed should at once be sent to the Head Office; and a report should at once be sent to the Head Office from the place where a meeting has been held or some attempt made.

12. The Volunteer has no authority to make any speech on any subject outside the scope of petition or on any subject relating to but not included in the Foreword.

13. First the inhabitants of a place should be called together and the Foreword read out to them and their signatures taken. After that as many houses as can as be practicable should be visited and the signatures of the rest of the men and women taken. But these should be taken only after the Foreword has been explained.

14. If while visiting places or calling together people, the police or any other officials object, the Volunteer should politely reply that so long as the Head Office does not direct the cessation of work, he would have to continue his work. If in doing this, he is arrested by the police, he should allow himself to be arrested, but he should not resist the police. And if such a thing happens, he should at once send a detailed report to the Head Office. If people themselves hesitate to gather together through the fear of the police or for any other cause, the Volunteer should give up that place and should at once give information of such an occurrence to the Head Office.

Speeches and Writings of Mahatma Gandhi, Natesan (3rd Ed.)

403. A SUGGESTION

[Before *September 16, 1917*]

Gandhiji writes as follows:

On the day the Congress holds its session at Calcutta, meetings should be held in every town and village, the Gujarati translation of the Congress President's[1] speech should be read out and the Congress-League Scheme of Reforms explained to the people.

[From Gujarati]

Gujarati, 16-9-1917

404. LETTER TO SATYANAND BOSE[2]

[Before *September 16, 1917*]

DEAR SATYANAND BABU,

Mr. Polak had sent me your letter of inquiry about Passive Resistance. I have time only to give you the briefest reply to your questions. P. R., as conceived by me, is soul force, and essentially a religious principle. Its scope, therefore, takes in every variety of wrong. It is a force as old as the world itself. Consider the conduct of Prahlad, Daniel, Jesus, Mirabai and others whose guiding principle in life has been religion. Indians in South Africa made use, more or less, of this force, and they were successful only to the extent that they used it to the exclusion of every other force.

From whom did the idea first originate, is your second question. In view of the meaning I have given to the expression, no reply seems to be necessary. But it may be stated that so far as its use on the political platform is concerned, the idea may be said to have originated with me. I knew nothing of it, but Tolstoy drew my attention to it.

At the time of the controversy on the Education Bill passed by the House of Commons and the so-called Passive Resistance

[1] Mrs. Besant

[2] This was in reply to the addressee's letter dated August 15, 1917 to Polak.

offered by Dr. Clifford[1] and others, Mr. Winston Churchill[2] said that P. R. was perfectly constitutional under the British Constitution. A similar pronouncement was made by Gen. Smuts, with regard to our Passive Resistance when demand was made by Senator Whiteside for my deportation side by side with that of the nine Englishmen who were deported in connection with the European Railway strike that had just then ended.

I am unable, offhand, to give any reference from a constitutional lawyer.[3]

Your fifth question requires historical precedents. This is answered in para. 2.

Your sixth question, whether it comes within constitutional methods needs no answer. I am sorry for the delay that has taken place in replying. I am in Ahmedabad up to the 16th September, then prepare to leave for Bihar.

From a photostat of the office copy in Mahadev Desai's hand: S. N. 6385

405. *THE MORAL BASIS OF CO-OPERATION*[4]

The only claim I have on your indulgence is that some months ago I attended with Mr. Ewbank a meeting of mill-hands to whom he wanted to explain the principles of co-operation. The *chawl*[5] in which they were living was as filthy as it well could be. Recent rains had made matters worse. And I must frankly confess that had not it been for Mr. Ewbank's great zeal for the cause he has made his own, I should have shirked the task. But there we were, seated on a fairly worn out *charpai*[6], surrounded by men, women and

[1] John Clifford (1836-1923), British Non-conformist minister and liberal politician, who led the "Passive Resistance" movement against the Education Bill of 1902 by non-payment of taxes

[2] Sir Winston (Leonard Spencer) Churchill (1874-), British statesman and writer; Under-Secretary for Colonies, 1905-8 (Gandhiji first met him during his deputation to England in 1906); Minister of Munitions, 1917; Secretary for War, 1918-21; Prime Minister, 1940-5, 1951-5; awarded Nobel Prize for Literature, 1953

[3] Questions 4 and 5 were:

"4. Did any constitutional lawyer deal with the subject? (Quote references)

"5. Quote instances of passive resistance from history..."

[4] Contributed to the Bombay Provincial Co-operative Conference held on September 17, 1917

[5] Tenement Building

[6] Cot

children. Mr. Ewbank opened fire on a man who had put himself forward and who wore not a particularly innocent countenance. After he had engaged him and the other people about him in Gujarati conversation, he wanted me to speak to the people. Owing to the suspicious looks of the man who was first spoken to, I naturally pressed home the moralities of co-operation. I fancy that Mr. Ewbank rather liked the manner in which I handled the subject. Hence, I believe, his kind invitation to me to tax your patience for a few moments upon a consideration of co-operation from a moral standpoint.

My knowledge of the technicality of co-operation is next to nothing. My brother Devdhar has made the subject his own. Whatever he does naturally attracts me and predisposes me to think that there must be something good in it and the handling of it must be fairly difficult. Mr. Ewbank very kindly placed at my disposal some literature too on the subject. And I have had a unique opportunity of watching the effect of some co-operative effort in Champaran. I have gone through Mr. Ewbank's ten main points which are like the commandments, and I have gone through the twelve points of Mr. Collins of Behar, which remind me of the law of the twelve tables. There are so-called agricultural banks in Champaran. They were to me disappointing efforts, if they were meant to be demonstrations of the success of co-operation. On the other hand, there is quiet work in the same direction being done by Mr. Hodge, a missionary whose efforts are leaving their impression on those who come in contact with him. Mr. Hodge is a co-operative enthusiast and probably considers that the results which he sees flowing from his efforts are due to the working of co-operation. I who was able to watch the two efforts had no hesitation in inferring that the personal equation counted for success in the one and failure in the other instance.

I am an enthusiast myself, but twenty-five years of experimenting and experience have made me a cautious and discriminating enthusiast. Workers in a cause necesssarily, though quite unconsciously, exaggerate its merits and often succeed in turning its very defects into advantages. In spite of my caution I consider the little institution[1] I am conducting in Ahmedabad as the finest thing in the world. It alone gives me sufficient inspiration. Critics tell me that it represents a soulless soul-force and that its severe discipline has made it merely mechanical. I suppose both—the critics and I—are wrong. It is, at best, a humble attempt to place

[1] Satyagraha Ashram

at the disposal of the nation a home where men and women may have scope for free and unfettered development of character, in keeping with the national genius, and if its controllers do not take care, the discipline that is the foundation of character, may frustrate the very end in view. I would venture, therefore, to warn enthusiasts in co-operation against entertaining false hopes.

With Sir Daniel Hamilton, it has become a religion. On the 13th January last, he addressed the students of the Scottish Churches College, and in order to point a moral he instanced Scotland's poverty of two hundred years ago and showed how that great country was raised from a condition of poverty to plenty. He said:

> There were two powers which raised her—the Scottish Church and the Scottish banks. The Church manufactured the men and the banks manufactured the money to give the men a start in life. . . . The Church disciplined the nation in the fear of God which is the beginning of wisdom and in the parish schools of the Church, the children learned that the chief end of man's life was to glorify God and to enjoy Him for ever. Men were trained to believe in God and in themselves, and on the trustworthy character so created, the Scottish banking system was built.

Sir Daniel then shows that it was possible to build up the marvellous Scottish banking system only on the character so built. So far there can only be perfect agreement with Sir Daniel, for 'Without character there is no co-operation' is a sound maxim. But he would have us go much further. He thus waxes eloquent on co-operation :

> Whatever may be your day-dreams of India's future, never forget this that it is to weld India into one, and so enable her to take her rightful place in the world, that the British Government is here; and the welding hammer in the hand of the Government is the co-operative movement.

In his opinion, it is the panacea of all the evils that afflict India at the present moment. In its extended sense it can justify the claim on one condition which need not be mentioned here; in the limited sense in which Sir Daniel has used it, I venture to think, it is an enthusiast's exaggeration. Mark his peroration :

> Credit, which is only Trust and Faith, is becoming more and more the money power of the world, and in the parchment bullet into which is impressed the faith which removes mountains, India will find victory and peace.

Here there is evident confusion of thought. The credit which is becoming the money power of the world has little moral basis and is not a synonym for Trust or Faith, which are purely moral qualities. After twenty years' experience of hundreds of men, who had dealings with banks in South Africa, the opinion I had so often heard

expressed has become firmly rooted in me, that the greater the rascal, the greater the credit he enjoys with his banks. The banks do not pry into his moral character; they are satisfied that he meets his over-drafts and promissory notes punctually. The credit system has encircled this beautiful globe of ours like a serpent's coil, and if we do not mind, it bids fair to crush us out of breath. I have witnessed the ruin of many a home through the system, and it has made no difference whether the credit was labelled co-operative or otherwise. The deadly coil has made possible the devastating spectacle in Europe, which we are helplessly looking on. It was perhaps never so true as it is to-day that as in law so in war the longest purse finally wins. I have ventured to give prominence to the current belief about credit system in order to emphasise the point that the co-operative movement will be a blessing to India only to the extent that it is a moral movement strictly directed by men fired with religious fervour. It follows, therefore, that co-operation should be confined to men wishing to be morally right, but failing to do so, because of grinding poverty or of the grip of the *mahajan*[1]. Facility for obtaining loans at fair rates will not make immoral or unmoral men moral. But the wisdom of the State or philanthropists demands that they should help, on the onward path, men struggling to be good.

Too often do we believe that material prosperity means moral growth. It is necessary that a movement which is fraught with so much good to India should not degenerate into one for merely advancing cheap loans. I was therefore delighted to read the recommendation in the *Report of the Committee on Co-operation in India*, that

> they wish clearly to express their opinion that it is to true co-operation alone, that is, to a co-operation which recognises the moral aspect of the question that Government must look for the amelioration of the masses and not to a pseudo-co-operative edifice, however imposing, which is built in ignorance of co-operative principles.

With this standard before us, we will not measure the success of the movement by the number of co-operative societies formed, but by the moral condition of the co-operators. The Registrars will in that event ensure the moral growth of existing societies before multiplying them. And the Government will make their promotion conditional, not upon the number of societies they have registered, but the moral success of the existing institutions. This will mean tracing the course of every pice lent to the members,

[1] Moneylender

Those responsible for the proper conduct of co-operative societies will see to it that the money advanced does not find its way into the toddy-sellers' till or into the pockets of the keepers of gambling dens. I would excuse the rapacity of the *mahajan* if it has succeeded in keeping the gambling die or toddy from the ryot's home.

A word perhaps about the *mahajan* will not be out of place. Co-operation is not a new device. The ryots co-operate to drum out monkeys or birds that destroy their crops. They co-operate to use a common thrashing floor. I have found them co-operate to protect their cattle to the extent of their devoting their best land for the grazing of their cattle. And they have been found co-operating against a particularly rapacious *mahajan*. Doubt has been expressed as to the success of co-operation because of the tightness of the *mahajan*'s hold on the ryots. I do not share the fears. The mightiest *mahajan* must, if he represents an evil force, bend before co-operation, conceived as an essentially moral movement. But my limited experience of the *mahajan* of Champaran has made me revise the accepted opinion about his 'blighting influence'. I have found him to be not always relentless, not always exacting of the last pie. He sometimes serves his clients in many ways or even comes to their rescue in the hour of their distress. My observation is so limited that I dare not draw any conclusions from it, but I respectfully enquire whether it is not possible to make a serious effort to draw out the good in the *mahajan* and help him or induce him to throw out the evil in him. May he not be induced to join the army of co-operation, or has experience proved that he is past praying for ?

I note that the movement takes note of all indigenous industries. I beg publicly to express my gratitude to Government for helping me in my humble effort to improve the lot of the weaver. The experiment I am conducting shows that there is a vast field for work in this direction. No well-wisher of India, no patriot dare look upon the impending destruction of the handloom weaver with equanimity. As Dr. Mann has stated, this industry used to supply the peasant with an additional source of livelihood and an insurance against famine. Every Registrar who will nurse back to life this important and graceful industry will earn the gratitude of India. My humble effort consists of, firstly, in making researches as to the possibilities of simple reforms in the orthodox handlooms, secondly, in weaning the educated youth from the craving for Government or other service and the feeling that education renders him unfit for independent occupation and inducing him to take to weaving as a calling as honourable as that of a barrister

or a doctor, and, thirdly, by helping those who have abandoned their occupation to revert to it. I will not weary the audience with any statement on the first two parts of the experiment. The third may be allowed a few sentences as it has a direct bearing upon the subject before us. I was able to enter upon it only six months ago. Five families that had left off the calling have reverted to it and they are doing a prosperous business. The Ashram supplies them at their door with the yarn they need; it volunteers to take delivery of the cloth woven, paying them cash at the market rate. The Ashram merely loses interest on the loan advanced for the yarn. It has as yet suffered no loss and is able to restrict its loss to a minimum by limiting the loan to a particular figure. All future transactions are strictly cash. We are able to command a ready sale for the cloth received. The loss of interest, therefore, on the transaction is negligible. I would like the audience to note its purely moral character from start to finish. The Ashram depends for its existence on such help as *friends* render it. We, therefore, can have no warrant for charging interest. The weavers could not be saddled with it. Whole families that were breaking to pieces are put together again. The use of the loan is predetermined. And we the middlemen being volunteers obtain the privilege of entering into the lives of these families I hope for their and our betterment. We cannot lift them without being lifted ourselves. This last relationship has not yet been developed, but we hope at an early date to take in hand the education too of these families and not rest satisfied till we have touched them at every point. This is not too ambitious a dream. God willing, it will be a reality some day. I have ventured to dilate upon the small experiment to illustrate what I mean by co-operation to present it to others for imitation. Let us be sure of our ideal. We shall ever fail to realise it, but we should never cease to strive for it. Then there need be no fear of " co-operation of scoundrels " that Ruskin so rightly dreaded.

From the original in Gandhiji's hand; S. N. 6412 : also *The Indian Review*, October 1917

406. LETTER TO MAGANLAL GANDHI

RANCHI,
[*Adhik Aso Sud 7, September 23, 1917*][1]

CHI. MAGANLAL,

It is twelve days since I left you. Out of the eleven days, nine I spent on the train and only two nights at a friend's. Despite this, my health has not suffered. I had regular food today after eleven days. I had discussions with Amritlalbhai[2] in Bombay about the Ashram buildings. Chhaganlal must have written to you. He made some very weighty suggestions, the most important being that we cannot escape using wood. There will be some difficulty about the foundation. It just will not hold there, and the only way out is to have wood-work filled in with brick. The library, he said, would have to be lengthened, otherwise there would not be enough light. He will himself write in detail about all this. I hope you remember that you have to carry with you the lamp, with its post, from Jivanlalbhai's bungalow. We shall need them. Amritlalbhai suggested that the wood should be thickly painted all round with coal tar. Provide for good latrines and urinals from the very start. Money spent on them will be well spent. It will also be necessary to provide for quick draining away of sewage. I think it needful that you collect in the Ashram stone, gravel, etc., wherever and in whatever quantity available. Plan the roads fairly broad and get them ready soon. I see that I shall have to stay longer in Ranchi than I had thought. The sittings start on Monday.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: C. W. 5716. Courtesy: Radhabehn Choudhri

[1] Gandhiji left Ahmedabad on September 11 and arrived at Ranchi, *via* Bombay, Madras and Poona, on September 22, spending nine days on the train. Again, the first meeting of the second session of the Champaran Enquiry Committee, which is referred to at the end of the letter, was held on Monday, September 24 at Ranchi. The original has *Bhadarva Sud* 7, which appears to be a slip for *Adhik Aso Sud* 7.

[2] Thakkar

407. EXTRACTS FROM MINUTES OF CHAMPARAN COMMITTEE MEETING

RANCHI,
September 24, 1917

The President said that he understood that Mr. Gandhi had some remarks to make about the draft report which had been circulated. Mr. Gandhi said that he had an interview with His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor and understood from him that arbitration on the conflicting claims as to *sharahbeshi* was possible. The President said that during the time he had been in Ranchi he had discussed this matter with the local Government and had pointed out that there were three possible courses:

(1) for the local Government to arbitrate,
(2) for the Bettiah estate to meet the difference of 25 per cent, or
(3) for the question to be left to a special tribunal.

He understood that the local Government was not prepared to arbitrate but was prepared to consider the second suggestion after consulting the local officers. The latter were, however, opposed to the idea and when he himself had put it to the planters principally concerned, viz., Messrs Norman, Hill and Irwin, he gathered that they also were not in favour of it. He, therefore, understood that the local Government had abandoned all idea of the first and second alternatives and the report was consequently drafted on the assumption that the third alternative would be adopted. Mr. Gandhi said that he thought that Sir Edward Gait would be prepared to arbitrate and suggested that the matter might be referred to him. Mr. Rainy pointed out that it would be necessary to ascertain first whether the parties were willing. The President said that it was necessary, before the matter was referred to His Honour, to decide one or two points. The first was as to Turkaulia. Mr. Hill had not agreed to a reduction in *sharahbeshi* larger than 20 per cent and Mr. Gandhi had said that he was prepared to consider special cases. The President asked, therefore, whether he would agree in the case of Turkaulia for the arbitration to be between the limits of 20 per cent and 40 per cent. Mr. Gandhi agreed to this. The President said that the second point was, supposing some of the planters agreed and some did not, was the arbitration to be recommended in the case of those who agreed? Mr. Gandhi said that he thought if any concerns preferred to fight out their case in the ordinary courts, he would have no objection to their doing so. Mr. Reid agreed to this. The President then asked whether Mr. Gandhi intended the arbitration to be done by His Honour personally or by the local Government. Mr. Gandhi said that he thought it should be done by His Honour personally and the Committee agreed. Mr. Reid enquired whe-

ther His Honour would fix a separate figure for each factory. Mr. Gandhi said he thought it was not necessary to go into details and that this could be left to His Honour. The President then pointed out that, supposing the arbitration was undertaken, it was necessary to give the planters some assurance that the award would be made binding on the *raiyats*. Mr. Adami said that this would require legislation. Mr. Gandhi, however, thought that it would be simpler and just as binding as legislation, if he got a power of attorney from the *raiyats* to act on their behalf. This would not cause so much delay and probably be less troublesome on the whole than special legislation. The President asked what was to be done in the case of those *raiyats* who were not paying *sharahbeshi* and against whom the indigo obligation was recorded. Mr. Gandhi said that they should have the option of commuting the obligation at whatever rate might eventually be awarded. The President pointed out that the Committee had already agreed that the *tinkathia* system was so bad that it ought to be abolished. Mr. Gandhi said that in spite of that he could not see why *raiyats* should be compelled to pay enhanced rents if they did not wish to. He was prepared to try and get a power of attorney from such *raiyats* but the *raiyats* should not be compelled to agree to the arbitration. Mr. Reid said he thought that there would be great delay in getting the power of attorney and the President asked what would happen if the *raiyats* repudiated it subsequently. Mr. Gandhi said that in that case the *raiyats* would have to fight, but that was not likely. He would agree to the following being put in the report, "In order to protect the planters in the matter of acceptance by the *raiyats* of the Lieutenant-Governor's award, Mr. Gandhi would undertake to obtain a power of attorney from the *raiyats* concerned." He added that it might be simpler if the *raiyats* simply signed an agreement that they would accept the figure fixed by the Lieutenant-Governor. The President enquired whether if arbitration was to take place before this agreement was obtained, it would be right to go to the *raiyats* and ask them to sign it subsequent to the arbitration. Mr. Gandhi said that in that case it would not be a power of attorney but would be a legal acceptance. Mr. Rainy said that what was required was something which the *raiyat* could not question if the planter had to bring a suit for arrears of rent. Mr. Reid pointed out that if the attested rent had to be revised in the record, legislation would be necessary and a separate agreement would be required from each *raiyat* specifying the terms which had been settled in each particular case. The President said that the difficulty was that while with the planters the Committee were dealing with principals, with *raiyats* they were dealing with the representatives. The two methods which had been proposed to get over this were

(1) to get a power of attorney from the *raiyats* before arbitration which would be a lengthy process, and

(2) that Mr. Gandhi should obtain a legal acceptance after arbitration.

Mr. Adami said that if the second suggestion was adopted, an agreement would have to be taken from every *raiyat* and registered. The President pointed

out that in that case the expense would be considerable and it would have to be decided who was to bear it. Mr. Gandhi said that to get the power of attorney, it would take at least a month. Mr. Reid thought that legislation would be preferable. Mr. Rainy pointed out that it would be difficult to have the arbitration before the power of attorney was obtained and asked whether Mr. Gandhi would not agree to recommend that the settlement should be made binding by legislation, if necessary. Mr. Gandhi agreed to that. Mr. Reid said that he understood that in any case legislation was necessary to abolish the *tinkathia* system and he saw no reason therefore why provisions as to *sharahbeshi* should not also be included. The President said he thought that the proposal for special legislation was to some extent gambling on the Legislative Council but the members generally thought there would be no difficulty about this. It was finally agreed that the President should go to His Honour with the unanimous request that he should arbitrate on the following basis:

(1) In the case of Turkaulia between the limits of 20 per cent and 40 per cent reduction in *sharahbeshi*.

(2) In Pipra, Motihari, Jallaha and Sirni between the limits of 25 per cent and 40 per cent reduction.

The arbitration was only to take place where the concerns agreed. Any concern which did not agree would be left to the agency of the ordinary courts. The award might vary for different concerns and although Mr. Gandhi would prefer to omit this qualification, he would prefer to retain it rather than that the arbitration should fail. Where the indigo obligation was recorded, the *raiyat* was to have the option of continuing under the obligation or of commuting it at the rates fixed by the arbitration. Effect was to be given to the award by emergency legislation.

The President then said that in case His Honour agreed to arbitrate, the report would presumably simply state this fact. Mr. Gandhi said that he would prefer the arbitration to take place first of all and the figure arrived at to be incorporated in the report as their recommendation with the additional recommendation that legislation should be undertaken to enforce it. The Committee agreed to this.

The President then said that they had now to consider the report and he asked Mr. Gandhi to put his general views before the meeting. Mr. Gandhi said that he thought that for their purpose, the report was too heavy and that the Committee were not warranted in giving such a lengthy history after a summary enquiry. He pointed out that the materials were all in the Government record and on the terms of reference they had merely to report conclusions without giving the reasons. His experience was that arbitrators who did not give reasons always did well. The President agreed, provided that the report was unanimous.

The President said that one point which had not been dealt with in the report was the case of *tawan* in *mukarrari* villages. The report dealt with the

case of *tawan* in *thika* villages only. He referred specially to the case of Rajpur. Mr. Gandhi said he thought that Mr. Hudson ought to repay part of the *tawan*, as he had lost nothing by replacing *tinkathia* indigo by *khuski* indigo. If necessary, the payment could be enforced by special legislation. . . .

The President then brought forward a note of dissent put in by the Hon'ble Raja Kirtyanand Sinha as to the recommendation made in regard to sections 75 and 58 of the Bengal Tenancy Act. As to the amendment in section 75, Mr. Adami pointed out that the principle of having two alternative procedures for dealing with an infringement had already been accepted by the Legislature in section 58, so that the objection on this ground was not valid. Mr. Gandhi said that the objection on the ground that a legal point might arise seemed more valid but this would be provided for because there would be an appeal to the Commissioner. The President pointed out that the recommendation was practically to make the section the same as in the Chhota Nagpur Tenancy Act and asked the Raja if he would not agree to the recommendation if it was restricted to the Champaran district. Raja Kirtyanand Sinha said that on this condition he was willing to agree.

* * *

Select Documents on Mahatma Gandhi's Movement in Champaran, No. 181, pp. 351-5

408. *MINUTES OF CHAMPARAN COMMITTEE MEETING*

RANCHI,
September 25, 1917

The President said he had seen the Lieutenant-Governor who had said that he was not prepared to give a definite reply to the proposal that he should arbitrate and pointed out that it would be a somewhat difficult position for him since, as the head of the Government, he would have to deal with the report. The Lieutenant-Governor had, therefore, suggested that it might be preferable if a High Court Judge was appointed to arbitrate. Mr. Gandhi said that he did not contemplate such a stiff and formal arbitration. It was not a legal mind that was required for this arbitration but a business mind. Mr. Reid said that he was doubtful whether Messers Irwin and Hill would agree to arbitration and he was certain that they would not agree to arbitration by a High Court Judge. The President said that in that case it was hardly worthwhile to go on with the proposal to arbitrate. Mr. Gandhi agreed but said he still had hopes of bringing about an arbitration.

Turning to the discussion of the report, the President said that, in considering whether the introductory historical portion should be cut down, it had to be remembered that it was desirable to make the report as a whole intelli-

gent to the public and not to make it appear as if the Committee had shirked their tasks. Mr. Rainy said he had no objection to cutting down Chapter II. Mr. Adami was inclined to keep Chapter II as it was. Raja Kirtyanand Sinha suggested that the paragraph about the *thikadari* system might be shortened. Mr. Reid said that he saw no objection to Chapter II standing. It was necessary to enable anyone to grasp the problem as it stood at present. Mr. Gandhi said that if the report was not to be unanimous, he could understand and would not resist the desire of the majority to state their argument fully. The President said that Mr. Gandhi should indicate precisely the points to which he objected and the report could then be altered, if possible, to meet the views of everybody. Mr. Rainy pointed out that if there was anything in Chapter II which was contentious, it could be transferred to the contentious part of the report. He added that if the report was to recommend the tribunal, it was unnecessary to discuss the *sharahbeshi* question at length, because that was the very point which the tribunal would have to decide, but if Government was going to decide the question itself, then it would be necessary to give the arguments at some length. Mr. Gandhi thought that Government would have to decide between the views of the majority and his own views, as what he wanted was for Government to decide on the equities of the case and legislate at once. If Government held *sharahbeshi* to be illegal and that *tinkathia*, though legal, was accompanied by so much abuse that it should be abolished, they would legislate against it without the necessity of appointing a tribunal. If he had come on the scene earlier, he would have advised the *raiyats* against compensation, but as it was, compensation had been paid and he had to recognise that Mr. Reid said that he had only agreed to recommend that *tinkathia* should be abolished if there was compensation for it. The President said that the Committee could not bind Government, but he could indicate the view that he thought Government took; if there was a decision by arbitration on the consent of both parties, Government could legislate to give effect to that agreement without any difficulty. If there was no agreement, there were two alternatives :

(1) for Government to decide for itself and legislate accordingly or
(2) for the matter to be referred to a special tribunal or left to the ordinary courts.

As to the first alternative, questions affecting important claims to property were involved which it would be rather arbitrary and high-handed for Government to decide executively. The second alternative would, therefore, be the one probably adopted if no agreements were reached. The President added that until the Committee had before them Mr. Gandhi's specific suggestions as to what he wished to alter in the report, it was impossible to go on. What he wanted was a unanimous report as far as possible, that is to say, that any contentious matter should be confined to the one portion regarding *sharahbeshi*. Mr. Gandhi said that there was one master idea running through the report recognising the legality in certain cases of the *tinkathia*

obligation and the justification for *sharahbeshi*. The President said that if Mr. Gandhi would go through the report in detail, each portion of it could be dealt with separately.

Discussing the possiblity of arbitration, Mr. Gandhi said that he thought if the planters believed they had a good case, it was unbusinesslike for them to refuse arbitration. The President asked whether if only Mr. Norman agreed to arbitration, it was worthwhile taking up his case alone. Mr. Rainy thought that might make one or other of the parties regard the local Government as being incapacitated from dealing with the other cases impartially. He suggested that if a special tribunal was set up, it might be left open to the planters to agree to arbitration by the tribunal instead of detailed trial in each case. The President said he did not think there would be any advantage in that.

The President then suggested that the constitution and duties of the tribunal should be discussed. Mr. Adami said that it should consist of three members to provide for a difference of opinion and thought that there should be an appeal to the High Court on any legal point but not on the question of what was the fair amount for the commutation of the obligation. The Committee accepted three as the number of members of the tribunal and the personnel was then discussed. The President suggested that the tribunal should consist of:

(1) a Judicial Officer not below the rank of District Judge,

(2) a Revenue Officer not below the rank of Collector, and

(3) another Judge or another Revenue Officer.

As to (1), Mr. Rainy proposed that the Judicial Officer should be a High Court Judge and that there should be no appeal. Mr. Gandhi, however, thought that there should be a right of appeal, as tribunals sometimes went wrong. His view was the same whether the Judicial Officer in the tribunal was a High Court Judge or a District Judge. He agreed that the right of appeal should be confined to legal points. Mr. Adami said that if a High Court Judge was on the tribunal, he would allow no appeal, but there was no technical objection to an appeal being allowed from such a tribunal. Mr. Reid agreed with Mr. Rainy. Raja Kirtyanand Singh said that he would prefer that Mr. Gandhi should agree to a 25 per cent reduction in *sharahbeshi*, which would obviate the appointment of a tribunal, the working of which would obviously give a good deal of trouble. The Committee agreed that the second member of the tribunal should be a Revenue Officer not below the grade of Collector. As to the third member of the tribunal, Mr. Rainy said he would perfer to leave it to the local Government, who might wish to appoint neither a Judge nor a Revenue Officer. Mr. Adami said that he would prefer the third member to be a Judicial Officer. Mr. Gandhi also preferred a Judicial Officer. He said that the case here was not the same as in arbitration and, for a formal judicial tribunal, he would prefer a majority of Judicial Officers. The

President asked if it was possible for a High Court Judge and a District Judge to sit together. Mr. Adami said he thought there was no objection. Mr. Rainy said that Government might wish to put in a barrister or a pleader, and might also desire that one at least of the tribunal should be an Indian. He thought if they made their recommendation as to the personnel in too much detail, it would tie the hands of Government. The President then raised a question of the duties of tribunal. He suggested that the necessary legislation should lay down their duties somewhat as follows :

That on the application of either party within a certain period, the tribunal was to decide

(1) If the obligation to grow indigo existed or not.
(2) If so, what compensation in the form of enhanced rent, if any, should be allowed.
(3) If the tribunal decided that compensation was to be given, it should have regard in fixing that compensation to the following points :
  (a) in no case was the rent to be greater than fair and equitable rent;
  (b) the existing rent and the period for which it had remained unenhanced; and
  (c) the actual rate of *sharahbeshi* which had been taken in the concern or in neighbouring concerns.

Mr. Adami said that if the tribunal had to fix a commutation rate, this was probably the best way. It had been suggested that a fair and equitable rent should be fixed by the tribunal, irrespective of any conditions. Mr. Rainy said that in his view the tribunal should be left entirely free to decide what points to consider. There were limits to their discretion because they could not fix the rent lower than the original rent nor one higher than the existing rent including *sharahbeshi*. The President said that as Revenue Officer, he would hesitate to carry out the rent settlement without some such guidance as he had proposed. Mr. Reid pointed out that the survey record was available and would assist the tribunal. The President said that the survey record was not designed for what in northern India was understood by the settlement of rent, and in his view the proposal would lengthen the proceedings considerably. Mr. Rainy did not press his view but he thought that the decision as to what points should be considered should be left to the tribunal. The President said this might be met if it was laid down that, amongst other considerations, the tribunal should take into account the three points mentioned. Mr. Gandhi pointed out that any recommendation restricting the provisions of the Bengal Tenancy Act would be fought in the Legislative Council, and that as far as possible the Committee's suggestion should aim at liberalising the Act and not restricting it. Mr. Reid said he thought it would be simpler if the tribunal was simply given power to consider the rent rendered at the settlement and revise it, if necessary. The President pointed out that the special tribunal

would only have to consider cases where the obligation had been recorded or where *sharahbeshi* had been taken. It was agreed that the period of time within which applications to the tribunal should be made should be fixed at three months from the date of notification, and that if application was not made within that period, the entry in the settlement record should be final. Mr. Adami was asked to draft a paragraph embodying these decisions to go at the end of paragraph 24 of the report.

Mr. Gandhi wanted provisions to be made that the tribunal should consider cases of coercion and undue influence and other illegal practices, that is to say, that it should go into the past history of the working of the *tinkathia* system. Mr. Adami said that this would take a long time. Mr. Gandhi pointed out that there would be a test case which other cases would follow. The President said he thought that the clause, that the tribunal could decide what compensation, if any, was payable, implied that the *raiyat* in his *plea* would be able to plead that no compensation was due, because in the past the planter had already got sufficient compensation. He thought that Mr. Gandhi by this request was going back to his original case that there should be no tribunal. Whether there was to be a tribunal or not, there was a point that Government would have to decide. Mr. Rainy said that if the tribunal was to consider all these matters, it might be simpler to leave the whole thing to the operation of the ordinary law and merely appoint a Special Judge to try the cases. Mr. Gandhi said that even if Government found that the equities were in favour of the case, they would appoint a tribunal because as the President had said before, they could not take on themselves the responsibility of passing an arbitrary executive order. Mr. Adami said that he thought the widest discretion should be given to the tribunal. Mr. Rainy pointed out that the Turkaulia case had been fought largely on the point of coercion and that this might be raised in *sharahbeshi* cases that came before the tribunal. The tribunal, however, was also to deal with cases where *sharahbeshi* had not been taken, but where applications had been made for the obligation to be commuted. If the tribunal allowed an enhancement of rent in the latter case, why should they not do so in the former case even when the agreement was void on account of coercion? He did not consider, therefore, that the question of coercion came in to any great extent. It was to provide for cases of this sort that he proposed that the tribunal should consider anything that they thought relevant. Mr. Reid enquired as to who would pay the cost of the tribunal. The President said presumably Government would pay the cost and enquired of Mr. Gandhi if he could say how long the tribunal would take. Mr. Gandhi said he thought it would take at least a month in the most favourable circumstances. Mr. Adami thought it would take much longer.

As regards the printed evidence, Mr. Gandhi said that he wanted the enclosures to the written evidence of the three *raiyats* who had been examined publicly to be printed. The President said that these could be printed as an

appendix. Mr. Gandhi also wanted statements of other *raiyats* that he had filed to be printed. Mr. Reid objected to this. The President said that it would be sufficient for Mr. Gandhi's purpose if statements of witnesses who were examined informally were printed. Mr. Gandhi said that he would examine the statements and consider the point. He also wanted copies of judgements that he had filed to be printed. The President said that that would make a very bulky record. The judgements were all public documents and he did not think it more necessary to print them than it was to print Government records that had been placed before them. Mr. Gandhi said he thought that Mr. Gourlay's report should be printed. The President said that was a matter for the Government to decide. Mr. Gandhi said his idea in wanting these documents printed was that he could refer to them in his report. The President pointed out that Mr. Gandhi could refer to them, although they were not printed.

The meeting then adjourned.

Select Documents on Mahatma Gandhi's Movement in Champaran, No. 182, pp. 356-61

409. *LETTER TO THE PRESS ON THIRD CLASS TRAVELLING ON INDIAN RAILWAYS*[1]

RANCHI,
September 25, 1917

TO
THE EDITOR
THE LEADER

SIR,

I have now been in India for over two years and a half after my return from South Africa. Over one quarter of that time I have passed on the Indian trains travelling 3rd class by choice. I have travelled north as far as Lahore, down south up to Tranquebar, and from Karachi to Calcutta. Having resorted to third class travelling among other reasons for the purpose of studying the conditions under which this class of passengers travel, I have naturally made as critical observations as I could. I have fairly covered the majority of railway systems during this period. Now and then I have entered into correspondence with the management of the different railways about defects that have come under my notice.

[1] A copy of this was sent by Gandhiji to the Secretary, Department of Commerce and Industries, Delhi, with a letter making practical suggestions for improvement; *vide* Vol. XIV, "Letter to Commerce and Industries Secretary", 31-10-1917.

But I think that the time has come when I should invite the Press and the public to join in a crusade against a grievance which has too long remained unredressed, though much of it is capable of redress without great difficulty.

On the 12th instant I booked at Bombay for Madras by the mail train and paid Rs. 13-9. It was labelled to carry 22 passengers. These could only have seating accommodation. There were no bunks in this carriage whereon passengers could lie with any degree of safety or comfort. There were two nights to be passed in this train before reaching Madras. If not more than 22 passengers found their way into my carriage before we reached Poona, it was because the bolder ones kept the others at bay. With the exception of two or three insistent passengers, all had to find their sleep, being seated all the time. After reaching Raichur the pressure became unbearable. The rush of passengers could not be stayed. The fighters among us found the task almost beyond them. The guards or other railway servants came in only to push in more passengers.

A defiant Memon merchant protested against this packing of passengers like sardines. In vain did he say that this was his fifth night on the train. The guard insulted him and referred him to the management at the terminus. There were during this night as many as 35 passengers in the carriage during the greater part of it. Some lay on the floor in the midst of dirt and some had to keep standing. A free fight was at one time avoided only by the intervention of some of the older passengers who did not want to add to the discomfort by an exhibition of temper.

On the way, passengers got for tea tannin-water with filthy sugar and a whitish-looking liquid miscalled milk which gave this water a muddy appearance. I can vouch for the appearance, but I cite the testimony of the passengers as to the taste.

Not during the whole of the journey was the compartment once swept or cleaned. The result was every time you walked on the floor or rather cut your way through the passengers seated on the floor, you waded through dirt.

The closet was also not cleaned during the journey and there was no water in the water tank.

Refreshments sold to the passengers were dirty-looking, handed by dirtier hands, coming out of filthy receptacles and weighed in equally unattractive scales. These were previously sampled by millions of flies. I asked some of the passengers who went in for these dainties to give their opinion. Many of them used choice expressions as to the quality but were satisfied to state that they were helpless in the matter; they had to take things as they came.

On reaching the station, I found that the *gharriwala*[1] would not take me unless I paid the fare he wanted. I mildly protested and told him I would pay him the authorized fare. I had to turn passive resister before I could be taken. I simply told him he would have to pull me out of the *ghari* or call the policeman.

The return journey was performed in no better manner. The carriage was packed already and but for a friend's intervention, I could not have been able to secure even a seat. My admission was certainly beyond the authorized number. This compartment was constructed to carry 9 passengers but it had constantly 12 in it. At one place, an important railway servant swore at a protestant, threatened to strike him and locked the door over the passengers whom he had with difficulty squeezed in. To this compartment there was a closet falsely so called. It was designed as a European closet but could hardly be used as such. There was a pipe in it but no water, and I say without fear of challenge that it was pestilentially dirty.

The compartment itself was evil-looking. Dirt was lying thick upon the wood work and I do not know that it had ever seen soap or water.

The compartment had an exceptional assortment of passengers. There were stalwart Punjabi Mahommedans, two refined Tamilians and two Mahommedan merchants who joined us later. The merchants related [about] the bribes they had to give to procure comfort. One of the Punjabis had already travelled three nights and was weary and fatigued. But he could not stretch himself. He said he had sat the whole day at the Central Station, watching passengers giving bribes to procure their tickets. Another said he had himself to pay Rs. 5 before he could get his ticket and his seat. These three men were bound for Ludhiana and had still more nights of travel in store for them.

What I have described is not exceptional but normal. I have got down at Raichur, Dhond, Sonepur, Chakardharpur, Purulia, Asansol and other junction stations and been at the *Mosafirkhana*[2] attached to these stations. They are discreditable-looking places where there is no order, no cleanliness but utter confusion and horrible din and noise. Passengers have no benches or not enough to sit on. They squat on dirty floors and eat dirty food. They are permitted to throw the leavings of their food and spit where they like, sit how they like, and smoke everywhere. The closets attached

[1] Driver of the carriage

[2] Passengers' waiting rooms

to these places defy description. I have not the power to adequately describe them without committing a breach of the laws of decent speech. Disinfecting powder, ashes or disinfecting fluids are unknown. The army of flies buzzing about them warns you against their use. But a third class traveller is dumb and helpless. He does not want to complain even though to go to these places may be to court death. I know passengers who fast while they are travelling just in order to lessen the misery of their life in the trains. At Sonepur flies having failed, wasps have come forth to warn the public and the authorities, but yet to no purpose. At the Imperial Capital a certain 3rd class booking office is a Black Hole fit only to be destroyed.

Is it any wonder that plague has become endemic in India? Any other result is impossible where passengers always leave some dirt where they go and take more on leaving.

On Indian trains alone passengers smoke with impunity in all carriages irrespective of the presence of the fair sex and irrespective of the protest of non-smokers. And this notwithstanding a bye-law which prevents a passenger from smoking without the permission of his fellows in a compartment which is not allotted to smokers.

The existence of the awful war cannot be allowed to stand in the way of removal of this gigantic evil. War can be no warrant for tolerating dirt and overcrowding. One could understand an entire stoppage of passenger traffic in a crisis like this, but never a continuation or accentuation of insanitation and conditions that must undermine health and morality. Compare the lot of the 1st class passengers with that of the 3rd class. In the Madras case, the 1st class fare is over five times as much as the 3rd class fare. Does the third class passenger get one-fifth, even one-tenth, of the comforts of his first class fellow? It is but simple justice to claim that some relative proportion be observed between the cost and comfort.

It is a known fact that the 3rd class traffic pays for the ever increasing luxuries of 1st and 2nd class travelling. Surely a third class passenger is entitled at least to the bare necessities of life.

In neglecting the 3rd class passengers, opportunity of giving a splendid education to millions in orderliness, sanitation, decent composite life, and cultivation of simple and clean tastes is being lost. Instead of receiving an object lesson in these matters, 3rd class passengers have their sense of decency and cleanliness blunted during their travelling experience.

Among the many suggestions that can be made for dealing with the evil here described, I would respectfully include this : Let the people in high places, the Viceroy, the Commander-in-chief, the Rajas, Maharajas, the Imperial Councillors and others, who gene-

rally travel in superior classes, without previous warning, go through the experiences now and then of 3rd class travelling. We would then soon see a remarkable change in the conditions of the 3rd class travelling and the uncomplaining millions will get some return for the fares they pay under the expectation of being carried from place to place with the ordinary creature comforts.

I am,
Yours, etc.,
M. K. GANDHI

The Leader, 4-10-1917

410. LETTER TO JAMNALAL BAJAJ

RANCHI,
[*Adhik*] *Ashvin Shukla 9* [*September 25, 1917*][1]

DEAR BHAISHRI,

I got a letter from you in Bombay as I was going to catch the train. I had asked my nephew to go to you in that connection. Now I have Ramnarayanji's letter. He appears worthy of being taken up. I have asked for some more information from him. Two teachers from Maner have offered to come. I have already engaged one of them. I am having talks about the other. They will be able to join after two months. Ramnarayanji will be the third. We should be able to carry on with these.

Yours,
MOHANDAS GANDHI

[From Hindi]
Panchaven Putrako Bapuke Ashirvad

[1] Gandhiji was in Ranchi on this date. The original has *Bhadrapad Shukla* 9, which appears to be a slip for *Adhik Ashvin Shukla* 9, for on the former date Gandhiji was not in Ranchi. In the source also, September 25 is given as he date of this letter.

411. LETTER TO MAGANLAL GANDHI

RANCHI,
Tuesday [On or after *September 25, 1917*][1]

CHI. MAGANLAL,

I am still not free from fever. I am being careful. I don't take any medicine, though. I am confident that I shall get rid of it. There is no need to worry about me.

Tell Narahari that Prof. Balvantrai[2] has undertaken to write the preface to Gokhale's speeches. I know you must be having no end of difficulties. There can be no great achievement without difficulties. I shall be satisfied if you keep fit. I sent you a telegram[3] today to reassure you; I hope you received it. Let me know how you get the post. What arrangements have you made for living in general, and for the kitchen?

Amritlalbhai believes that, without a framework in wood [for the foundation], it will be impossible to build there. There was a letter from him today, in which he says he will send the plan to you in a day or two. I see that I shall have to be here two or three days more. Ask Ba not to be in the least anxious on my account.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: C. W. 5717. Courtesy: Radhabehn Choudhri

412. MINUTES OF CHAMPARAN COMMITTEE MEETING

RANCHI,
September 26, 1917

The President said he had a talk with Mr. Hill on the previous day but found him obdurate. Mr. Hill told him that he was certain that Mr. Irwin would not accept arbitration but probably Mr. Norman would. Mr. Hill

[1] From the reference to Amritlal Thakkar's suggestions about the Ashram building, the letter appears to have been written after "Letter to Maganlal Gandhi", 23-9-1917.

[2] Balvantrai Kalyanrai Thakore, a fellow-student of Gandhiji; Gujarati cholar and writer

[3] This is not available.

also said that he was sorry he had made any offer of reduction and would prefer to have the matter settled by a court. It was not only a matter of money but of reputation. The President thought that, in these circumstances, any idea of arbitration must be dropped, but the question arose as to whether it was worthwhile going on with arbitration in Mr. Norman's case. The difficulty was that two methods of settlement would be going on at the same time and two kinds of legislation would be necessary. Mr. Rainy pointed out that it was open to Mr. Norman to have his case arbitrated separately apart from any recommendation of the Committee and he might be contented to do so without binding legislation. Mr. Gandhi said that in Mr. Norman's case, there would be no difficulty in giving effect to a settlement in his concern by consent. The agreements could be registered village by village. The President observed that it would be difficult to legislate for one concern only. Mr. Adami said that this would not be necessary. The legislation could be on the lines that either the parties could apply to the tribunal for settlement of rent or could go to arbitration, in which case it could be provided that the award should be given effect to by the tribunal. There would be no need in this case to specify any particular concern in the legislation. Mr. Gandhi said that it was doubtful whether anything could be generally done by consent. Treating the matter now as a difference between himself and the rest of the Committee, he asked whether the difference could be split and adopted as a recommendation of the Committee. The President said that when this matter was discussed before, his view was that there was no case for the planters to give up *sharahbeshi* at all. They had, however, volunteered to give up a certain percentage for the sake of a settlement by goodwill and he was not prepared to recommend Government to go any further without the consent of the planters. Mr. Reid also said that he could not agree to anything beyond the limits already indicated. The President said that there was no chance of settlement by consent unless Mr. Gandhi could bring himself to agree to these limits. Mr. Reid asked if there was any chance of agreement on a proposal to start at a reduction of 40 per cent and after a period of years to work up to a reduction of 25 per cent. The President said that he thought the planters would not accept that. He added that he gathered that although Mr. Irwin would abide by his promise, he would be glad if he saw any way out of it. He asked Mr. Gandhi whether it was more in the interests of *raiyats* to accept the planters' limits or to leave them to fight it out. He thought that the risks of failure, if they were left to fight, were so great, that it was not worth it. Mr. Gandhi said that he did not see the risk because he had every confidence that he would prove his case. The President asked what that confidence was based on, because Mr. Gandhi had been able to put his case before four members of the Committee and had failed to convince them. Two of the Government witnesses, Mr. Sweeney and Mr. Heycock, were certainly not unsympathetic to the *raiyats* and they were convinced that Mr. Gandhi's view of the case was wrong. The legal view, so far as it had been expressed, was

also contrary to Mr. Gandhi's. Mr. Gandhi said that this was not the case. He held that the Turkaulia judgement was in his favour because *kabuliyats*[1] could not be produced except in a few of the cases. The President said that Mr. Hill had told him that, as far as Turkaulia was concerned, he was risking nothing, as registered *kabuliyats* existed in the large majority of cases. Mr. Hill had also told him that he had taken the very best legal advice which was to the effect that he was almost certain to win his case. Mr. Gandhi said that on the *raiyats*' side, there was great confidence also but he did not base his view entirely on that. He based his confidence on the equities of the case. He thought that Mr. Sweeney's views were unfortunately wrong and that his subsequent views were affected by the fact that he had to adhere to his decision. The President said that Mr. Hill held that public discussion had impugned his reputation and for this reason he would welcome the tribunal so as to be given an opportunity for clearing himself. Mr. Gandhi said that in that case, it would probably be necessary to have the tribunal, and an additional reason for this was supplied by the fact that Mr. Irwin felt sorry for his promise, because even if there was a settlement on the basis of this promise, there would be a certain amount of dissatisfaction and this was what he wanted to avoid. The President said he did not think that the position in respect of Mr. Irwin's promise had been quite understood. The planters had agreed to a reduction not because they thought that their full claim was wrong but because they were willing to give up something in order to get a settlement by consent, and in deference to the wishes of the Committee. There was, therefore, no reason to suppose that any settlement on these terms would be regarded with dissatisfaction. Mr. Gandhi then suggested that he should go and see Mr. Hill, so that he could make his position clear and find out what was in Mr. Hill's mind. The President said that he understood that if Mr. Gandhi was satisfied with the justness of Mr. Hill's attitude, he would agree to his terms. Mr. Gandhi said that this was not what he meant. What he intended was to try and persuade Mr. Hill to agree to arbitration. If he failed and he saw that Mr. Hill had good reasons, he should have to reconsider his position regarding the previous non-acceptance of the planters' offer. The President said that Mr. Hill had told him that he could not agree either to the arbitrator proposed by the Committee or to the arbitration being between the limits of 20 and 40 per cent, but that he would accept as an arbitrator a European Judge of the Patna or the Calcutta High Court acquainted with the Tenancy Act or a commercial man. Mr. Gandhi said that it had given him hope that an arbitration might be possible after all. He asked whether Mr. Hill would disagree to have an arbitrator from Champaran, as it would be an advantage to have someone who knew the question. He had previously[2] suggested a tribunal com-

[1] Agreements (to pay rent)

[2] *Vide* "Minutes of Champaran Committee Meeting", 14-8-1917.

posed of Mr. Apperley and Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya with Mr. Heycock as President; and he would be inclined to accept Mr. Heycock as an arbitrator, if the other side agreed. Mr. Reid said he thought the planters would accept Mr. Heycock but the President was inclined to doubt if they would. Mr. Gandhi said that if they accepted Mr. Heycock as an arbitrator, it would be understood that the arbitration should be between the figures already suggested. Mr. Reid said he did not think that Mr. Hill would accept on that basis. The President said that Mr. Hill's view was that he, either right or wrong, was willing to give up of his own free will 20 per cent, but would not take the risk of being made to give up more by arbitration. If it was put to him that if without prejudice he was prepared to offer more, it would be accepted and he might be inclined to agree to it. He (Mr. Hill) was not prepared to accept what he regarded as a censure on his conduct except by a legally constituted tribunal. It was not a matter of business but of conscience. It was decided that the President and Mr. Reid should see Mr. Hill at once and that Mr. Reid and Mr. Gandhi should see him in the afternoon. The President said he thought that if the interview was successful, that Managers of the other concerns, namely, Messrs Norman, Irwin, Jameson and Bion[1] should be sent for. He thought that if two concerns could be got to agree, the arbitration was worth doing, but if there was one only, it was not worthwhile to go on. He asked whether, assuming Turkaulia and Pipra agreed to a settlement, the Committee were prepared to recommend that a similar settlement should be enforced by legislation on the other three concerns, although the proprietors did not agree. The Committee agreed that this would be done.

Mr. Reid raised the question as to whether the abolition of *tinkathia* should not be made compulsory. Mr. Gandhi said he thought the Legislative Council would not accept this, but in all probability the *raiyats* would apply for commutation voluntarily. Mr. Reid said he doubted if all of them would apply and it would be inconvenient to have one or two *raiyats* with the *tinkathia* obligation still attached. The President said that he understood that His Honour was in favour of having it abolished. Mr. Gandhi said he saw legal difficulties but would be willing to accept the view that it should be abolished as a recommendation of the Committee. The President pointed out that, on the one side, the *raiyat* was not to be allowed to enter into contract and it was reasonable, on the other side, that the *raiyat* should not be allowed to do it even if he wanted it. The *raiyat* was fully safeguarded because the tribunal could not fix more than a fair rent. He added that in Turkaulia, five per cent of the *raiyats* was still doing *tinkathia* which was one of the points on which Mr. Hill relied to prove his case. Mr. Gandhi said that when *khushki* indigo was grown on a large scale, as he hoped it would be, the *raiyats*, under the *tinkathia* obligation, would soon find it to their advan-

[1] Proprietor of Sirnie Concern

tage to commute. Mr. Rainy pointed out that if the old system survived in any case, it might affect prejudicially the working of the new *khushki* system. Mr. Gandhi said he would accept the recommendation as part of the whole compromise but not if a tribunal was appointed. In that case, the legislation would abolish the *tinkathia* obligation and leave the landlord the option of applying for the settlement of additional rent as compensation if he wished.

The Committee then adjourned.

Select Documents on Mahatma Gandhi's Movement in Champaran, No. 183, pp. 361-5

413. FOREWORD TO "WHAT INDIA WANTS: AUTONOMY WITHIN THE EMPIRE"

September 27, 1917[1]

I have read Mr. Natesan's[2] booklet with the greatest pleasure. It is a fine vade-mecum for the busy politician and worker. Mr. Natesan has provided him with a connected narrative of the movement of self-government in a very attractive and acceptable form. By reproducing in their historical sequence the extracts from official records, he has allowed them to speak for themselves. The book is in my opinion a great help to the controversialist and the student of our present day politics who does not care to study musty blue books or has no access to them.

With reference to the joint scheme[3] of self-Government, though I do not take so much interest in it as our leaders, I feel that from the Government stand-point it must command their attention as a measure which has agitated the public mind as no other has, and I venture to think that there will be no peace in the country until the scheme has been accepted by the Government.

The Indian Review, October, 1917

[1] *Vide* the following item.

[2] G. A. Natesan, Editor, *The Indian Review*

[3] The scheme of Post-War Reforms prepared by the All-India Congress Committee in consultation with the Reform Committee of the Muslim League and passed unanimously at the Lucknow sessions of these bodies held in December, 1916

414. LETTER TO G. A. NATESAN

RANCHI,
September 27 [1917]

DEAR MR. NATESAN,

I have read your booklet[1] with the greatest pleasure. It is a fine vade-mecum for the busy politician and worker. You have provided him with a connected narrative of the movement of self-government in a very attractive and acceptable form. By reproducing in their historical sequence the extracts from official records, you have allowed them to speak for themselves. The book is in my opinion a great help to the controversialist and the student of our present-day politics who does not care to study musty blue books or has no access to them.

So much for the public eye. Your decision to leave out 'an appeal to the British Democracy' is wise. You will be sorry to learn that I have been laid up with fever since my arrival in Ranchi. It comes on alternate days. Yesterday was the fourth day. It comes only in the afternoon. It has therefore not interfered with the work in hand. But it has weakened me very considerably. The fear I have expressed in my letter[2] to the Press on the Railways has been realized in my own case. I had no notion of it when I drafted the letter.

With regard to my speeches & writings[3] I wish you would not have the time limit. I could then give you translations of some of my recent writings in Gujarati. In my opinion they have considerable merit. I would not have the required leisure before November when perhaps I would tackle the writing.

My fever need not cause you any worry. It must take its time and go.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat of the original in Gandhiji's hand: G. N. 2226

[1] *What India Wants: Autonomy within the Empire*

[2] *Vide* "Letter to the Press on Third Class Travelling on Indian Railways", 25-9-1917.

[3] These were eventually published with an introduction by C. F. Andrews by G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras, in 1917.

415. EXTRACTS FROM MINUTES OF CHAMPARAN COMMITTEE MEETING

RANCHI,
September 28, 1917

The discussion on Chapter IV of the report was taken up. . . . Mr. Gandhi said he did not like the arrangement of the Chapter. He wanted to omit the first two paragraphs merely stating what *abwab* had been found to be collected, condemning the practice and giving the Committee's recommendations.

The arrangement for meeting Messrs Irwin and Norman was discussed. It was settled that Mr. Reid should see them on Saturday and, if necessary, Mr. Gandhi should see them on Sunday. The next meeting was fixed for Monday morning.

Referring to the possibility of getting the goodwill of the planters in this settlement, the President asked Mr. Gandhi as to his future plans for Champaran. Mr. Gandhi explained this to the Committee. In the course of the discussion, Mr. Reid raised the question as to what would happen to the indigo crop in the coming year. Mr. Gandhi said he would certainly advise the *raiyats* to grow indigo, provided a fair price was paid for it. Mr. Reid pointed out that the question of price was now raised for the first time. The former decision of the Committee to which Mr. Gandhi had agreed was that indigo in the year 1917-18 should be grown on the old basis to allow the planters time to change the system.

Mr. Gandhi said that his view was that he was quite ready to advise the *raiyats* to go on growing indigo but not on the old terms which were disadvantageous to the *raiyat*. He would use his influence to get the *raiyats* to grow at a reasonable rate. The President asked whether it was possible to tide over this year, by the planters agreeing to pay a certain percentage above the Association rate. Mr. Gandhi said he thought an agreement could be arrived at on those lines. Mr. Reid said he could not accept the proposal until he had an opportunity of consulting the planters.

The Committee then adjourned.

Select Documents on Mahatma Gandhi's Movement in Champaran, No. 185, pp. 366-7

416. LETTER TO V. S. SRINIVASA SASTRI

RANCHI,
September 30 [*1917*]

DEAR MR. SHASTRIAR,

How are the mighty fallen! I thought I could never fall ill. Well I am laid up with malarial fever which comes on alternate days and in the afternoon. This has not interfered with the work in hand. I never knew, when I was penning my remarks on catching illness in that letter[1] of mine on the railway passengers (if you have read it at all) that I would be myself the illustration and that too immediately after the despatch of that letter. I am applying my own treatment. You need not be anxious. Possibly we shall meet in Allahabad. I say possibly because I may not have finished the Committee work here. After protracted negotiations, we have settled all the points and there will be a unanimous report.

Yes, the Gujarat Sabha has selected workers. The Sabha's ambition is to secure 1,00,000 signatures. The Home Rule League is working in Bombay. And I have just received a letter from Mrs. Besant that her workers are doing likewise in Madras. Elaborate instructions[2] have been drafted for the volunteers and the scheme has been fully translated for presentation to the villagers and others whose signatures are asked for. The idea is that the whole of India should take up the petition which should be translated in the vernaculars. The original draft was in Gujarati! The English you have read is a translation. For me the value of it lies in the education that the masses will receive and the opportunity that the educated men and women will have of coming in close touch with the people.

I do hope you are keeping well.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat of the original in Gandhiji's hand: G. N. 6294

[1] *Vide* "Letter to the Press on Third Class Travelling on Indian Railways", 25-9-1917.

[2] *Vide* "Instructions to Volunteers", before 13-9-1917.

417. LETTER TO BHAGWANJI VAKIL

RANCHI,
[*Adhik*] *Aso Vad 3* [*October 3, 1917*][1]

BHAISHRI,

I have received the papers you sent. I shall read them and do what I can. I don't think I can go to Kathiawar at present. I just cannot get away from Champaran.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS GANDHI

BHAISHRI BHAGWANJI ANOOPCHAND
RAJKOT CITY
KATHIAWAR

From a photostat of the original postcard in Gujarati in Gandhiji's hand: G. N. 5806

418. LETTER TO SIR EDWARD GAIT

RANCHI,
October 4, 1917

DEAR SIR EDWARD GAIT,

I beg to thank you for your letter of the 1st instant. The report was unanimously signed today.[2] May I suggest that it and the Government resolution be published at the earliest possible moment.[3] You will be glad to learn that some of the planters are anxious that I should go to Champaran at an early date and commence the work of pacification. May I tell the ryots what the Committee has reported?

Your extreme goodness to me prompts me to make a request. May I hope that the resolution will be worthy of the occasion and drawn up in no uncertain language? The message to the ryots in the vernacular ought to be full and such as to reach their hearts.

[1] From the postmark; the original has *Bhadarva Vad* 3, which appears to be a slip for *Adhik Aso Vad* 3. Gandhiji was not in Ranchi on the former date.

[2] The report bears the date 3rd October 1917; *vide* Appendix XI.

[3] The Order-in-Council was issued on October 6, 1917; *vide* Appendix XII and also Champaran Agrarian Bill, Appendix XIII.

If it is not impertinence on my part to say so, I would like to state that my services in this matter are at the disposal of the Government should they require them.

I shall be in Motihari on the 8th and shall be there till the 12th instant. I have an engagement in Bhagalpur on the 15th instant and from that time forward, I shall not be free before the 7th Nov. when I expect to return to Motihari. I am leaving Ranchi today.

I remain,
Yours faithfully,
M. K. GANDHI

From the original in Gandhiji's hand in the National Archives of India; also *Select Documents on Mahatma Gandhi's Movement in Champaran*, No. 189, pp. 391-2

419. FRAGMENT OF LETTER[1]

[*October 4, 1917*][2]

. . . present moment.

The report of the Committee was unanimously signed yesterday. I am off again on the tramp.[3]

With love to you all,

Yours
M. K. GANDHI

From the original in Gandhiji's hand: C.W. 5727. Courtesy: H. S. L. Polak

[1] Only the last page of this letter is available.

[2] The report referred to in the letter was the Champaran Agrarian Enquiry Committee Report, which was signed on October 3, 1917.

[3] *Vide* the preceding item.

420. LETTER TO ESTHER FAERING

RANCHI,
October 4, 1917

DEAR ESTHER,

I have not been able to write to you as often as I should like to have. I must let you share one of the richest experiences of life. Contrary to my expectation and owing to great strain, I was down with malaria, just when I could least afford to have illness. I had to attend the Committee work every day. Quinine was the drug prescribed. I would not take it. My faith has saved me. I missed not a single meeting and we signed an unanimous report[1] yesterday. I believe I have seen the last of the illness too. I have not the time to go into greater detail but when we meet you should ask me to give you the details of this experience. I take it you have read my letter to the Press on the railways.[2] If you have missed it, you should ask the Ashram to let you have a copy.

You were quite right [in] not coming to Madras. Love must be patient and humble. It is the rich and leisurly who can afford to be demonstrative in their love. We humble folks have naturally a different and better method of showing love. True love acts when it must, meanwhile it daily grows silently but steadily. In Motihari from 7th to 13th. Then Ahmedabad.

Yours,
BAPU

My Dear Child, pp. 22-3

[1] *Vide* Appendix XI.

[2] *Vide* "Letter to the Press on Third Class Travelling on Indian Railways", 25-9-1917.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

ANNIE BESANT'S EXPLANATION REGARDING BENARES INCIDENT

I

MADRAS,
February 10, 1916

As Mr. Gandhi has made a statement[1] which appears by wire in our columns, I think it well to say that my interruption was due to the fact that the Englishman behind me, who, I concluded, was a C.I.D. officer, made the remark, "Everything he says is being taken down and will be sent to the Commissioner." As several things said were capable of a construction that I knew Mr. Gandhi could certainly not mean to convey, I thought it better to suggest to the Chairman that politics were out of place in that meeting. I did not suggest to the Princes to leave nor do I know who did. I am well aware Mr. Gandhi would rather be killed than kill. But I do think that his remarks were capable of misconstruction and I feared for his personal safety under conditions existing in Benares. How far from any wish of his is any disturbance of the public peace was shown by his view that we ought not to embarrass the Government even by holding the Congress.

New India, 10-2-1916; also *The Bengalee*, 12-2-1916

II

February 17, 1916

The above[2] came to us from the *Madras Mail*. Mr. Gandhi telephoned to ask if I would put in a statement from him, and I answered yes. I presume that the above from the *Madras Mail* is the statement.

I regret that I must traverse the first paragraph of the statement. I do not see how, "if Mrs. Besant was almost behind me", he could have seen me "whispering" to the princes on the far side of the Maharaja of Darbhanga, nor how they could have heard my whispers; there was one prince on my side, who did not move till after all the rest had gone. I did not leave with the princes, but remained with my friends round me, and in fact Mr. Gandhi says, was discussing with them, while he also says that I left along with the princes. I did not leave till some minutes after the meeting was over, and then not even by the way they went, but by a path which led towards my house from the platform.

[1] *Vide* "Interview to A. P. I. on Benares 'Incident'", 9-2-1916.

[2] *Vide* "Reply to Mrs. Besant", before 17-2-1916,. which also appears to have been published by the *Madras Mail*.

I have no report of Mr. Gandhi's speech, but he desires me to mention the statements which I thought necessitated the interruption. I answer that I thought that in a non-political meeting, with princes and many others present who would suffer from Government displeasure, he should not have twice spoken of the possibility of the English being driven bag and baggage out of the country and of his being ready, if he thought Indians fit for self-Government which he did not, to march with thousands of his countrymen to the muzzle of English guns and die gloriously; that it was unwise to say bluntly, "I am an anarchist," without explaining what he meant, and to speak of bombs bringing about the annulment of the partition of Bengal, with praise of the heroism of those who threw them. I know very well how such statements would appear in a C.I.D. report, as I have suffered from such reports, and I appealed to the Chairman. If the meeting had been called by Mr. Gandhi, it would have been no one's business but his own what he chose to say; as it was, the University Committee, to which I belong, was responsible to those we had invited. It may be that I ought to have left Mr. Gandhi to go his own way, despite the . . . and the complaints all around me. I meant to do him a kindness and prevent the more violent interruption which would have probably taken place, had I remained silent. I am glad that Mr. Gandhi has explained what he meant to say, though I regret his misstatements about myself.

Mr. S. S. Setlur's letter, which I subjoin from the *Hindu*, gives accurately what occurred.

New India, 17-2-1916

III[1]

Those who have read Mr. Gandhi's statement on his speech, and his request to me to state the remarks to which I objected, will at once recognize his perfect innocence of all wrong intention. . . .

. . . But now that Mr. Gandhi himself has forced my hand, asking for what I had refused to others, I am free to speak out, and to say why words which, from another, would have connoted wrong, were, so far as his intent was concerned, innocent of harm. Moreover, he did not know, as I knew, that the students before him were seething with anger in consequence of the way in which they had been treated by the C.I.D. officers, a number of them interned in the College for the day—a gratuitous and provocative insult—and also of the way in which respectable men in the town had been arrested during previous days, and others, men and even old women, very roughly used. It was a rather "gun-powder" audience, and I feared that some of them, not knowing Mr. Gandhi's principle of non-resistance, might take his remarks on the results of bomb-throwing as a justification for the use of such means, despite his strictures on them.

[1] This is from what appeared with the caption "In Defence of M. K. Gandhi" under the signature of Annie Besant in the editorial columns.

To consider the remarks themselves, what Mr. Gandhi said as to the English leaving India by compulsion was, I venture to think, unwise, but it did not bear the sense that it would have had in my own mouth, since I am actively working for Home Rule. If I had said it, it would have been a threat, because it would have been naturally connected in the minds of many with my demand that India should be a self-governing nation, and although I work only for the abolition of bureaucratic rule, and hope that many an Englishman will help in the working of the responsible Government of the future, it would naturally have been said: "Why should you suggest such a thing, if you do not want to bring it about?" But no such motive can be imputed to Mr. Gandhi, for he distinctly said: "You are not fit for self-government," and he told the students not to be led away by himself into the idea that they were. IF HE THOUGHT THEM READY, which he did not, he would be willing to march up to the mouth of the guns and die. But it must be remembered that from Mr. Gandhi's lips this does not mean fighting, as it would mean from mine. He has already led a crowd against armed men, willing to die but not to slay. His resistance has always been passive, the heroic endurance of suffering, NEVER the infliction of it. And therefore I say that he cannot be judged as an active politician should be. He has risked the lives of himself and his followers, but never those of his opponents.

It was unwise to say boldly: "I am an anarchist", in a country where "anarchism" connotes bombs. Now Mr. Gandhi is a "philosophic anarchist", like Tolstoy, whom he closely resembles. Many of the noblest and purest men and women in Europe are anarchists in the sense in which Mr. Gandhi used the word. Prince Kropotkin, Edward Carpenter, Walt Whitman, are all men of this school; they are true mystics, and the God within guides them; they need no outside law. The *Madras Mail* was annoyed that Mr. Gandhi was, apparently, compared to Tolstoy, but Mr. Gandhi is the greater of the two—save from the literary standpoint. Tolstoy lived as a peasant and made shoes for his living; Gandhi lives similarly, and helps in the work of his community. Tolstoy was detested by the Russian Government as Gandhi by the South African; but Gandhi has suffered for his people as Tolstoy never did. Tolstoy lived a long way off, so Anglo-Indians can afford to admire him, but Gandhi is close at hand, so must be reviled. Both are men of the prophet type, and are admired by most people—at a distance.

I have been turning up my speech of 1894, delivered in the pandal of the Madras Congress of that year, and it is curiously applicable, in its remarks on the Prophet, to the philosophic idea of anarchism, the "without Government" of the far-off Golden Age, when none shall teach his brother but "all shall be taught of God". The Prophets, like Tolstoy, Gandhi, Carpenter, proclaim that far-off ideal, but the work-a-day world is not ready for it, nor will be for many thousands of years. Only when a man is guided by an interior compulsion, the divine law within, can he afford to dispense with the compulsion of outer law.

But what outer law does Gandhi need, who leads a life of utter selflessness, of purity, of simplicity, of daily, hourly, self-abnegation? Such men are priceless assets of the nation which gives them birth, and they inspire to heroism and to nobility of character.

Hence, I say, that while we may consider some of Mr. Gandhi's views as suited better for a far-off posterity than for today, and while we regard his politics—if we so name them—as impracticable, and even as a hindrance in the path of constitutional change, we would, tens of thousands of us, stand round him, in any attack from Anglo-Indians or from the bureaucracy, as one man, and we honour and venerate him for his life and his lofty ideals, even when we think his words unwise in the difficult circumstances of the time.

New India, 19-2-1916

APPENDIX II

"*AHIMSA PARAMO DHARMAH*"—*A TRUTH OR A FAD*?

By Lala Lajpat Rai

There is no religion higher than truth, nor a course of conduct nobler than *Ahimsa Paramo Dharmah*. Rightly understood and rightly applied to life, the latter makes a man a saint and a hero. Misunderstood and misapplied, it makes a man cowardly and craven, base and stupid. There was a time when the Indians understood it rightly and made only the proper use of it and they were a race of truthful, noble and brave people. Then came a time when some good people, thoroughly well-intentioned and otherwise saintly, made a fad of it, placed it not only at the top of all other virtues, but made it the sole test of a good life. They overdid it not only in their own lives but converted it into a supreme national virtue at the cost of everything else. All other virtues which ennoble men and nations were thrown into the background and subordinated to this, according to them, the supreme test of goodness, courage, bravery, heroism, all lapsed. Honour and self-respect were thrown into the shade. Patriotism, love of country, love of family, honour of the race were all extinguished. It was this perverted use or misuse of ahimsa (non-killing), or its exaggerated importance at the cost of everything else, that brought about the social, political and moral downfall of the Hindus. They forgot that manliness was as good a virtue as ahimsa. In fact the former was in no way inconsistent with the latter, if rightly applied. They overlooked the fact that individual as well as national interests made it incumbent that the weak should be protected against the strong, and that the aggressor and the usurper, the thief and the scoundrel, the lustful villain and the infamous violator of women's chastity, the ruffian and the cheat, should be prevented from inflicting injustice and doing harm. They ignored the fact that humanity required that the fear

of righteous indignation and of the consequences that flow therefrom, should deter the soul of the evilly disposed people from harming innocence, violating purity and depriving others of their just rights. They failed to realize the importance and the sublimity of the truth that whosoever allows or tolerates forceful dominance of evil or tyranny and oppression, in a way abets and encourages it and is partly responsible for the prosperity and strength of the evil-doer.

Ahimsa overdone and misapplied is a gangrene that poisons the system, enervates the faculties and converts men and women into half-lunatic, hysterical, unnerved creatures, good for nothing that requires the energetic pursuits of noble ends and noble virtues. It converts men into monomaniacs and cowards. The founders of the Jain religion were saintly people, pledged to a life of self-abnegation and self-mortification. Their followers, the Jain sadhus, are amongst the most saintly people who have achieved the greatest possible success in killing passions and subduing desires both of the senses and the mind. The Tolstoyian ahimsa has been known and practised in India for three thousand years. There is no country on the face of the globe which contains so many and such profound ahimsa-ists as India does and which she has been having for centuries. Yet there is no country on the face of the globe which is so downtrodden, so bereft of manly virtues, as India of today is or as India of the last fifteen hundred years has been. Some people may say that it was not the practice of ahimsa that brought about this fall but the desertion of other virtues. I am, however, inclined to insist that the perversion of this truth was *at least one of those causes* that resulted in India's forsaking the path of honour, manliness and virtue. The worst is that people who profess an absolute faith in the doctrine, prove by their own practice that a perverted use of such a truth necessarily leads to a life of hypocrisy, unmanliness and cruelty. I was born in a Jain family. My grandfather had an all-covering faith in ahimsa. He would rather be bitten by a snake than kill it. He would not harm even a vermin. He spent hours in religious exercises. To all appearances, he was a very virtuous person, who held a high position in his fraternity and commanded great respect. One of his brothers was a sadhu, a high priest who was an exalted leader of his order. This last-named gentleman was one of the "noblest" types of ascetics I have ever met with in my life. He lived up to his principles and excelled in the mortification of the flesh and in keeping down his passions and desires. Yet according to the best standards of ethics, his life was barren and unnatural. I loved and respected him, but I could not follow his creed, nor did he ever show any anxiety to make me do it. His brother, however, i.e., my own grandfather, was a different sort of person. He believed in ahimsa, that perverted ahimsa which forbids the *taking of any life under any circumstances whatsoever*, but he considered all kinds of trickeries in his trade and profession as not only valid but good. They were permissible according to the ethics of his business. I have known many persons of that faith who would deprive the minor and the widow of their last mor-

sel of food in dealings with them but who would spend thousands in saving lice or birds or other animals standing in danger of being killed. I do not mean to say that the Jains of India are in any way more immoral than the rest of the Hindus or that ahimsa leads to immorality of that kind. Far be it from me to make such an unfounded insinuation. In their own way the Jains are a great community, charitable, hospitable, and intelligent and shrewd men of business. So are some of the other communities among the Hindus. What I mean is that the practice of ahimsa in its extreme form has in no way made them better than or morally superior to the other communities. In fact, they are the people who pre-eminently suffer from hooliganism and other manifestations of force, because they are more helpless than others, on account of their inherited fear and dislike of force. They cannot defend themselves, nor the honour of those dear and near to them. Europe is the modern incarnation of the divine right of force. It is good for Europe to have given birth to a Tolstoy. But the case of India is different. In India we do not advocate force and violence for purposes of oppression or usurpation or aggression. India, I trust, will never come to that. But we cannot afford to be taught that it is sinful to use legitimate force for purposes of self-defence or for the protection of our honour and the honour of our wives, sisters, daughters and mothers. Such a teaching is unnatural and pernicious. We condemn illegal or unlawful force in the attainment of a lawful object, but we cannot afford to sit silent when a great and a respected man tells our young men that we can only "guard the honour of those who are under our charge by delivering ourselves into the hands of the men who would commit the sacrilege" and that this requires "far great physical and mental courage than delivering blows". Suppose a ruffian assaults our daughter. Mr. Gandhi says that according to his conception of ahimsa, the only way to protect the honour of our daughter is to stand between her and her assailant. But what becomes of the daughter if her assailant fells us and then completes his diabolical intention? According to Mr. Gandhi, it requires greater mental and physical courage to stand still and let him do his worst than to try to stop him by matching our force against his. With great respect for Mr. Gandhi, this has no meaning. I have the greatest respect for the personality of Mr. Gandhi. He is one of those persons whom I idolize. I do not doubt his sincerity. I do not question his motives. But I consider it my duty to raise an emphatic protest against the pernicious doctrine he is reported to have propounded. Even a Gandhi should not be allowed to poison the minds of Young India on this subject. No one should be at liberty to pollute the fountains of national vitality. Not even Buddha, much less Christ, even preached that. I do not know if even the Jains would go to that length. Why! honourable life would be impossible under such conditions. A man who has such a faith cannot consistently resist anyone acting as he likes. Why did Mr. Gandhi then injure the feelings of the white men of South by Africa raising the standard of revolt against their cherished policy of excluding the Indians

from that country? To be logical he should have left the country bag and baggage and advised his countrymen to do the same as soon as the South Africans expressed a wish to exclude them. Why, under such circumstances, any *resistance* would be *himsa*. After all physical *himsa* is only a development of mental *himsa*. If it is a sin to contemplate the worsting of a thief or a robber or any enemy, of course, it is a greater sin to resist him by force. The thing is so absurd on the face of it, that I feel inclined to doubt the accuracy of the report of Mr. Gandhi's speech. But the Press has been freely commenting on the speech and Mr. Gandhi has issued no disclaimer. In any case I feel that I cannot sit silent and let this doctrine go as an unquestioned sublime truth to be followed by Young India, so long as the speech remains uncontradicted or unexplained. Mr. Gandhi wants to create a world of imaginary perfection. Of course he is free to do it, as he is free to ask others to do it. But in the same way I consider it my duty to point out his error.

The Modern Review, July, 1916, pp. 19-21

APPENDIX III

ENCLOSURES TO GANDHIJI'S LETTER TO L. F. MORSHEAD

I

LETTER FROM LOCAL LEADERS TO GANDHIJI

MUZAFFARPUR,
April 13, 1917

DEAR MR. GANDHI,

We entirely corroborate your statement made by you today to the Commissioner (Tirhut Division) that you have come to this division at the request of the public men of the province to investigate the question of the relations between the indigo planters and Indian *raiyats* and give us the benefit of your expert assistance in any way you can. We were party to the invitation. We further corroborate your statement that you were asked by most of us to move the resolution in the matter before the last Congress but that you declined to do so on the ground that you had not studied the question on the spot. We invited you because we thought that having expert experience you would be the best and most proper person to make a thorough constitutional and impartial inquiry into the matter which would be to the interest of the parties concerned.

Yours sincerely,
BRAJA KISHORE PRASAD
RAMNAVAMI PRASHAD
GAYA PRASHAD SINGH
RAMDAYALU SINHA

II

NOTE BY BABU ARIKSHAN SINHA

MUZAFFARPUR,
April 13, 1917

I had been to the last Lucknow Congress as a delegate. Nearly all the leading men of this province, numbering about 81, attended the Lucknow Sessions of the Congress as delegates. The Bihar delegates to the Congress at Lucknow requested the Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and Mr. Gandhi to go to Muzaffarpur and Champaran and study the question about the planters and the *raiyats*. They promised to visit Muzaffarpur as early as possible. Mr. Gandhi was also requested by Bihar delegates to move a resolution on the subject in the Congress but he declined to do so on the ground that he had not studied the question on the spot.

ARIKSHAN SINHA

Select Documents on Mahatma Gandhi's Movement in Champaran, Nos. 17 & 18, pp. 60-1

APPENDIX IV

ORDER UNDER SECTION 144 Cr.P.C.

April 16, 1917

TO
MR. M. K. GANDHI
AT PRESENT IN MOTIHARI

Whereas it has been made to appear to me from the letter of the Commissioner of the Division, copy of which is attached to this order, that your presence in any part of the District will endanger the public peace and may lead to serious disturbances which may be accompanied by loss of life and whereas urgency is of the utmost importance;

Now therefore I do hereby order you to abstain from remaining in the District which you are required to leave by the next available train.

W. B. HEYCOCK,
DISTRICT MAGISTRATE
CHAMPARAN

To the notice was annexed a copy of a letter from the Commissioner which was as follows:

MUZAFFARPUR,
April 13, 1917

To
THE DIST. MAGISTRATE OF CHAMPARAN

SIR,

Mr. M. K. Gandhi has come here in response to what he describes as an insistent public demand to inquire into the conditions under which Indians

work on indigo plantations and desires the help of the local administration. He came to see me this morning and I explained that the relations between the planters and the ryots had engaged the attention of the administration since the sixties, and that we were particularly concerned with a phase of the problem in Champaran now; but that it was doubtful whether the intervention of a stranger in the middle of the treatment of our case would not prove an embarrassment. I indicated the potentialities of disturbances in Champaran, asked for credentials to show an insistent public demand for his inquiry and said that the matter would probably need reference to Government.

I expected that Mr. Gandhi would communicate with me again before he proceeds to Champaran but I have been informed since our interview that his object is likely to be agitation rather than a genuine search for knowledge and it is possible that he may proceed without further reference. I consider that there is a danger of disturbance to the public tranquillity should he visit your District. I have the honour to request you to direct him by an order under section 144 Cr. P. C. to leave it at once if he should appear.

I have the honour, etc.,
L. F. MORSHEAD,
COMMISSIONER OF THE TIRHUT DIVISION

Satyagraha in Champaran, pp. 107-8,; also *Select Documents on Mahatma Gandhi's Movement in Champaran*, No. 19, pp. 61-2

APPENDIX V

NOTE BY HON'BLE W. MAUDE ON INTERVIEW WITH GANDHIJI

May 10, 1917

* * *

On the 10th May I had a very long talk with Mr. Gandhi....

Our conversation was extremely frank and discursive and I cannot attempt to reproduce the gist of it all. The upshot of it was that when I suggested that he must have got a very considerable amount of evidence together by now and might be in a position to make his report, he consented at once to send up a preliminary report, and in the meantime to stop the recording of evidence by his assistants and only make enquiries quietly by himself, visiting only fresh *dehats* where he is especially invited either by the planter or by the *raiyats*. I suggested that he should dispense with the services of his assistants and he said he could not make any definite promise about that, and that he was really grieved at the want of faith in the motives and intentions of those assistants. He insisted that if anyone believed that they were regarding it or talking about it behind the scenes as an anti-European movement, they would be quite mistaken as there was no suggestion of such a thing. He said he had

intended to lay certain definite proposals before the planters which if they accepted he would be able to destroy all his papers and go away; but he admitted that he did not think it would be much use, and that one or two suggestions he had made to planters individually had not met with the response which he had hoped for. I said I did not think it would be the slightest use his approaching the planters, and he could scarcely expect them to regard him as in any way authorized to lay proposals of any kind before them. It would be better if he wrote a report on such materials as he had already collected and sent it to Government or to the Government of India if he preferred that channel. He said he hadn't the slightest desire to go to the Government of India and his idea had been to approach the planters themselves first, if they failed to go to the local officers, if they didn't satisfy him to the Local Government, if they did not satisfy him to the Government of India, and if they didn't satisfy him to appeal as a last resort to public opinion in India.

In conclusion, he asked to whom he ought to address his report, to the Collector or Commissioner or Local Government. I said it would perhaps be best if he addressed it to the Government as it would relieve the Collector and Commissioner of the necessity of wondering whether they were called on to discuss it in sending it up. He would send a copy to the local officers as a matter of courtesy, and Government could call for any remarks or information as might appear advisable. I said it had been rumoured that he intended to subject Muzaffarpur and Darbhanga to the same process as Champaran, and he said he had so far never had any such intention, though he might visit other parts of the province in a general way in order to complete his knowledge of India generally. I specially commended to his notice a visit to the South of Gaya and the adjoining parts of Hazaribagh where he would find a condition of tenantry in comparison with which the Champaran *raiyats* are independent and courageous. We wound up a two hours' conversation with a most interesting talk of the Colonial emigration question which, however, does not concern this file.

Select Documents on Mahatma Gandhi's Movement in Champaran, No. 71, pp. 121-4

APPENDIX VI

STATEMENTS OF PEASANTS TAKEN BY GANDHIJI

May 19, 1917

Hira Rai of Mauza Chailabhar Tola Raj Kumar Dhokraha Kothi, son of Durga Rai.

My age is nearly 50 years, my wife is alive. I have one son and three daughters. I have 5 *bighas* in Chailabhar and 1½ *bighas* under Belwa Kothi. I have had nearly 2½ *kathas* of *zirat* forced on me. I have offered through Mr. Gandhi to surrender the *zirat*. Yesterday about 10 a.m. Mr. Holttum came near my house. On seeing him I went to him. He was on horseback. He had the Patwari Ramlagan Lal and Tahsildar Amla Singh and three peons with him. Several people had collected there. Mr. Holttum addressed us all and said: "You have surrendered your *zirat*. What ist here now between you and me? You will have to pay for it. I shall charge you annas 12 per buffalo and annas 8 per ox and annas 4 per cow for grazing in the Parti. If you do not pay, I shall impound your cattle. You will also have to grow indigo." We have not been obliged to pay anything up to now for grazing cattle. We listened but said nothing. He spoke to his men and went away.

Taken by M. K. GANDHI
Interpreted by B. Rajendra Pd. where necessary

(B)

Janai Mahto Moiri Mauza Dhokaraha, Tola Shikarpur Kothi Dhokaraha, son of Thakur Mahton.

I have a wife, I have no children. I am 40 years old. I have 3½ *bighas* land in Shikarpur. I have had 2½ *kathas* of *Zirat* forced on me. This was about 10 years ago. I have in common with many others offered through Mr. Gandhi to surrender my *zirat*. I was present on the day Mr. Gandhi came to Saraswa. About 6 o'clock in the evening I was passing by Dhokaraha factory on my way to Shikarpur. The *Kacheri* of the Factory is situated in its compound. A passer-by could get a clear view of the *Kacheri* as I did. I saw Sukhari Mahton on the verandah. He was standing by a bundle of papers on the floor of the verandah. I know that the *Kacheri* has been burnt down. I do not believe that it is the work of the *raiyats*.

Taken by M. K. GANDHI
B. Rajendra Prasad interpreting where necessary

(C)

Devnarain Rai of Chailabhar, Kothi Dhokaraha, son of Thakur Rai.

My age is 40 years. My wife is alive. I have no children. I have 12 *bighas* of land in Chailabhar. I have had forced on me 8 *kathas* of *zirat*. I have offered to surrender the *zirat* through Mr. Gandhi. Yesterday I was fetched by Mr. Holttum's sepoy to go to Raj Kumar's house and there pay to the Tahsildar Rs. 2/- for thatching straw I had purchased from the *Kothi*. I paid the money and I was standing there when Mr. Holttum was seen coming on horseback. There were many people present. Mr. Holttum was accompanied by his *sepahis* who were there, when he came. The Patwari was also there. Addressing the crowd he said "What is there in common between you and me? You have surrendered the *zirat*. You will have to pay for it. You will have to grow indigo. You will have to pay -/12/- for buffaloes, as. 8 for oxen and as. 4 for cows for grazing. If you do not pay, your cattle will be impounded." Hira Rai was present when the Saheb came. We have not paid anything hitherto for grazing cattle. We listened, we said nothing. He said something to his men and went away.

Taken by M. K. GANDHI
Interpreted by Babu Rajendra Pd. where necessary

(D)

Merkhun Turha of Chailabhar, son of Param Turha, age about 26 years, married, has one son, has 7 *bighas zirat*, 7 *kathas* has surrendered. Supports above statement.

M. K. GANDHI
Bettiah, 19th May, 1917

Sivprasad Rai of Chailabhar, son of Pratap Rai, has wife and 3 sons, has 1½ *bighas*, has no *zirat*. Supports above statement.

M. K. GANDHI
Bettiah, 19th May, 1917

Sivanandan of Chailabhar, son of Devnarain Rai, age 30 years, wife, no children, 4½ *bighas*, *zirat* 2 *kathas* has surrendered. Supports above statement.

M. K. GANDHI
Bettiah, 19th May, 1917

Amar Rai, son of Shishupal Rai, age 25 years, wife, no children, 4 *bighas*, 11½ *kathas zirat*. Supports the above statement.

M. K. GANDHI
Bettiah, 19th May, 1917

Courtesy: Gandhi Smarak Nidhi

APPENDIX VII

GOVERNMENT NOTICE INVITING EVIDENCE BEFORE CHAMPARAN AGRARIAN ENQUIRY COMMITTEE

July, 1917

The Committee appointed to enquire into the agrarian conditions in Champaran will commence the enquiry about July 15th. The centres at which the Committee will sit are Bettiah and Motihari (and any others which may be hereafter decided upon) but the precise dates for these centres have not yet been fixed.

The Committee accordingly invite all persons, associations and public bodies, who desire to give written evidence to send the same to the address of the Secretary, Champaran Agrarian Enquiry Committee, Secretariat, Ranchi, before July 10th together with a memorandum stating the qualifications of the writer.

Select Documents on Mahatma Gandhi's Movement in Champaran, No. 143, p. 270

APPENDIX VIII

CIRCULAR LETTER BY GUJARAT SABHA OFFICE

MOHANDAS KARAMCHAND GANDHI, ESQ., BAR-AT-LAW
SHIVABHAI MOTIBHAI PATEL, B.A., LL.B.
KISHANLAL N. DESAI, M.A., LL.B.
GANESH VASUDEO MAVALANKER, B.A., LL.B.,
SECRETARY

GUJARAT SABHA OFFICE,
KARANJ,
AHMEDABAD,
September 13, 1917

DEAR SIR,

The Right Hon'ble Mr. Montagu, the Secretary of State for India, has announced his intention to visit our country for studying at first hand the present political situation in India. He is expected to be in India by the end of October 1917.

Mr. Montagu will in due course discuss the question of Reforms with the authorities and will also receive suggestions from representative bodies. But in view of the attitude which the Anglo-Indian Press has begun to take and is sure to take, it is not sufficient for us merely to discuss the question with the

Secretary of State as representative bodies but it is imperatively necessary to strengthen his hands against the reactionary anti-Reform forces by clearly and emphatically bringing to his notice the volume of public opinion in favour of Reforms. The opportunity is unique and to miss it would be almost culpable.

With this view of our Sabha, at the suggestion of its President Mr. Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi has resolved to present a petition to Mr. Montagu, signed by the British subjects of Gujarat. The petition is short and is drafted by Mr. M. K. Gandhi in consultation with R. B. Ramanbhai M. Nilkanth. A copy of the petition is enclosed herein.

You will note that the original petition is in Gujarati accompanied by an English translation. The Sabha has advisedly done so, as it is not possible to reach the masses of our countrymen through the medium of English. The Sabha is organising a volunteer corps for lecturing to the masses and explaining to them the Reform Scheme. The instructions to volunteers framed by Mr. Gandhi himself specially enjoin every volunteer not to take the signature to the petition of any person who does not understand the scheme, and of persons who are minors, students and Government servants. Every volunteer is supplied with a Gujarati translation of the Reform-Scheme with a few introductory remarks printed in pamphlet form and the volunteer is strictly to confine himself to the contents of the pamphlet.

From the facsimile given in *Mahatma*, Vol. I

APPENDIX IX

MINUTES OF CHAMPARAN COMMITTEE MEETING

September 27, 1917

Messrs Irwin, Hill and Norman to be summoned to Ranchi to consider three alternatives:

A. Each should state the percentage by which he is prepared to reduce the *sharahbeshi*, on conditions:

(1) That it should be a substantial advance on their previous offer; any advance made by the planters will be accepted as being substantial, in the hope of mutual goodwill in the future.

(2) that this will be fully accepted by Mr. Gandhi as a satisfactory settlement and that he will use his influence fully with the *raiyats* to make them loyally accept it and to bring about future peace in the relations of planters and their tenants.

(3) that fully binding effect will be given to the settlement by legislation.

B. Failing the above, the question of *sharahbeshi* should be submitted to arbitration. Such arbitration to be conducted on one or other of the following alternatives:

(1) The appointment of a single arbitrator, who shall have the power to arbitrate between the limits of reduction of 20 and 40 per cent for Turkaulia and 25 and 40 per cent for Motihari and Peeprah. Such arbitrator to be selected with mutual agreement of planters and of Mr. Gandhi.

(2) The appointment of three arbitrators, one to be appointed by the planters, one by Mr. Gandhi and the umpire to be appointed by these two, and failing agreement between these two, the umpire to be appointed Sir Edward Gait. The arbitration court so appointed shall have power to arbitrate between the limits of no reduction at all and a full reduction of 100 per cent. The arbitrators to be informed that for a settlement by consent the planters have offered a reduction of 20 per cent in Turkaulia and 25 per cent in Motihari and Peeprah, and that Mr. Gandhi on behalf of the *raiyats* has offered to accept reduction of 40 per cent, but that those offers are now withdrawn and the arbitrators have full power to make any award they may settle.

Under both alternatives, conditions (2) and (3) of A will apply.

In addition under all the proposals, it shall be a condition that the existing obligation recorded in the settlement records shall be abolished and that in lieu thereof *sharahbeshi* shall be fixed at the rate at which it would have stood had commutation in their case taken place together with the others, less reduction that may be agreed upon or awarded by the arbitration.

Under proposals for arbitration, both the planters and Mr. Gandhi would submit written statements of their case, and both would have the option of submitting a written reply to such statements. The parties will not be permitted to be represented by counsel or to be heard personally as of right. The arbitrator or arbitrators to have the power to call for any papers they may desire, to question the planters or any other person, and to give their award within one week of the filing of the written statements and rejoinders of the parties.

Select Documents on Mahatma Gandhi's Movement in Champaran, No. 184, pp. 365-6

APPENDIX X

AGREEMENT SIGNED BETWEEN GANDHIJI AND LEADING PLANTERS

September 29, 1917

Under clause A it has been agreed between Messrs. Hill, Norman and Irwin and Mr. Gandhi that the *sharahbeshi* shall be reduced by

(1) 26 per cent in Motihari, Ltd. and Peeprah concerns and

(2) 20 per cent in the Turkaulia, Ltd. Conditions (2) and (3) shall apply.

This settlement to take effect from the commencement of the year 1325 Fasli, rents for previous years to remain at Survey Settlement rates. The existing indigo obligation recorded in survey records should be abolished from the commencement of 1325 Fasli and in lieu *sharahbeshi* shall be fixed at the rate at which it would have stood had commutation in their cases taken place together with the others less the reduction now agreed upon.

M. K. GANDHI.

J. B. NORMAN,
MANAGER, PEEPRAH CONCERN
W. S. IRWIN,
MANAGER, MOTIHARI LTD.
J. L. HILL,
MANAGER, TURKAULIA LTD.

Select Documents on Mahatma Gandhi's Movement in Champaran, No. 186, pp. 367-8

APPENDIX XI

REPORT OF CHAMPARAN AGRARIAN ENQUIRY COMMITTEE

October 3, 1917

CHAPTER I

CONSTITUTION AND PROCEDURE OF THE COMMITTEE

APPOINTMENT OF COMMITTEE AND TERMS OF REFERENCE

The Champaran Agrarian Enquiry Committee was appointed by the Government of Bihar and Orissa in Resolution No. 1890-C, dated the 10th June, 1917, which is reproduced below.

"On various occasions during the past fifty years, the relations of landlords and tenants and the circumstances attending the growing of indigo in the Champaran district have been the cause of considerable anxiety. The conditions under which indigo was cultivated when the industry was flourishing required re-adjustment when it declined simultaneously with a general rise in the

prices of foodgrains; and it was partly on this account and partly owing to other local causes that disturbances broke out in certain indigo concerns in 1908. Mr. Gourlay was deputed by the Government of Bengal to investigate the causes of the disturbances; and his report and recommendations were considered at a series of conferences presided over by Sir Edward Baker and attended by the local officers of Government and representatives of the Bihar Planters' Association. As the result of these discussions, revised conditions for the cultivation of indigo, calculated to remove the grievances of the *raiyats*, were accepted by the Bihar Planters' Association.

"In 1912 fresh agitation arose, connected not so much with the conditions under which indigo was grown as with the action of certain factories which were reducing their indigo manufacture and taking agreements from their tenants for the payment, in lieu of indigo cultivation, of a lump sum in temporarily-leased villages or of an increase of rent in villages under permanent lease. Numerous petitions on this subject were presented from time to time to the local officers and to Government, and petitions were at the same time filed by *raiyats* of villages in the north of the Bettiah sub-division in which indigo had never been grown, complaining of the levy of *abwab* or illegal additions to rent by their leaseholders, both Indian and European. The issues raised by all these petitions related primarily to rent and tenancy conditions; and as the revision settlement of the district was about to be undertaken, in the course of which the relations existing between landlords and tenants would come under detailed examination, it was thought advisable to await the report of the settlement officers before passing final orders on the petitions. The revision settlement was started in the cold weather of 1913. On the 7th April, 1915, a resolution was moved in the local Legislative Council, asking for the appointment of a mixed committee of officials and non-officials to enquire into the complaints of the *raiyats* and to suggest remedies. It was negatived by a large majority, including 12 out of the 16 non-official members of the Council present, on the ground that the appointment of such a committee at that stage was unnecessary, as the settlement officers were engaged in the collection of all the material required for the decision of the questions at issue, and an additional enquiry of the nature proposed would merely have the effect of further exacerbating the relations of landlord and tenant, which were already feeling the strain of the settlement operations.

"The settlement operations have now been completed in the northern portion of the district and are approaching completion in the remainder, and a mass of evidence regarding agricultural conditions and the relations between landlords and tenants has been collected. A preliminary report on the complaints of the tenants in the leased villages in the north of the Bettiah subdivision, in which no indigo is grown, has been received and action has

already been taken to prohibit the levy of illegal cesses and, in the case of the Bettiah Raj, to review the terms of the leases on which the villages concerned are held. As regards the complaints of the *raiyats* in other parts of the district, the final report of the settlement officer has not yet been received, but recent events have again brought into prominence the whole question of the relations between landlords and tenants and, in particular, the taking of agreements from the *raiyats* for compensation or for enhanced rent in return for the abandonment of indigo cultivation. In these circumstances, and in deference to representations which have been received from various quarters that the time has come when an enquiry by a joint body of officials and non-officials might materially assist the Local Government in coming to a decision on the problems which have arisen, the Lieutenant-Governor-in-Council has decided, without waiting for the final report of the settlement operations, to refer the questions at issue to a Committee of Enquiry, on which all interests concerned will be represented.

"The following committee has accordingly been appointed with the approval of the Government of India:

PRESIDENT

F. G. Sly, Esq., C.S.I., Commissioner, Central Provinces.

MEMBERS

The Hon'ble Mr. L. C. Adami, I.C.S., Superintendent and Remembrancer of Legal Affairs, Bihar and Orissa.

The Hon'ble Raja Harihar Prasad Narayan Singh, Member of the Bihar and Orissa Legislative Council.

The Hon'ble Mr. D. J. Reid, Member of the Bihar and Orissa Legislative Council.

G. Rainy, Esq., I.C.S., Deputy Secretary in the Finance Department of the Government of India.

M. K. Gandhi, Esq.

SECRETARY

E. L. Tanner, Esq., I.C.S., Settlement Officer, South Bihar.

"The duty of the Committee will be

(1) to inquire into the relations between landlord and tenant in the Champaran district, including all disputes arising out of the manufacture and cultivation of indigo;

(2) to examine the evidence on these subjects already available, supplementing it by such further inquiry, local and otherwise, as they may consider desirable; and

(3) to report their conclusions to Government, stating the measures they recommend in order to remove any abuses or grievances which they may find to exist.

"The Lieutenant-Governor-in-Council desires to leave the Committee a free hand as to the procedure they will adopt in arriving at the facts.

"The Committee will assemble about the 15th July and will, it is hoped, complete their labours within three months."

PROCEDURE FOLLOWED BY THE COMMITTEE

2. A notice was published by the Committee in the provincial newspapers and posted at the Motihari Collectorate and the Bettiah Sub-divisional Office, inviting all persons, associations and public bodies who desired to give written evidence to send the same to the address of the Secretary of the Committee, and stating that the Committee would hold sittings at Bettiah, Motihari and any other centres where it was considered necessary, commencing about the 15th July.

In response to this notice, written statements were received from the Bihar Planters' Association and two managers, one of an indigo and the other of a non-indigo concern, from twenty-five *raiyats*, from Mr. Whitty, C.I.E., I.C.S., Manager of the Bettiah estate, and from Mr. Sweeney, I.C.S., Settlement Officer, North Bihar, Mr. Lewis, I.C.S., Sub-divisional Officer of Bettiah, Mr. L. F. Morshead, I.C.S., Commissioner of Tirhut, and Mr. E. H. Johnston, I.C.S., formerly Sub-divisional Officer of Bettiah. The Bihar Landholders' Association was specially invited to submit a memorandum of its views, but replied that it was not in possession of the materials and facts concerning the agrarian conditions in Champaran and was not therefore in a position to submit a written opinion.

The Committee held a preliminary meeting at Ranchi on the 11th July to decide the procedure and extent of its inquiry, and its public sittings commenced at Bettiah on Tuesday, the 17th July. Eight public sittings were held at Bettiah and Motihari at which nineteen witnesses were examined, consisting of four Government officers (the Settlement Officer, the Sub-divisional Officer of Bettiah, the Collector of the Champaran district, and the Manager of the Bettiah estate), three representatives of the *raiyats*, the representative of the Bihar Planters' Association, and twelve managers of concerns. We also made local investigations at eight concerns, where we examined in detail the managers together with the factory registers and accounts and the *raiyats* who had submitted written memoranda, and then made numerous enquiries from the large bodies of *raiyats* assembled to meet us. We desire to acknowledge the great assistance derived by us from the official records placed at our disposal by the local Government and the full information given to us by the managers of concerns and the facilities afforded by them for the examination of their records and registers.

CHAPTER II

GRIEVANCES CONNECTED WITH INDIGO

PRELIMINARY—THE LANDLORDS

3. The Government has supplied us with previous records relating to the history, economic condition and former agrarian disputes of the Champaran district. Our enquiry has not been sufficiently prolonged for us to be able to add usefully to that information, and we do not propose to reproduce in this report the materials already available, but only to state a few broad facts directly relevant to our present enquiry. For historical reasons, the district has always been one of large landed estates, and more than three-fourths of it is still held by three large proprietors, viz., the Bettiah estate which has been under the management of the Court of Wards since 1898, the Ramnagar estate which has also been taken under management, and the Madhuban estate. The system of leasing villages to *thikadars* has always been largely followed by the Bettiah and Ramnagar estates, the number of villages managed direct and leased to *thikadars* now being as follows:

Name of estate	Under direct management	Held by permanent lessees	Held by temporary lessees and on other tenures	Total
1	2	3	4	5
Bettiah	252	503	964	1,719*
Ramnagar	31	102	368	501†

The *thikadari* system has never prevailed to the same extent in the Madhuban estate of 163 villages, but some are also leased.

The European indigo planters form much the most important class of *thikadars* in the district. Some of the older indigo concerns (e.g., Turkaulia, Peeprah, Motihari and Rajpur) have held many villages continuously in lease from the Bettiah estate since the first decade of the 19th century, while others have been established at later dates. In the north-west of the district there are also European *thikadars* who have never grown indigo or have not done so until the last two years. In the Settlement of 1892-99 it was found that the European *thikadars* exercised landlord rights over 46 per cent of the district, and it seems likely that the area is now slightly larger. Broadly it may be said that about half the district is in lease to European *thikadars*, and much more than half the district to *thikadars* of all kinds. Permanent leases known as *mukarrari* have in some cases been granted both by the Bettiah and Ramnagar estates. The Bettiah *mukarrari* leases date from the year 1888 and their

*These figures have been supplied by the Manager of the Bettiah estate. The total number of villages in the estate is only 1,630 according to the Settlement Officer, and apparently there is some difference in the village unit.

†These figures have been supplied by the Settlement Officer.

grant formed part of a large transaction for the raising of the sterling loan by which the debts of the estate were consolidated and the rate of interest payable on them reduced. Under the terms of these leases the position of the lease-holder concerns is practically that of a zamindar, the rent being fixed in perpetuity. We have not succeeded in ascertaining the circumstances in which *mukarrari* leases were granted by the Ramnagar estate, but there seems little doubt that as in Bettiah their origin is to be found in the financial embarrassments of the proprietor.

Area under Indigo and Methods of Cultivation

4. The area under indigo at the time of the Settlement of 1892-99 was 98,000 acres which was 6.63 per cent of the net cropped area, but its importance in the agricultural economy of the district was much greater than this percentage indicates. About one-third of this area was cultivated by the indigo concerns in their own lands and about two-thirds by tenants. Owing to the competition of synthetic indigo the area had fallen to 52,600 acres in 1907 and to 8,100 acres in 1914, but under the stimulus of high prices during the war, the area has again expanded to 21,900 acres in 1916. The cultivation of indigo carried on by the factories in lands which they occupy directly either as proprietors or tenure-holders (commonly known as *zirat* cultivation) does not call for special notice. But the condition under which indigo is grown by the tenants for the factories has in the past been the cause of disputes on several occasions, and though we do not consider it necessary to enter into the history of these disputes, we cannot explain the causes of the present unrest without giving some account of the system. In essentials it does not appear to have varied during the last 100 years. Under this system, the tenant agrees to grow indigo for the factory in a portion of his holding. The fraction of the holding so cultivated appears at one time to have been as high as five *kathas* in the *bigha* (= one-fourth), but before 1867 it had already been reduced to four *kathas*, and in 1868 it was fixed at three *kathas*, whence the name *tinkathia* which is commonly applied to this system. In 1910 the fraction was fixed at two *kathas* (= one-tenth) by a bye-law of the Planters' Association, but the name *tinkathia* has survived. Where indigo is grown under this system, the terms of the agreement between the landlord and the tenant are usually embodied in a document which is called the *satta*. In it the tenant acknowledges the receipt of an advance and binds himself to cultivate a specified area with indigo annually. The preparation and weeding of the selected fields, and the cutting of the crop when ripe, are done by the cultivator at his own expense; the seed is given by the factory, and the sowing is done by the factory and *raiyat* jointly; the green crop is carted from the field to the factory at the factory's expense. The rate to be paid for the *bigha* of indigo is fixed by the *satta* and does not vary with the actual outturn of plant. If owing to causes for which the tenant is not responsible the crop is a failure, only half rates are

paid, provided the tenant is allowed to plough up the indigo in time to sow another crop during the same season. A portion of the price is given as an advance free of interest to the tenant at the beginning of the cultivating season, but is usually credited in the rent account and is not paid in cash. The *satta* also contains a penalty clause specifying the amount of the damages which the factory may recover from the tenant if he fails to carry out the agreement, e.g., if he sows other crops in the land measured for indigo.

The *khushki* system by which the *raiyat* grows indigo for the factory but not under factory supervision and sells the produce by weight or some method of appraisement seems to have been rare in Champaran until a very recent date. It will be more fully discussed in a later paragraph.

THE PRICE PAID FOR INDIGO

5. The price paid to the tenants for the indigo so cultivated has varied from time to time. We find that in 1869 after a period of friction and disturbance, the price generally paid by the factories was raised from approximately Rs. 6-8-0 to Rs. 9 per acre and again in 1877 after another troubled period to Rs. 11-5-0. In that year, it was also for the first time distinctly laid down—previous practice had varied—that the rent of the land under indigo was to be remitted. In 1897, the Bihar Planters' Association spontaneously raised the rate to Rs. 12 per acre. Finally, in 1910, after Mr. Gourlay's enquiry, the price was raised to Rs. 13 per acre at which it now stands. If the remission of the rent of the indigo lands be taken into account, the price received by the tenant is approximately Rs. 15-8-0 per acre. A general complaint was made to us by the tenant that the cultivation of indigo at this rate of payment caused them substantial pecuniary loss compared to the profits that they could derive from country crops at their present level of prices. Some leading planters have admitted, and it is not, we believe, seriously disputed by any that the direct return to the cultivator in money from indigo is less than from country crops, but stress is laid on certain indirect advantages, such as the undoubted value of indigo as a rotation crop, and also the benefit derived by the tenant from an advance free of interest at the beginning of the cultivating season which amounts to half the price of the crop. Finally, it is urged that the low rates of rent at which the tenants hold their land are directly connected with the growing of indigo and must be taken into account when the fairness of the price is considered. It is unnecessary for us to attempt the difficult task of estimating the pecuniary position of the tenant under the *tinkathia* system of indigo cultivation, because we are satisfied that on other grounds the system is radically defective and should be discontinued.

DEFECTS IN THE SYSTEM UNDER WHICH INDIGO IS GROWN

6. There are several points connected with the system which in our opinion are directly responsible for its worst features. The first is that the price paid to the cultivator is fixed and remains unchanged for a long period of years.

We are aware that the prices fixed by the Bihar Planters' Association are minimum prices, but as soon as they have received the *imprimatur* of the Association, they are regarded as the authorized rates and in practice are paid by all concerns. In the course of fifty years, the price paid to the tenant has been doubled in order to adjust the price paid for indigo to the general rise in the level of prices during that period. But the price of indigo being fixed at each stage and the rise in general prices being continuous, it follows that, if the price was fair at the beginning of any period, it had become too low by the end of it. Of itself, this would tend to cause discontent, and it will be noticed that with the exception of the increase made in 1897, every rise in price was preceded by a period of friction and discontent, and a valid objection to the system is that an increase in the price of indigo was seldom effected except by disturbance and agitation.

The second point is that the price is fixed on the area and does not vary with the outturn of the crop. This leads directly to two defects. The selection by the factory of the plots to be cultivated with indigo is a feature of the system which has often been called in question. It is certainly liable to abuse, e.g., it is asserted that homestead lands in the immediate vicinity of the village site and which are consequently the best manured are frequently selected for indigo. The real gravamen of the charge about the selection of lands does not, however, lie in the possibility of abuse, but in the fact that the system itself is bad. So long as the planter has to pay the same price for a good or a bad crop, he will select for indigo the better lands in the holding. This selection of lands is resented by the cultivator not merely from the fact that the best lands are selected but because it involves interference with his freedom of action. We believe that this is a principal cause of the unpopularity of indigo, and in this respect the system is radically defective.

The payment of a fixed rate per acre leads directly to another feature of the system which is equally responsible for its unpopularity, namely, the close supervision of the indigo cultivation exercised by the factory subordinates. This supervision undoubtedly affords an opportunity for a great deal of petty tyranny, and the cultivator resents being compelled to carry out the various cultivation processes not at the time most convenient to himself, but at the time when the work is considered necessary by factory subordinates. The system gives opportunities to the factory servants to harass cultivators against whom they may have a grudge; or to exact payment as the price of their favour. A good manager accessible to his *raiyats* may be able to keep the oppression of his subordinates within small limits, but even the best of managers cannot prevent altogether oppressive acts by low-paid subordinates placed in a position of authority. So long as the payment is made on the area and does not vary with the outturn, and the tenant has no interest in the outturn, close supervision will be essential. In this respect also, we consider that the system is inherently bad.

Another important objection to the *tinkathia* system is the fact that the growing of indigo is connected with a sense of obligation. We are satisfied that for the last fifty years the growing of *tinkathia* indigo has been disliked by the *raiyat* and that he would at any time have been glad to relinquish it. Whether such sense of obligation had any legal foundation is a matter for the decision of a legal tribunal, but its unpopularity is shown by the large extent to which the tenants have in recent years purchased their release. In the interests of the future peace of the districts, it is essential that the relations of landlord and tenant should be clearly defined by the law, and that the growing of indigo should cease to be connected with any sense of obligation or any customary right.

PROPOSAL THAT THE "TINKATHIA" SYSTEM SHOULD BE ABOLISHED

7. We find therefore that the *tinkathia* system is unpopular with the *raiyats* who regard it as unprofitable, is radically defective in some important respects, and is inconsistent with the relations that should exist between landlord and tenant under modern conditions. We accordingly recommend that this system of growing indigo in Champaran should be altogether abolished, and that legislation should be undertaken to effect this change. This proposal will affect tenancies in which the growing of indigo has been recorded as an incident of the tenancy in the Record of Rights and a recommendation on this point will be made in a later paragraph.

FUTURE SYSTEM OF GROWING INDIGO

8. It is not our intention of course that indigo should cease to be grown but that it should be grown under fair and reasonable conditions. Indigo is already grown by some factories on the voluntary system (*khushki*), and we consider that this is the system which alone should be permitted for the future. The essential features of such a system are:

(1) The tenant must be absolutely free to enter into the contract or to refrain from making it.

(2) The particular plots to be devoted to indigo must be entirely at the option of the *raiyat*.

(3) The price paid for the indigo must be settled by voluntary agreement and entirely on a commercial basis.

(4) The price must be fixed on the weight of the crop, but such weight may, if agreed, be settled by appraisement of the weight by a selected *panch*[1] instead of by actual weighment.

(5) The contract must be for an emphatically short period not exceeding three years.

To the last condition we attach importance. In the interests of the tenant, we do not think that he should be allowed to bind himself to his land-

[1] Arbitrator

lord to grow a particular crop at a rate of payment fixed for many years in advance, and in Champaran long contracts would directly tend to keep alive the sense of obligation which we desire to end.

We are in general averse from fixing by outside authority the minimum prices to be paid for particular crops, because of the strong tendency of such prices to become maximum prices. In view, however, of the past history of the indigo industry, we believe that a safeguard of some kind will be necessary for the first few years. We recommend therefore that, until the Local Government is satisfied that the safeguard can be dispensed with, a minimum price for indigo should be fixed by the Bihar Planters' Association, subject to the approval of the Commissioner of the Division.

Conversion of the Indigo Obligation

9. The manufacture in Germany in the middle nineties of synthetic indigo, which enabled the German firms to undersell the natural product, produced a profound effect on the indigo industry in Bihar. The price of the natural dye steadily diminished and though efforts were made to reduce the cost of production and to increase the outturn (e.g., by the introduction of the Java plant which gave a larger outturn of colouring matter per acre), these efforts met with but indifferent success. One by one, the factories abandoned the hope of successful competition with the synthetic dye and began to turn their attention to other measures, the principal being the taking of compensation in one form or another for releasing the tenant from the cultivation of indigo.

Two concerns in the north of the district substituted a fixed payment of paddy in lieu of the cultivation of indigo, but this practice was recently abandoned owing to the disapproval expressed by Government. Some other concerns substituted sugarcane or oats for indigo. We have been informed that the Bara concern has in some cases substituted *sattas* for 1½ *kathas* of sugar in lieu of 3 *kathas* of indigo. Oats are still grown to a limited extent in lieu of indigo by the Mallahia, Bairia and Kuria concerns. The growing of crops other than indigo under *satta* conditions is expressly forbidden by a bye-law of the Bihar Planters' Association adopted in 1910 at the instance of Government after the disturbances which took place at the end of 1908. Those disturbances affected four factories, of which Mallahia, Bairia and Kuria are three. It is, we think, regrettable that those factories should have continued to act in direct contravention of a bye-law which was passed with special reference to practices in these concerns.

In 1911, a general movement towards the abandonment of indigo began which continued unchecked till the outbreak of the war in 1914, when a large rise in the price of indigo once more made the manufacture a profitable one. Two different methods of commutation were generally adopted. In some cases, agreements were executed by the tenants for the payment of enhanced rents, commonly known as *sharahbeshi*. In other cases, the *raiyats* purchased freedom

from indigo for a lump sum, sometimes paid in cash and sometimes by a money bond bearing 12 per cent interest. This method is called *tawan* or *tamam*. In both cases, a promise was given to the tenant that in consideration of the payment of *sharahbeshi* or *tawan*, as the case may be, neither the factory itself nor its successors in interests would in future ask him to grow indigo for them under the *tinkathia* conditions.

Sharahbeshi has been taken by only five concerns, viz., Turkaulia, Motihari, Peeprah, Jallaha and Sirni, the two last being outworks of Turkaulia which were sold in recent years, and only in the villages which the factories held in *mukarrari* lease from the Bettiah estate and the very few held by them in proprietary right. In the villages held in temporary lease all these concerns, except Peeprah, took *tawan*, and it was also taken by nine other concerns, of which the most important are Rajpur, Bara, Bairia and Bhelwa. The rates at which *sharahbeshi* was taken varied widely in the different concerns, but on the average the enhancement amounted to between 50 and 60 per cent of the previous rents. The following table shows the average amount of the enhancement and the proportion it bore to the previous rent in four concerns:

Serial No	Name of concern	Amount of enhancement per acre			Percentage on previous rents
1	2	3			4
		Rs.	a.	p.	
1	Turkaulia	0	15	0	50
2	Jallaha	1	3	0	55
3	Motihari	1	6	6	60
4	Peeprah	0	15	0	75

The percentage is highest in Peeprah where the previous rents had been exceptionally low. The rate of *tawan* also varied, and was usually calculated on the portion of the holding in which indigo was grown, i.e., three *kathas* in the *bigha*. The payment was frequently fixed on the basis of the amount which the factory had realized in indigo damage suits when the tenant had failed to carry out his agreement. The amount taken as *tawan* varied from Rs. 66 to Rs. 20 per acre and probably on the average was between Rs. 50 and Rs. 60 per acre, which would be equivalent to a payment of Rs. 7-8-0 to Rs. 9 on each acre of the holding.

In the concerns affected by this conversion, about 50,000 acres of indigo were formerly cultivated under *tinkathia* conditions, and of this area over 40,000 acres were released—18,000 acres by taking *tawan* and 22,000 acres by taking *sharahbeshi*. At the recent settlement, *tinkathia* has been recorded as an incident of the tenancy only in the five concerns of Turkaulia, Motihari, Peeprah, Jallaha and Sirni, and the area of indigo over which it is claimed by these

factories amounts to 1,910 acres, though we have no information as to what extent the incident has been recorded. We have endeavoured to secure statistics of the present indigo cultivation from all factories and, although not quite complete for the whole district, the omissions are insignificant. They show that a total area of 26,848 acres of indigo is made up as follows:

Zirat cultivation	10,697 acres
Tinkathia cultivation	9,542 „
Khushki cultivation	6,609 „

COMMUTATION BY ENHANCED RENT—"SHARAHBESHI"

10. The enhanced rents taken in lieu of indigo in every case exceeded the limit of two annas in the rupee to which enhancement contracts are ordinarily restricted by section 29, clause (b) of the Bengal Tenancy Act. Under the third proviso to the section, however, this limit does not apply when the *raiyat* has held his land at a specially low rate of rent in consideration of cultivating a particular crop for the convenience of his landlord. It is contended by the concerns that their tenants were under an obligation to grow indigo in three *kathas* in the *bigha* of their holdings, that the rents of holdings had been determined in consideration of this obligation, and that because of the obligation the concerns had refrained from enhancement of rents. It is asserted, in fact, that the obligation to grow indigo was an incident of the tenancy. In support of this contention, the concerns have referred to certain *sattas* and *kabuliyats* executed by some of the tenants before 1880 in which the obligation to grow indigo in three *kathas* in the *bigha* is recorded. On behalf of the *raiyats*, it is contended that in fact they were under no legal obligation to grow indigo or that if there were any obligation they did not hold their land at a specially low rate of rent because of it. It is also urged that whether the enhancements were legal or not, it is inequitable that the tenants should be called on to pay an enhanced rent as the price of relief from a burden under which they had long suffered. Finally, it is urged that the agreements were executed by the *raiyats* under coercion or under influence or in ignorance of their true legal position.

Mr. Sweeney, Settlement Officer, informed us that these enhancements had been the subject of enquiry during the Revision Settlement and he described to us the principles followed by the Settlement Department in dealing with these cases. The legality of the enhancements has also been considered by the Civil Court in nine suits brought by tenants of the Turkaulia concern asking for a declaration that the *kabuliyats* in which they agreed to pay the enhanced rents should be declared void on the ground that they were executed under coercion and were not in accordance with the law. These suits are now before the High Court in appeal.

Our enquiries satisfied us that the feeling of the *raiyats* against enhancements was very strong and that every legal means would be used to upset

them. Without special legislation, prolonged and expensive litigation seemed inevitable. However such litigation might end, it would produce a permanent embitterment of feeling on both sides. We are also impressed with the great desirability of an immediate settlement between landlords and tenants of this difficult question. In these circumstances, it seemed to us very important that if possible a settlement should be arranged by consent with mutual concessions made by both parties in the interests of peace and goodwill. With this object, we entered into negotiations with the representatives of the three principal concerns, and we are glad to report that our efforts have been successful. At a meeting held in Ranchi on 29th September at which Messrs Hill, Irwin, and Norman, the managers of Turkaulia Limited, Motihari Limited, and Peeprah concerns, were present and at which Mr. Gandhi represented the interests of the *raiyats*, an agreement was reached on the following terms:

(1) The enhancement effected by *sharahbeshi* shall be reduced with effect from the commencement of the *fasli* year 1325 (October 1917) by 20 per cent in the case of Turkaulia Limited, and by 26 per cent in the case of Motihari Limited and the Peeprah concern, the rents for years prior to 1325 *fasli* remaining unchanged at the Survey-Settlement rates.

(2) The existing indigo obligation recorded in the Survey Records shall be abolished from the commencement of the *fasli* year 1325 and in lieu the enhanced rent (*sharahbeshi*) shall be fixed at the rate at which it would have stood had commutation taken place together with the others less the reduction now agreed upon.

As the representative of the *raiyats*, our colleague Mr. Gandhi fully accepts this arrangement as a satisfactory settlement and he undertakes to use his influence fully with the *raiyats* to make them loyally accept it and to bring about future peace in the relations of planters and their tenants. This settlement is subject to the condition that full binding effect must be given to it by legislation. We regard this settlement as equitable to all interests concerned and therefore recommend that action should be immediately taken by emergency legislation to render this settlement by consent binding on all the parties concerned.

As regards the two small concerns of Jallaha and Sirni, which are not parties to this settlement by consent, we recommend that the reduction should be fixed at 26 per cent upon the same conditions as in Motihari and Peeprah.

Commutation by Money Payments—"Tawan"

11. We have still to consider the cases in which the indigo obligation has been commuted for a lump sum payment which method we regard as distinctly prejudicial to the interests of the tenants. The taking of *tawan* has been defended by the factories in two different ways. Some concerns do not allege

that there was any incident of tenancy or obligation on the tenant to grow indigo apart from the *satta* and urge that the payment was made by the tenants for the termination of a contract on terms mutually satisfactory to the parties. But this theory that the payment was made by the tenants for the termination of a contract appears to us to be exposed to almost insuperable difficulties. It is not obvious why, when both parties desire to terminate a contract, a large payment should be made by one of them, particularly when the proposal to terminate the contract originates with the party who is to receive the money. In no concern, we believe, did the rate of payment vary according to the length of time which the contract had still to run, though this might certainly have been expected had the contract alone been in question. Again, in every case where *tawan* was taken, it was a part of the bargain that the tenant received a promise that he would never again be required to grow indigo either by the present proprietors of the factory or by any person to whom the factory might be transferred. There is no doubt, in our opinion, that what the *raiyat* paid for was a final release from the obligation to grow indigo and that he would not have voluntarily paid such large sums merely for release from the unexpired period of the *satta*.

The older factories which took *sharahbeshi* in their *mukarrari* villages and *tawan* in the villages in temporary lease give a different explanation. They assert in both cases the existence of an incident of tenancy, i.e., an obligation to grow indigo as a part of the condition on which the tenant held his land. But if the factory enhanced rents in a temporarily-leased village, nine-tenths of the profit would at the next renewal pass to the superior landlord. The result is that a peculiar claim is advanced by the factory. It is asserted that the obligation to grow indigo imposed on the tenant could be claimed only by the factory and not by the superior landlord, and that therefore the factory was entitled to commute the incident and take the whole of the proceeds, in which the superior landlord could claim no share. This assumes that a temporary lease-holder, when setting land with a tenant, can create an incident of tenancy the benefit of which can be claimed only by him. No legal authority for this position was placed before us, and we regard it as wholly untenable. If an incident attaches to the tenancy, then the benefit can be enjoyed by the lease-holder only so long as he holds the lease and no longer. The indigo incident has not been claimed and is not now claimed by the Bettiah estate, and the claim of the factories in the form in which it has been presented to us must, we think, be wholly rejected.

It seems to us, therefore, that whichever theory be adopted, the taking of *tawan* was not justified in temporarily-leased villages. If it be said that the payment was for the termination of a contract, the answer is that that is not what the tenant desired to buy, nor is it the most important thing the factory sold, that is, final release from indigo. If it is said that the tenant was under an obligation to grow indigo as one of the conditions on which he held his

land, it is evident that the payment was of the nature of capitalized rent and if so the interests of the superior landlord were prejudiced. Since the taking of *tawan* was within the knowledge of the Bettiah estate, which took no action to stop it, we consider that the estate itself must accept some share of the responsibility. We recommend that where *tawan* has been taken in temporarily-leased villages, the Bettiah estate should make it a condition of the renewal of the temporary leases that 25 per cent of the *tawan* collected should be paid to the estate, and that the estate should refund it to the tenants concerned. Moreover, since *tawan* must be regarded at least in part as capitalized rent, we recommend that the Bettiah estate should for a period of seven years forgo any enhancement, which may be granted in the Settlement Courts on the ground of the rise in prices, of the rent of a tenant who has paid *tawan*.

We have been informed that in a few cases where villages had very recently come into lease to a factory, the management procured the execution of *sattas* by the *raiyats* and, after growing indigo for one or two years, commuted the indigo rights by taking *tawan*. Action of this kind seems to us totally indefensible and the Bettiah estate is bound in the interests of its tenants to interfere. We recommend that in such cases, the Court of Wards should refuse to renew the temporary leases of the concern unless the whole of the *tawan* is refunded.

Tawan was also taken in some of the permanently-leased villages by a few concerns, of which the most important is Rajpur. In view of the fact that a reduction of *sharahbeshi* has been accepted under the settlement by consent in the interests of future peace and goodwill, we consider that the *mukarraridars* should be advised by the Local Government to make a refund on a similar basis of a portion of the *tawan* taken by them. In consideration of the low rate of *tawan* taken by the Rajpur concern, we consider that a reduction of ten per cent would be adequate.

Special Case of Rajghat Concern

12. Finally, we desire to refer to the peculiar conditions of the Rajghat factory (manager, Mr. Apperley), where no incident of tenancy is claimed but where written contracts had been entered into by the tenants for the growing of indigo in consideration of freedom from rent enhancement. On the expiry of these contracts, this arrangement was continued by mutual consent, and consequently the factory refrained from applying for rent enhancement at the proper time during the revision settlement. At our local enquiry, we were informed by the tenants that they now desired to abandon indigo. Under these circumstances, it is only reasonable that the factory should be enabled to apply for a general enhancement of rents in accordance with the settlement procedure, but as the time-limit for this procedure under section 105 of the Bengal Tenancy Act has already expired, this is impossible unless the Government takes action under section 112 of the Bengal Tenancy Act. Failing this

course, we recommend that the special legislation should contain a clause enabling this concern to take advantage of section 105.

CHAPTER III

"ABWAB" AND THE RENEWAL OF "THIKA" LEASES

"ABWAB"

13. Our enquiry has shown that until recently, certain sums were regularly levied from the tenants in addition to the recorded rent by the *thikadars* of the non-indigo concerns in the north-west portion of the district, which unauthorized dues are generally known as *abwab*. The imposition of *abwab* was forbidden by section 54 of the Decennial Settlement Regulation (VIII of 1793), which definitely laid down that all landlords should consolidate the *abwab* with the rent into one sum before a fixed date and prohibited under penalty the imposition of any new *abwab*. This prohibition was again enforced by section 10 of Act X of 1859, and by section 74 of the Bengal Tenancy Act (VIII of 1885). For many years past, no *abwab* have been realized in villages under the direct management of the Bettiah Estate, but although the estate received no direct benefit therefrom, the *thikadars* of non-indigo concerns continued their realization until this illegal practice was recently brought to notice at the revision settlement, when orders were issued by the Court of Wards prohibiting the levy of anything in excess of the recorded rent and authorized cesses. The evidence taken by us shows that this action has achieved its object. In some indigo concerns we found that the tenants made a small annual payment known as *farkhawan*, which is usually taken direct by the patwari at the time of rent collection. This practice is also contrary to the law, the landlord being responsible for the patwari's emoluments. The systematic levy of *abwab* still prevails in the Ramnagar estate. In one lease produced before us, certain *abwab* are specified as payable by the *thikadar* to the estate, and in addition there is a clause binding him to assist in collecting certain dues "which are realized from the tenants and *banias* according to the ancient custom". The *abwab* realized by the *thikadars* bear many names,[1] most of which are of old standing, but the full development of the system seems to be comparatively recent and does not go back beyond the last quarter of the nineteenth century. It took the form of an amalgamation and an enhancement of the old *abwab* and

[1] The names of the principal *abwab*, according to the report, are *Bandhbehri* (embankment due), *Painkharcha* (irrigation due), *Chulhi-awan* and *Kolhu-awan* (taxes on turmeric ovens and sugarcane or oil presses), *Bapahi putahi* (inheritance tax), *Marwach* and *Sagaura* (tax on marriages of girls and widows), *Hisabana* (accountancy fee), *Tahrir* (writing fee), *Jungla-Isamnavisi* (fee for writing forest lists), *Batchhapi* (fee on weights and measures), *Dasahari* and *Chaitnawami* (festival taxes), *Gurubhenti* and *Uprohiti* (priestly dues). These *abwab* were ot always levied under these separate names and varied from village to village.

the consolidated levy thenceforth passed under a single name, usually *salami* or *panikharcha* (irrigation due). Occasionally, as in the Bhasurari concern, this levy is called *tinkathia* by analogy with the indigo obligation although no indigo is grown. The amount of the levy is usually Rs. 3 to Rs. 3-8-0 per *bigha* and is equivalent to an addition to the rent of from 60 to 100 per cent. The collection of *abwab* in this manner has been systematically adopted by the European *thikadars* of this estate who until recently never grew indigo, and also by a number of Indian *thikadars* and petty proprietors. We received no complaint of the systematic collection of *abwab* in the rest of the district, and it appears that at least of recent years an occasional levy only has been taken by some landlords for a special purpose, such as a marriage in the proprietor's family.

In spite of the general exaction of these irregular dues in the north-west tract of the district, not a single suit has been brought under section 75 of the Bengal Tenancy Act, which provides the legal remedy. The Collector is of opinion that the section remained a dead letter because the tenants did not complain and because there are difficulties in enforcing the law. It has been suggested to us that section 75 should be amended in order to give power to the Collector to deal with cases summarily on the lines of section 58 and we agree that a special remedy is required to meet the peculiar conditions of the Champaran district. We also consider that it should be made more generally known that the exaction of *abwab* is illegal. Connected with this exaction is the practice of landlords' servants levying a commission on payments made by tenants known as *dasturi*, which is equally illegal. We, therefore, recommend that:

(1) Government should issue a proclamation informing all landlords and *raiayts* that both *abwab* and the *dasturi* taken by landlords' servants are illegal and must be stopped;

(2) the Court of Wards should take steps to enforce those prohibitions in the estates under its charge; and

(3) the special legislation recommended by us for the Champaran district should contain a clause providing that the Collector of his own motion may enquire into and punish the exaction by a landlord from a tenant of any sum in excess of the rent payable, his decision being subject to the ordinary appeal. The penalty might appropriately be fixed at a fine not exceeding Rs. 50 or double the amount of the exaction, whichever is greater. Our colleague, the Hon'ble Rajah Kirtyanand Singh, dissents from this proposal for legislation.

RENT RECEIPT

14. Where *abwab* are systematically levied, the practice is to credit the first payments made by a tenant to that demand and a receipt is not given until he has paid off the whole *abwab* and at least some portion of his rent. This is facilitated by the fact that rent receipts are not usually given until

payments for the year have been completed. Again, no receipts at all are given for the payment of produce rents. The intention of the Legislature, clearly shown by the form of rent receipt prescribed in schedule II of the Bengal Tenancy Act, was that the first payment of rent in any year should be entered in the receipt given to the *raiyat* who would produce this receipt for the entry of subsequent payments. We were informed during the course of our local enquiries that such a procedure is unsuitable for Champaran because the tenants fail to produce the first receipt at the time of subsequent payments. The alternative procedure, if the law is to be followed, is to give a full receipt for every payment, which would involve a great increase in clerical labour because rents are frequently paid in small instalments. We consider it essential that some form of receipt should be given for these intermediate payments, though it need not be so elaborate as the prescribed form, and we therefore recommend that the Local Government should use its power under the proviso to section 56 (3) to prescribe a simple form of receipt for intermediate payments, the full receipt being reserved for the final payment. The intermediate receipt need only contain the name of the tenant and his *khatian* number, the amount paid with date of payment and the account on which it was paid.

Renewal of "Thika" Leases

15. We have already described in paragraph 3 the large extent to which the *thikadari* system prevails in the district. If we believed that the abuses of the past were inseparable from that system, and that good relations between landlord and tenant could not be secured under it in the future, it would be our duty to recommend its abolition. But although we consider that good relations between landlord and tenant can ordinarily best be secured under an efficient system of direct management, which follows the general policy laid down in the Court of Wards Manual, they can also be obtained under a suitable *thikadari* system. We are opposed to any extension of that system, and if for any reason the lease of a village is not renewed, it seems preferable to take it under direct management rather than to lease it to another *thikadar*. The *thikadari* system of the Bettiah and Ramnagar estates was not created by the Court of Wards; many of the *thikadars* are of very old standing, and there may be other reasons arising out of their previous relations which render it inadvisable to make a sudden change of policy. If the conduct of a *thikadar* has been detrimental to the interests of the *raiyats* or of the superior landlord, his conduct should be scrutinized before the lease is renewed. In cases where the Court of Wards decides to renew the leases, we consider it preferable that they should be granted for moderately long periods, subject to cancellation for breach of the conditions, rather than that the periods should be short. In these circumstances, the commission granted to the lessee should be sufficient to cover the cost of collection (including irrecoverable arrears) and a reasonable

remuneration for himself. Unless the estate offers its *thikadars* reasonable terms, it cannot evade all responsibility for resulting abuses. What a fair commission would be can no doubt be calculated for each tenure. On the other hand, where the commission to be given to the *thikadar* exceeds the estimated cost of direct management, the renewal of the leases on such terms requires special justification on the merits of each case. Finally, the leases should contain conditions enforcing such recommendations of the Committee as are accepted by Government, including in particular stipulations that no indigo should be grown except on a voluntary system, and that no *abwab* should be taken. We consider that the estate should hold itself responsible for the well-being of tenants in *thika* villages and when that well-being is in danger, should be responsible for the remedy.

CHAPTER IV
OTHER GRIEVANCES OF TENANTS

Fees on Transfers

16. It remains for us to deal with various other matters some of which have been sources of trouble in the past and some of which are suggestions made for the improvement of agrarian conditions. The first is the levy of fees on the transfers of occupancy holdings. So far as fees are levied on transfers by inheritance, they are illegal, as the right of inheritance is given by section 26, Bengal Tenancy Act, and no custom exists in derogation of this right. Such fees under the name of *Bapahi Putahi* have been already referred to as an *abwab* in Chapter III. As regards transfers otherwise than by inheritance, it may be noted that the consent of the landlord is required by law to the transfer of a portion of a holding since that involves a sub-division of the tenancy (section 88, Bengal Tenancy Act). The transferability of an occupancy holding depends on custom. In Champaran, the general custom is stated to be that no transfer can be made without the landlord's consent, so that legally the landlord can take a fee for recognized transfers otherwise than by inheritance, and this appears to be the usual practice. At the same time, however, we think that it would be desirable in the interests of good management to adopt a uniform scale of fees where it is possible to do so; e.g., in estates under the Court of Wards. This scale might be varied from time to time, if necessary, and its existence would not derogate from the right of veto possessed by the landlord even if the transferee offered the prescribed fee, for it would only be taken where the transfer had been approved. We recommend, therefore, that a moderate scale of fees be fixed from time to time in estates under the Court of Wards which should be enforced in villages held direct or under temporary lease, and that as regards villages let in *mukarrari* lease, the estate should use its best endeavour to induce the lease-holders to adopt the same policy.

The procedure followed by the Bettiah Estate in dealing with applications for mutation of names has been criticized. At present, the attendance of the parties at Bettiah is required, which causes unnecessary inconvenience, as local enquiries are always necessary. At the same time, we do not think it desirable to entrust *thikadars* with the power of disposing of such applications even subject to an appeal to the Manager. We recommend, therefore, that the power of sanctioning mutations should rest with the Estate Manager but that the applications may, if the applicant wishes, be made through the *thikadar*, who would forward it with his report to the Manager and who would communicate to the applicant the orders when received.

RIGHTS IN HIDES

17. A complaint that has become prominent lately refers to the right claimed by the Bettiah and Ramnagar Estates and some of their tenure-holders to all the hides of dead cattle. With the rise in the value of hides in recent years, the question of ownership has become more important and has led to changes in the old custom under which a *chamar* took from the estate the lease of the right to the hides of a village for a small sum and supplied the tenants with a fixed number of shoes and other articles, whilst in addition his wife gave her services as midwife. The Charsa Mahal as it is called, of the Bettiah Estate was leased out to various persons, some of whom took the right to the hides over a large area and some of whom were *chamars* who took the right in individual villages. The total annual income of the Estate from this source is about Rs. 3,000. This right to hides was made over with other miscellaneous assets to the indigo concerns who were granted *mukarrari* leases in 1887. In the Ramnagar Estate, we understand the income from the Mahal in the past two years has been Rs. 79,000. The Manager of the Bettiah Estate has tried to justify the claim on the ground of custom and supports it on the ground of public policy for the prevention of cattle poisoning. On the other hand, it is urged that the hide is the legal property of the owner of the dead animal and that the present practice grew irregularly out of fees paid by the *chamars* for the use of waste land for skinning dead animals. The question of the validity by custom of such a right is one for legal decision. We doubt, however, whether such a custom even where proved can override the natural right of the owner of the dead animal to dispose of its hide in any way he pleases. Subject, therefore, to any legal right which the landlords may be held to possess, we are of opinion that the hides are the property of the owner of the dead animal who is entitled to dispose of them as he wishes, whether by sale or in exchange for services.

KEROSENE OIL MONOPOLY

18. A somewhat similar claim to the monopoly of the trade in kerosene oil has been abandoned by the Bettiah Estate and we think that the *mukarraridars* who derive their claim from the estate should also abandon the practice of

issuing licences for the sale of kerosene oil. Such a practice is clearly not legally enforceable and acts detrimentally in restraint of trade.

RIGHTS IN TREES

19. A widespread discontent is manifest among the *raiyats* in respect of the rights in trees. The legal position has been ascertained both at the settlement of 1892-99 and at the present revision settlement. It appears that trees growing in tenants' holdings cannot be felled without the consent of the landlord, and half the value of the timber of dead or felled trees belongs to him. The tenant urges that he pays rent for the land and the whole produce of it including the trees should belong to him, but, on the other hand, the rent was fixed in consideration of the custom and there is the legal right of the landlord. The tenant undoubtedly feels the restraint in not being able to take wood even from his own holding when he wants it without obtaining permission and with the possibility of abuse by subordinates. On the other hand, there is the danger that the handing over of all the trees to the *raiyats* might lead to their rapid destruction. The district is exceptionally well wooded, and we understand that in Saran, where the tenants have full rights in trees in lands for which a cash rent is paid, no evidence of general denudation is apparent. In view of the inconvenience resulting from the present custom, we recommend that in the Bettiah Estate the *raiyats* should be given the option of purchasing the landlord's half share in the timber, the valuation to be made on fair principles, and, in case of disputes, referred to assessors. If it is found in practice that applications for purchase are received in such large numbers from any particular area as to make it probable that undue denudation might take place, the Estate would be able to limit the option.

GRAZING RIGHTS

20. During our enquiry, we found that practically all the waste land has been recorded as being in the exclusive possession of the landlords, except certain small plots used for communal purposes such as roads, burial grounds, sites for threshing floors and the like. This permits the landlords to break up all waste for cultivation or to enclose it for his exclusive use. It has been urged that this is detrimental to the welfare of the village community and provides a weapon of which unfair use may be made by a bad landlord in cases of dispute with his tenants. There is little doubt that a village is benefited by some land being left for communal use, not necessarily large enough to provide for grazing of all the village cattle but at least adequate to provide the cattle with an exercise ground where they can move about freely without undue risk of trespass on cropped land. We, therefore, recommend that proprietors and permanent tenure-holders should be advised to set apart suitable plots of land for communal use in the way suggested, and that the Court of Wards should do this in the villages under their direct management, while in villages on lease a similar reservation should be made after due enquiry before the re-

newal of any lease, conditions relating to such reservation being inserted in the lease.

LABOUR

21. Complaints were received by us from some *raiyats* that the rates paid by the landlords for labour are inadequate. No claim was urged before us by any landlord to any right over the labour, ploughs or carts of his tenants, and it is admitted that labour of all kinds should be taken on a voluntary basis and paid for at local market rates. While it is clearly impossible for us to prescribe suitable rates for all classes of labour, we consider that it would be an advantage for the Bihar Planters' Association to lay down a minimum scale of wages based on the local market rates to be paid by concerns in membership. We recognize the danger that the minimum might in practice be regarded as the maximum, but rates of wages change slowly and the adoption of the proposal would at least enable the Association to ascertain whether a concern was *prima facie* paying inadequate wages and to exercise a stronger position of control. We, therefore, recommend that all labour should be on a purely voluntary basis and paid for at local market rates, that a minimum tariff of labour wages should be fixed on the basis of local market rates by the Association with the approval of the Commissioner of the Division, and that this tariff should be revised from time to time in accordance with the local rates.

CART "SATTAS"

22. Closely connected with the question of labour is the supply of carts. Most indigo factories require a number of carts at particular seasons of the year for the carting of the indigo crop to the factory and the refuse to the fields. Most factories keep sufficient carts for their ordinary requirements throughout the year, but hire the extra carts required on such special occasions. In order to ensure a regular supply of carts, agreements (*sattas*) are made with the cartmen to supply carts with bullocks at certain seasons for a fixed period of year at a fixed rate, and the consideration for these agreements invariably takes the form of an advance which is in some cases sufficient to cover the initial cost of a cart and pair of bullocks. Generally, however, it is about Rs. 30 or Rs. 40. We recognize that contracts of this nature are essential to the interests of the industry, and the system is unobjectionable provided the rates paid are fair and the periods not too long, but we consider the periods of these contracts extending in some cases to twenty years are prejudicial to the interests of the cartmen. We recommend that the period should be restricted to three years where the advance does not exceed Rs. 50, and to a maximum of five years where it exceeds Rs. 50, and that the Planters' Association should enforce on its members a bye-law to this effect.

FINES

23. We received some complaints that a few landlords had imposed and retained fines on tenants in particular cases where their own interests were

not concerned and no damage of any kind was sustained by them. Such a practice is clearly illegal and the levy of fines, properly so called, should be stopped.

POUNDS

24. The question of pound management in the Champaran district has been brought to our notice. The pounds are largely leased to factories, which has given rise to complaints that they are sometimes used as improper means of coercing *raiyats* by the impounding of cattle without cause. While it was impossible for us to enquire into and record a finding on individual complaints, the leasing of pounds to landlords may give an opportunity for abuse, and recommend that a trial should be made as an experiment of the direct management of pounds by the District Board.

VILLAGE ADMINISTRATION PAPER

25. We have found that there is no authoritative record of village customs such as exists in other provinces of northern India, the procedure followed at settlement for recording various village customs being to make an entry in the village note which does not form part of the Record of Rights. In most provinces, it has been found desirable to make a regular record of such customs and rights. While we recognize that communal village life in Bihar is not so strong as in some other provinces, and that some of the matters such as irrigation rights recorded in these village administration papers are included in the Record of Rights of Bihar, we think that advantage would result from some better authenticated record than the village note of such matters as the right in hides, grazing rights, customs as to house building and the like. We commend the suggestion to the consideration of Government.

MISCELLANEOUS

26. There are two final recommendations that we desire to make which are designed to secure that full effect is given to the orders which Government may pass. The first is that such orders as may be passed should be communicated in the vernacular to the *raiyats* by as wide publication as possible. The second is that it should be impressed on the district staff and especially on the staff of the Court of Wards estates that, until Government is satisfied that full effect has been given to these orders, an important part of their duties will be to see that these orders are carried out.

F. G. SLY (President),
L. C. ADAMI,
KIRTYANAND SINHA,
D. J. REID,
G. RAINY,
M. K. GANDHI

Report of the Committee on the Agrarian Condition in Champaran in the National Archives of India

APPENDIX XII

ORDER-IN-COUNCIL

October 6, 1917

The report of the Champaran Agrarian Enquiry Committee was discussed in the Council this afternoon, and it was decided to accept generally the Committee's recommendations, and to take steps to give them prompt effect by the issue of a resolution and of necessary executive orders, and by emergent legislation.

Ordered–That a draft resolution on the lines indicated in the course of the discussion be prepared with the least possible delay.

Select Documents on Mahatma Gandhi's Movement in Champaran, No. 190, p. 392

APPENDIX XIII

THE CHAMPARAN AGRARIAN BILL, 1917

(AS PASSED IN COUNCIL)

A

BILL

TO

SETTLE AND DETERMINE CERTAIN AGRARIAN DISPUTES IN THE

DISTRICT OF CHAMPARAN

WHEREAS it is expedient to settle and determine disputes subsisting in the district of Champaran between landlords and tenants holding under them regarding certain matters.

4 AND 5 GEO., 5, C. 61

AND WHEREAS the previous sanction of the Government of India has been obtained under section 79 of the Government of India Act, 1915, to the passing of this Act:—

SHORT TITLE AND EXTENT

1. (1) This Act may be called the Champaran Agrarian Act, 1918,
   (2) It extends to the district of Champaran.

INTERPRETATION CLAUSE

2. In this Act all words and expressions defined in the Bengal Tenancy Act, 1885, shall have the meanings assigned to them respectively in that Act,

and the expression "record-of-rights" shall mean the record-of-rights finally published under sub-section (2) of section 103 of the Bengal Tenancy Act, 1885.

ABOLITION OF CERTAIN CONDITIONS AND INCIDENTS

3. (1) On and after the commencement of this Act any agreement, lease or other contract between a landlord and a tenant holding under him which contains a condition to set apart the land of his tenancy or any portion thereof for the cultivation of a particular crop shall be void to the extent of such condition:

Provided that if the tenant has in consideration of such condition received any advance under an agreement, lease or contract entered into prior to the commencement of this Act, he shall be bound to refund such advance or if the condition has been partially fulfilled, such proportion of that advance as represents the unfulfilled portion of the condition, and the amount of the said advance or proportion thereof which he is bound to refund shall be determined by an authority to be prescribed by the Local Government and the order of such authority shall be final and shall, on application to a civil court, be enforceable as a decree for rent payable in respect of the said tenancy.

(2) On and after the commencement of this Act, a special condition or incident of a tenancy to set apart the land of the tenancy or any portion thereof for the cultivation of a particular crop shall not be valid to any extent.

ALTERATION OF RENT IN VIEW OF SUCH ABOLITION AND NOTE OF THE RESULTING RENT IN THE RECORD-OF-RIGHTS

4. (1)(a) Where, in consideration of the release of a tenant from a condition, special condition or incident of the nature described in section 3, the rent payable by such tenant has, prior to the first day of October, 1917, been enhanced, the amount of such enhancement shall, with effect from the said date, be reduced by twenty per centum in the case of rent payable to Turkaulia, Limited, and by twenty-six per centum in all other cases;

(b) Where a special condition or incident of the nature described in sub-section (2) of section 3 has been entered in the record-of-rights in respect of a tenancy, the entry of such special condition or incident shall be cancelled and the rent of the tenancy shall, with effect from the first day of October, 1917, be enhanced to an extent proportionate to the reduced enhancement allowed under clause (a) in respect of tenancies in the same village or in neighbouring villages belonging to the same landlord.

(2) A note of the rent of a tenancy resulting from reduction under clause (a) or enhancement under clause (b) of sub-section (1) of the cancellation under clause (b) of that sub-section of an entry and of a special condition or incident shall be made in the record-of-rights and such note shall, with effect from the 1st day of October, 1917, be deemed part of the record-of-rights and be conclusive evidence of the amount of such rent.

(3) The Local Government may by rule prescribe

(a) the authority by whom the proper amount of reduction and of enhancement under the provisions of sub-section (1) and the resulting rent of the tenancy shall be determined in each case;

(b) the authority by whom the note referred to in sub-section (2) shall be made;

(c) the procedure to be followed by any such authority.

(4) The decision of the authority prescribed under clause (a) of sub-section (3) shall be final as regards

(a) whether the rent payable by a tenant has been enhanced in consideration of the release of the tenant from a condition, special condition or incident of the nature described in section 3, and the amount of such enhancement;

(b) whether any entry in the record-of-rights is an entry of special condition or incident of the nature described in sub-section (2) of section 3;

(c) the amount of rent to be noted in the record-of-rights under the provisions of sub-section (2);

and the correctness of any such decision shall not be contested in any suit or proceeding in any court.

(5) In the case of any tenant referred to in clause (a) of sub-section (1), the finally-published entry in the record-of-rights of the rent of his tenancy shall, in any suit or proceeding for the recovery of an arrear or rent which accrued due thereon prior to the first day of October 1917, be conclusive evidence of the amount of the yearly rent payable in respect of such tenancy from the date from which the enhancement took effect to the end of the Fasli year 1324.

This sub-section shall also apply to such suits and proceedings pending at the commencement of this Act.

Saving of Certain Short-term Contracts to Deliver a Specified Weight of a Particular Crop

5. Nothing in this Act shall prevent a tenant from contracting to deliver to his landlord a specified weight of a particular crop to be grown on the land of his tenancy or any portion thereof: -

Provided

(1) That any claim for damages for the breach of such contract shall be based on a failure to deliver the specified weight and not on a failure to cultivate any portion of land;

(2) That the term of such contract shall not exceed three years; and

(3) That the value of the produce to be supplied shall be determined by weighment thereof or by appraisement by arbitrators of the weight thereof.

PROVISIONS TO HAVE EFFECT NOTWITHSTANDING ANY OTHER ENACTMENT

6. The provisions of this Act shall have effect notwithstanding anything contained in any other enactment.

Select Documents on Mahatma Gandhi's Movement in Champaran, pp. 518-20

SOURCES

GANDHI SMARAK SANGRAHALAYA, NEW DELHI: Central Museum and Library of Gandhian literature and documentation; *vide* Vol. I, p. 349.

SABARMATI SANGRAHALAYA: Library and Records containing documents relating to Gandhiji's South African period and Indian period up to 1933; *vide* Vol. I, p. 349.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA, NEW DELHI.

NATIONAL LIBRARY, CALCUTTA.

The Amrita Bazar Patrika: English daily published from Calcutta.

The Ashram: Handwritten monthly magazine of Shantiniketan.

The Bengalee: English daily published from Calcutta.

The Bombay Chronicle: English daily published from Bombay.

Buddhi Prakash: Gujarati magazine published from Ahmedabad.

Gujarat Mitra ane Gujarat Darpan: Gujarati weekly published from Surat.

Gujarati: Gujarati weekly published from Bombay.

The Hindu: English daily published from Madras.

Indian Opinion: (1903-61); weekly issued on Saturdays; founded in Durban and later shifted to Phœnix. Had English and Gujarati sections and also, initially, Hindi and Tamil.

The Indian Review: English monthly published from Madras.

The Indian Social Reformer: English weekly published from Bombay.

Kathiawar Times: Gujarati weekly published from Rajkot.

Kheda Vartaman: Gujarati weekly published from Kaira.

The Leader: English daily published from Allahabad.

The Madras Mail: English daily published from Madras.

The Mahratta: English weekly published from Poona.

The Modern Review: English monthly published from Calcutta.

New India: English daily published from Madras.

The Pioneer: English daily published from Allahabad; now from Lucknow.

Prajabandhu: Gujarati weekly published from Ahmedabad.

Pratap: Hindi weekly published from Kanpur.

Samalochak: Gujarati magazine published from Ahmedabad.

Satdharma Pracharak: Organ of Gurukul, Kangri.

Tattvabodhini Patrika: Monthly journal published from Bengal.

The Times of India: English daily published from Bombay; now also from Delhi.

Vedic Magazine: English monthly.

BOMBAY GOVERNMENT POLICE ABSTRACTS

BOMBAY SECRET ABSTRACTS

Report of the Committee on the Agrarian Condition in Champaran, Superintendent, Government Printing, Bihar and Orissa, Patna, 1917.

Report of the Proceedings of the 15th Bombay Provincial Conference

Report of the Rasashala Aushadhashram, Gondal.

Reports of the Thirtieth and Thirty-first Indian National Congress

Bapujini Shital Chhayaman (Gujarati) : Karsandas Chitalia, Bhagini Samaj, Bombay.

Bapuni Prasadi (Gujarati): Mathuradas Trikumji, Navajivan Press, Ahmedabad, 1948.

Gandhijini Sadhana (Gujarati): Raojibhai Patel, Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad, 1939.

Letters of Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri: T. N. Jagdishan, Rochouse & Sons, Ltd., Madras, 1944.

Life of Vinoba: Sarvodaya Pracharalaya, Tanjore.

Mahadev Desai's Early Life: Narahari D. Parikh, Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad, 1953.

Mahatma: Life of Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi: D. G. Tendulkar; Jhaveri and Tendulkar, Bombay, 1951-4, in eight volumes.

Mahatma Gandhi (Hindi): Ramchandra Varma, Gandhi Hindi Pustak Bhandar, Kalbadevi, Bombay.

Mahatma Gandhi: His Life, Writings & Speeches: Ganesh & Co., Madras.

Mahatma Gandhini Vicharsrishti (Gujarati): Mathuradas Trikumji.

Majhi Jivan Katha (Marathi): Gangadharrao Deshpande, Mouj Prakashan Griha, Bombay, 1960.

My Dear Child: Alice M. Barnes, Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad, 1956.

Panchaven Putrako Bapuke Ashirvad (Hindi): Kaka Kalelkar, Jamnalal Bajaj Trust, Wardha, 1953.

Satyagraha in Champaran : Rajendra Prasad, Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad, 1949.

Select Documents on Mahatma Gandhi's Movement in Champaran: Ed. Dr. B. B. Mishra, Government of Bihar, 1963.

Speeches and Writings of Mahatma Gandhi: G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras.

CHRONOLOGY

(*January 9, 1915 – October 6, 1917*)

1915

January 9 : Gandhiji and Kasturba landed at Apollo Bunder, Bombay.

In interview to *The Bombay Chronicle* and *The Times of India*, Gandhiji said he would follow Gokhale's advice and pass some time in India observing and studying.

January 11 : Reception at Ghatkopar, Bombay.

January 12 : Public reception at Mount Petit, Bombay, Sir Pherozeshah Mehta presiding.

January 13 : Welcome by Bombay National Union at Hirabag. B. G. Tilak and Joseph Baptista attended.

January 14 : Gandhiji entertained by Bombay branch of Servants of India Society.

Met Governor of Bombay.

Garden party by Gurjar Sabha, Bombay. M. A. Jinnah presided.

January 15 : Gandhiji left Bombay for visits to Rajkot, Porbunder and other places in Saurashtra.

January 17 : Rajkot citizens' address. Dewan of Rajkot presided.

January 20 : Reception by *Modh* community of Rajkot.

January 22 : At Darbargarh.

January 25 : At Porbunder.

January 26 : In letter, Gandhiji thanked Major Hancock, Administrator of Porbunder, for help during satyagraha struggle in South Africa.

January 27 : Visit to Rasashala Aushadhashram at Gondal.

January : Rabindranath Tagore wrote to Gandhiji thanking him for sending Phœnix boys to stay at Shantiniketan.

February 2 : Gandhiji given reception by citizens of Ahmedabad.

February 4 : Arrived in Bombay from Ahmedabad.

February 7 : Speech at Mission School, Bombay.

February 8 : Arrived in Poona. Held discussions about joining Servants of India Society.

Wrote to Mahatma Munshiram thanking him for hospitality to Phœnix party at Gurukul.

February 11 : Reception by Deccan Sabha, Poona.

February 12 : Party by Sarvajanik Sabha, Poona.

February 13 : Visited Karve's Anath-Balikashram, Fergusson College and Anandashram at Poona.
Public meeting at Kirloskar Theatre.

February 14 : Presided at prize distribution function at Sanatan Dharma Nitishikshan Pravartak Samiti in Bombay.

February 15 : Spoke at Kapol Hostel, Bombay.
Left for Shantiniketan.

February 17 : Reached Bolpur. Met C. F. Andrews. Was accorded reception in Indian style. Tagore was away.

February 19 : Gopal Krishna Gokhale passed away at Poona.

February 20 : Gandhiji spoke at condolence meeting for Gokhale at Shantiniketan.
In telegram to Transvaal British Indian Association, suggested universal mourning.
Left for Poona.

February 21 : Lahore Conspiracy unearthed.

February 23 : Gandhiji wrote letter to Chief Traffic Manager, East Indian Railway, regarding inconveniences during travel.

March 3 : At Poona meeting to mourn death of Gokhale, Governor of Bombay presiding, Gandhiji moved main resolution.
Left for Bombay.

March 4 : In letter to Maganlal Gandhi, expressed desire to establish an institution at Ahmedabad.

March 5: Reached Shantiniketan and met Rabindranath Tagore.

March 13 : Reception on grounds of Maharaja of Cassimbazar's palace in Calcutta. Harilal Gandhi took final decision to separate.

March 14 : Gandhiji left Calcutta with Ramdas and Chhaganlal for Rangoon by s.s. *Lanka* to meet Dr. Pranjivan Mehta.

March 17 : Arrived in Rangoon.

March 18 : Defence of India Act passed.

March 26 : Gandhiji left Rangoon for Calcutta by ship.

March 27 : Traffic Manager, E. I. Railway, replied to Gandhiji's letter of February 23, agreeing to refund excess fare.

March 31 : Gandhiji advised youth against anarchical crimes at students' meeting at College Square, Calcutta. P. C. Lyons presided.

April 2 : Had talks with Rabindranath Tagore, C. F. Andrews and teachers at Shantiniketan.

April 5 : Reached Hardwar from Shantiniketan. Kumbha Fair in progress.

April 6 : Met Mahatma Munshiram (Swami Shraddhanand) at Gurukul, near Hardwar.

April 7 : Went to Rishikesh, walked to Lakshman Jhula and visited Swargashram.

April 8 : *Brahmacharis* of Gurukul Kangri presented welcome address.

April 9 : Gandhiji took vow to take only five articles in diet every day.

April 12 : Arrived in Delhi with Kasturba and others.

April 14 : Visited Mathura and Vrindavan. Entrained for Madras.

April 17 : Reached Madras.

April 20 : Addressed members of Gokhale Club at Madras.

April 21 : Reception by Indian South African League, Madras. Sir Subramania Aiyar presided.

April 22 : Gandhiji outlined his future programme of work in India in interview to *The Madras Mail.*

April 23: Spoke at Madras Mahajan Sabha meeting and Madras Provincial Congress Committee "At Home".
Interview to Associated Press of India, explaining how his work in South Africa would be continued.

April 24 : Muslim League, Madras, was "At Home" to Gandhiji and Kasturba at Lawley Hall.
Gandhiji spoke at Madras Law Dinner.

April 25 : Spoke at meeting of Social Service League, Madras, at Ranade Hall.
Reception by Arya Vaishya Mahasabha.

April 26 : Reception by Indian Christians at Madras. Gandhiji recalled help by missionaries in South Africa.

April 27 : Reception by Madras students at Y.M.C.A., V. S. Srinivasa Sastri presiding.

April 29 : Gandhiji spoke at Lakshmi Memorial Arya Pathshala, Madras. Met Gujarati community of Madras at residence of Lodd Govindas.

April 30 : Reached Tranquebar from Mayavaram. Reception by South Indian Depressed Classes Society.

May 1 : Gandhiji spoke on untouchability and swadeshi at Victoria Town Hall, Mayavaram.

May 5–6 : Attended Madras Provincial Conference session at Nellore.

May 7 : Spoke on passive resistance in South Africa and thanked G. A. Natesan at meeting of Indian South African League at Madras. League passed resolution dissolving itself and placing balance of money at Gandhiji's disposal.

May 8 : Gandhiji reached Bangalore.
Unveiled portrait of Gokhale at Government High School. Civic reception at Lal Bagh.

May 11 : Gandhiji returned to Ahmedabad. Drew up estimate of expenditure of Ashram at Ahmedabad.

Before *May 20 :* Devised vows and rules for Ashram at Kochrab.

May 20 : Satyagraha Ashram inaugurated at Kochrab near Ahmedabad.

May 23 : The Phœnix party (boys and teachers with Maganlal Gandhi) arrived in Ahmedabad from Gurukul Kangri.

June 1 : Gandhiji fasted at Ahmedabad for a day for 'falsehood among the boys'.

June 3 : Award of Kaiser-i-Hind medal to Gandhiji for services to British Empire announced in King's birthday honours.

June 16 : In letter to J. B. Petit, Secretary, South African Indian Fund, Gandhiji gave income and expense account of satyagraha campaign in South Africa up to January 31, 1915.

June 26 : Received Kaiser-i-Hind medal in Poona.

July 11 : Attended 15th Bombay Provincial Conference held in Poona.
Had two interviews with Lokamanya Tilak.

July : Government of India Act, 1915 passed.

September 20 : Gandhiji received C. F. Andrews and W. W. Pearson in Bombay and left with them for Ahmedabad.

September 23 : C. F. Andrews and W. W. Pearson sailed for Fiji Islands.

In letter to V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, Gandhiji wrote that he might have to live apart from Kasturba in *Dhed* quarters as a result of admitting an untouchable family in Satyagraha Ashram.

September 26 : Dudabhai, a *Dhed*, and his wife joined Satyagraha Ashram.

Gandhiji wrote to A. H. West that *Indian Opinion* should be kept up at any cost.

September 30 : Attended in Bombay meeting of Committee for South African Indian Fund. Proposal for Valliamma Hall was discussed.

October 15 : In a despatch, Lord Hardinge urged total abolition of indenture system.

October 28 : Gandhiji spoke on indenture system at Empire Theatre, Bombay. Sir Ibrahim Rahimtullah presided.

November 5 : Sir Pherozeshah Mehta passed away at Bombay. Gandhiji wrote to A. H. West that proposal for Valliamma Hall be dropped.

November 15 : Moved condolence resolution on death of Sir Pherozeshah Mehta at meeting at Premabhai Hall, Ahmedabad. Sir Chinubhai presided.

November 21 : Gandhiji presided over birth anniversary celebrations of Srimad Rajchandra at Ahmedabad.

November 28 : Spoke at Ahmedabad function held to honour N. C. Mehta for success in I. C. S. examination.

December 1 : Arrived with Ba at Viramgam from Ahmedabad on way to Rajkot.

December 4 : Reached Gondal from Rajkot.

December 8 : Replied to citizens' address at Bhavnagar. Diwan presided.

Address from *Modh* community of Bhavnagar.

December 12 : Gandhiji reached Bagasra *via* Hadala from Amreli. Assured help to people to abolish customs barrier at Viramgam.

December 24 : Attended session of Industrial Conference at Bombay, Sir Dorab Tata presiding, and supported resolution thanking Viceroy for recommending abolition of indenture system.

December 27–29 : Session of Indian National Congress at Bombay under presidentship of S. P. Sinha. Gandhiji moved resolution on 'India and the Colonies'.

Congress instructed A.I.C.C. to confer with Muslim League Executive and frame scheme of self-government. Congress

constitution amended to allow representatives of political bodies of 2 years' standing. Gandhiji, not eligible for election to Subjects Committee, was nominated by the President.

December 30 : All-India Muslim League met in Bombay under chairmanship of Mazhar-ul-Haq.

1916

January 1 : Gandhiji was presented welcome address at Salej, native place of Pragji Desai.

January 2 : Gandhiji presided over annual celebrations of Arya Samaj at Surat and declared open a temple.

January 3: Spoke at opening of Jain Students' Library, Patidar Youth Association, and Arya Samaj function at Surat. Attended receptions by District Bar Association and Saiyadpura Mahomedan Association and Islamia Library.

January 4: Visited Kathor, native place of Dawad Mahomed (President, Natal Indian Congress) in Surat.

January 5: Reception by people of Navsari at Seervai Park. Gandhiji extolled services of Koli Fakira and Parsi Rustomjee in South Africa.

January 13: In letter to V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, expressed his differences with methods of Servants of India Society.

January 16: Appointment of Lord Chelmsford as Viceroy of India announced.

January 17: Gandhiji was presented welcome address by Janahitartha Karyalaya at Bavla in Ahmedabad district.

February 4: Lord Hardinge, Viceroy of India, laid foundation-stone of Benares Hindu University.

February 5: Gandhiji attended anniversary celebrations of Nagari Pracharini Sabha, Kashi and spoke on value of Hindi.

February 6: Spoke at Benares University Week meeting under presidentship of Maharaja of Darbhanga. Princes and Mrs. Besant left in protest. Meeting ended abruptly.

February 7: In letter to Maharaja of Darbhanga, explained his remarks about Viceroy.

February 9: Arrived in Bombay. Interview to Associated Press of India on Benares incident.

February 10: Writing in *New India* on Gandhiji's interview on the Benares incident, Mrs. Annie Besant denied she had suggested to princes to leave and justified her interruptions.

February 14: Gandhiji read a paper on swadeshi at Missionary Conference, Madras.

February 16: Explained aims of Satyagraha Ashram at Y.M.C.A., Madras.
Addressed annual meeting of Social Service League, Madras.
Young India commented on Benares University incident.

February 17: *The Hindu*, Madras, published Gandhiji's letter on Mrs. Besant's denial about Benares University incident.
Gandhiji presided over debate at Anderson Hall, Madras.

February 19: Reached Poona on invitation from Deccan Sabha and spoke at meeting on death anniversary of G. K. Gokhale at Kirloskar Theatre.

February 23: Returned to Ahmedabad. Presided over public lecture delivered by D. K. Karve, founder of Indian Women's University.

February 25: In article published in *The Leader*, demanded immediate stoppage of system of indentured labour.

February 26: Public reception in Hyderabad (Sind).

February 27 : Unveiled portrait of G. K. Gokhale in Holmstead Hall, Hyderabad (Sind).

February 28: Visited Narishala, Navalrai Hiranand Academy, Nava Vidyalaya High School and Kundanmal Girls' School.
Met Gujarati and Deccani residents of Hyderabad in Hirabag.
Spoke on vaccination in Holmstead Hall, Hyderabad (Sind).

February 29: Welcome by Citizens' Association, Karachi; Gandhiji unveiled portrait of G. K. Gokhale at Khalihdina Hall; address from Gujarati Hindus.

March 2: Gandhiji spoke at Karachi Bandhu Mandal reception; gave interview to *Parsi Samsar* on public life in Sind.

March 4: Bonar Law (Colonial Secretary) in despatch to Acting Governor of Fiji agreed to appointment of an Inter-Departmental Committee and continuance of indenture system for another five years.

March 20: In Imperial Legislative Council, Madan Mohan Malaviya moved resolution urging abolition of system of Indian indentured labour. Accepting the resolution, Viceroy announced that both Secretary of State and Government had decided on its eventual abolition.
Gandhiji spoke at Gurukul anniversary near Hardwar.

March 30: Wrote to J. B. Petit regarding details of satyagraha campaign expenses.

April 4: Lord Chelmsford, new Viceroy, arrived in Bombay. Demonstrations held. Lord Hardinge left India.

April 19: Gandhiji nominated life-member of Gujarat Vernacular Society.

April 21–23: Discussions held at A.I.C.C. meeting at Allahabad regarding scheme of self-government for India.

April 23: Lokamanya Tilak founded first Home Rule League with headquarters at Poona.

April 29–May 1: Sessions of Bombay Provincial Conference at Belgaum. Gandhiji supported resolution on compromise among political parties in the country following amendment of Article XX of Congress constitution in 1915.

April 30: Spoke at Belgaum on "The Depressed Classes".

May 7: Case against Lokamanya Tilak opened in Poona Magistrate's Court.

May 13: Gandhiji sent wheat-powder (as substitute for tea) to students of Bhavnagar Jain Boarding House.

May 28: Madras Government demanded security under Press Act from Annie Besant as printer of *New India.*

June 4: Gandhiji spoke on untouchability at Conference of Friendly Associations of Communities, Ahmedabad.

June 5: Spoke on Hindu caste system on second day of the Conference.

After *June 7:* Wrote to Vinoba Bhave's father praising the young man's asceticism.

June 12: Annie Besant founded Auxiliary Home Rule League in London.

June 24: Gandhiji moved protest resolution against Press Act at Bombay citizens' meeting.

Before *July 26:* Wrote pamphlet in Gujarati on hardships of railway passengers in India.

July 27: Explained secret of satyagraha in South Africa at post-prayer meeting at Kochrab Ashram.

August 12: Lokamanya Tilak ordered to enter into bond for good behaviour for one year; security given.

September 21: Annie Besant founded Home Rule League in Madras.

October 21: At Bombay Provincial Conference held at Ahmedabad, Gandhiji proposed election of M. A. Jinnah as President.

October 22: At Bombay Provincial Conference, moved resolution protesting against working of Defence of India Act and Government order prohibiting Annie Besant from entering Bombay Presidency.

October 23: At Bombay Provincial Conference, moved resolutions urging abolition of indenture system and removal of custom cordon at Viramgam railway station and at other places on Kathiawar frontier.

November 1: Annie Besant prohibited from entering Central Provinces.

November 9: Gandhiji spoke at Wadhwan (Saurashtra) on birth anniversary of Srimad Rajchandra.
Bombay High Court delivered judgment in favour of Lokamanya Tilak in security case.

November 17: All-India Congress Committee and Muslim League held joint conference at Calcutta.

December 12: Gandhiji wrote to A. H. West regarding Passive Resistance Fund and *Indian Opinion.*

December 22: Spoke on "Does economic progress clash with real progress?" at Muir Central College Economic Society, Allahabad, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya presiding.

December 23: Spoke on modern system of education at Allahabad public meeting, Pandit Malaviya presiding.

December 26–30: Lucknow session of Indian National Congress under presidentship of Ambika Charan Majumdar. Congress-League Scheme of Reforms adopted; re-union of two wings of the Congress; Tilak joined after 1907 Surat split; Gandhiji attended and moved resolutions on indentured labour and Defence of India Act. Mrs. Besant, Dr. Rash Bihari Ghose, Surendranath Bannerjea, Mazhar-ul-Haq, M. A. Jinnah, H. S. L. Polak and Lt.-Governor of U. P. attended. Resolutions dealing *inter alia* with India's loyalty, Arms Act, Volunteering and Commissions in Army, Press Act, Indentured Labour, Indians in Colonies, Ryots and Planters in North Bihar passed.

December 27: *New India* published Lionel Curtis's letter to "Round Table", London.

December 29: Gandhiji presided over All-India Common Script and Common Language Conference at Lucknow.

December 31: At Muslim League session, report of Reforms Committee appointed at Bombay in 1915 was presented. M. A. Jinnah's resolution protesting against treatment of Indians in Colonies was adopted. Gandhiji attended session and spoke on Hindu-Muslim amity.

1917

January 2: Gandhiji returned to Ahmedabad from Lucknow after Congress session.

Before *January 14:* Explained, in statement, how Lionel Curtis's letter to Secretary of "Round Table" was discovered.

January 17: In letter to Narandas Gandhi, conveyed his resolution to set up a national school.

After *January 18:* Drew up prospectus of the school.

February 4: Presided over anti-indenture meeting at Ahmedabad. C. F. Andrews and H. S. L. Polak also spoke.

February 7: While opening session of Imperial Legislative Council, Viceroy explained his refusal to allow Pandit Malaviya's notice to move Bill to abolish indentured emigration entirely.

After *February 7:* In statement, Gandhiji thanked Viceory for his assurance on indentured labour.

February 9: At Bombay public meeting held at Excelsior Theatre under presidentship of Sir Jamsetji Jeejibhoy, spoke in support of resolution demanding immediate abolition of indenture system.

February 11: Spoke at anti-indenture meeting held under auspices of Home Rule League, Bombay.

February 19: Arrived in Godhra and presided over public meeting on anniversary of Gokhale's death.

February 26: At Surat meeting, urged stoppage of recruitment of indentured labour.

March 2: Spoke at Home Rule League headquarters, Karachi, on passive resistance and austerity.

Visited Hardevi Bai Girls' School and met Cutchhi and Gujarati communities at Parsi Theatre.

At public meeting, told people to join Defence Forces in "overwhelming numbers". Sir S. P. Sinha presided.

At public meeting in Karachi, Gandhiji insisted on abolition of indenture system by May 31, 1917.

March 6: Reached Calcutta at Maharaja of Cassimbazar's invitation.

Declared at public meeting in Town Hall that India could not tolerate indentured emigration "a minute longer than the 31st May".

March 12: Governor-General-in-Council's decision prohibiting labour emigration from India under Defence of India Act gazetted.

April 8: Gandhiji attended A.I.C.C. meeting at Calcutta which decided to send eight-member deputation to England for Congress work.

April 10: With Rajkumar Shukla reached Patna on way to Champaran. Stayed with Mazhar-ul-Haq.
Welcomed by J. B. Kripalani and others on arrival at Muzaffarpur, and spent night at students' hostel.

April 11: Met and explained mission to James Wilson, Secretary, Bihar Planters' Association.
In evening, met vakils of Muzaffarpur.
In a rejoinder to Ramsay MacDonald regarding report of Public Services Commission, stated, Gokhale would have drawn up "a minority report in conjunction with Mr. Abdul Rahim".

April 12: Wrote letter seeking interview with L. F. Morshead, Commissioner of Tirhut Division and co-operation of local administration in his mission.

April 13: Met L. F. Morshead at Muzaffarpur. Later, sent him letter restating scope of mission and enclosing statement of local leaders.

April 15: In letter to Maganlal Gandhi, described situation in Champaran to be "worse than in Fiji and Natal".
Arrived in Motihari.

April 16: Left for Jassauli in Champaran; served with notice to leave district by first available train. Returned to Motihari. Conveyed decision to disobey the order in letter to W. B. Heycock, District Magistrate. Conveyed decision to P. S. to Viceroy to return Kaiser-i-Hind medal.

April 18: Appeared in District Magistrate's Court, Motihari, and read out statement explaining disobedience of order. Case postponed till April 21.

April 19: Executive Committee of Bihar Provincial Association resolved to send protest to Viceroy and Lt.-Governor regarding order against Gandhiji.

April 20: Government issued orders for withdrawal of proceedings against Gandhiji and sent instructions to local officials to give him facilities during investigation.

April 21: Gandhiji wired thanks to Lt.-Governor, Bihar and Orissa, for withdrawal of proceedings. Issued Press statement. Met Heycock.

April 22: Left Motihari for Bettiah.

April 23: Had interview with Sub-Divisional Officer, Bettiah.

April 27: J. T. Whitty, Manager, Bettiah Raj, wrote to Morshead, protesting against enquiry by Gandhiji and suggested appointment of commission by Government.

April 28: Herbert Cox, Honorary Secretary, Bihar Planters' Association, wrote to Morshead protesting against enquiry by Gandhiji.
In letter to S.D.O., Bettiah, Gandhiji denied charge of interference with the former's authority.

April: Imperial War Conference held in London. Sir S. P. Sinha, Maharaja of Bikaner and Sir James Meston represented India. Secretary of State announced decision regarding India's representation at future Imperial Conferences.

May 1: Morshead wrote to Chief Secretary, Bihar and Orissa, recommending appointment of enquiry commission.
Gandhiji went to Motihari.
Olaha outwork of Turkaulia concern in Champaran destroyed by fire.

May 2: Government contradicted newspaper report that withdrawal of case against Gandhiji was ordered by Government of India.

May 5: Directors of Bihar Planters' Association passed resolution recording emphatic protest against manner of Gandhiji's enquiry.

May 9: Gandhiji was warmly welcomed by people on arrival in Patna from Champaran.
W. Maude, Member of Executive Council, met Morshead, Heycock, Lewis and Whitty.

May 10: Gandhiji met Maude at Patna and agreed to submit preliminary report of his enquiry.

May 13: Wrote report on conditions of Champaran ryots.

May 14: Sent copies of report to Maude, McPherson, Morshead and Heycock.

May 17: Indian Home Rule League held first annual Conference at Nasik under presidentship of Joseph Baptista.
Gandhiji's contradiction of A.P.I. report on his mission and Olaha fire and correspondence with Heycock published.

May 18: *Kutcherry* building of Dhokraha outwork of Loheria factory was burnt down.

May 19: Gandhiji wrote to Manager of Loheria concern regarding oppression of *raiyats*.

May 20: In letter to Home Member, Government of India, Lt.-Governor detailed action to be taken against Gandhiji.
Bihar Planters' Association wrote to Morshead tracing acts of incendiarism to Gandhiji's mission.
Gandhiji wrote to Heycock regarding Belwa and Dhokraha concerns and complained of intimidation by planters.

May 21: McPherson sought Government of India's approval to remove Gandhiji and his associates from Champaran under Defence of India Rules.
Whitty wrote to Maude that Gandhiji had "become the centre of agitation against the European".

May 22: Gandhiji sent to Heycock another statement about Dhokraha fire.
In letter to Morshead, Heycock attributed Dhokraha fire to Gandhiji's visit and described his enquiry as "dangerous to the peace of the district".

May 24: Viceroy held consultations with his Council. Later, Home Department of Government of India wired to McPherson suggesting appointment of a "strong Committee".

May 26: In letter to Esther Faering, Gandhiji described condition of Champaran *raiyats* as "no better than that of slaves".

May 27: Lt.-Governor-in-Council invited Gandhiji for interview at Ranchi on June 4.
In communication to Government of India, McPherson proposed Gandhiji's name as *raiyats*' representative on the proposed Committee.

May 29: In Press statement, Gandhiji said any enquiry covering definite issues would meet existing situation if known wrongs were immediately redressed.

May 30: In letter to McPherson, Gandhiji agreed to meet Lt.-Governor and complained against planters' obstruction in his enquiry.

May: Inter-Departmental Conference held in London to discuss a new assisted system of emigration to British Guiana, Trinidad, Jamaica and Fiji.

June 1: Planters sent representation to Government.

June 2: Home Department, Government of India, wrote to Bihar Government that enquiry committee be appointed and investigation started within a month.
Gandhiji reached Patna. Met Pandit Malaviya, Rajendra Prasad and others and left for Ranchi.

June 4: Gandhiji met Lt.-Governor at Ranchi.
In letter to Maharaja of Darbhanga (Member, Executive Council), communicated his terms for enquiry.

June 5: Held discussions with Lt.-Governor and saw members of Executive Council.
Left for Patna.

June 7: Arrived in Patna. Conveyed acceptance of nomination to Enquiry Committee after consulting Pandit Malaviya.

June 8: Secretary, European Association, urged removal of Gandhiji from Champaran.
Gandhiji returned to Bettiah.

June 10: Government resolution announced terms and composition of Champaran Agrarian Enquiry Committee.
Gandhiji wrote to McPherson that taking of statements at Bettiah had been stopped.

June 12: Went to Motihari. Taking of statements stopped.

June 14: Honorary Secretary, Bihar Planters' Association, wrote to McPherson protesting against Gandhiji's inclusion in the Committee.

June 16: Madras Government issued internment order on Mrs. Besant, G. S. Arundale and B. P. Wadia.

June 17: Gandhiji left Bettiah for Ahmedabad.

June 28: Returned to Motihari from Ahmedabad with Dr. Deva, Secretary, Servants of India Society.

June 29: In letter to Heycock, proposed sending of volunteers and Dr. Deva for assistance to villagers.

June 30: Death of Dadabhai Naoroji.
In letter to *The Pioneer*, Gandhiji refuted criticism of his dress.

Wrote to J. B. Petit about internment of Mrs. Besant and others, urging vigorous propaganda in villages despite prohibition.

July: Bihar Government issued notice regarding commencement of enquiry by middle of July.

On or After *July 3:* Gandhiji in private circular letter from Motihari detailed expenses and activities of Satyagraha Ashram and appealed for help.

July 7: Writing to P. S. to Viceroy from Patna, Gandhiji called internment of Mrs. Besant "a big blunder".

July 9: Raja Kirtyanand Singh appointed member of Champaran Committee in place of Raja Harihar Prasad Narayan Singh who resigned due to ill-health.

July 11: Champaran Committee held preliminary meeting to decide procedure and extent of enquiry.

July 12: In House of Commons, E. S. Montagu, ex-Under Secretary of State for India, in speech on Mesopotamian Commission Report, described Government of India as "too wooden, too iron, too inelastic, too anti-diluvian to be of any use for modern purposes. . . ."

July 17: E. S. Montagu appointed Secretary of State for India. Public sittings of Champaran Committee commenced at Bettiah.

July 19: Champaran Committee met at Bettiah.

July 25: Gandhiji wrote to Secretary, Passengers' Grievances Committee, Rangoon, regarding lack of attention to deck passengers of British India Steam Navigation Company. Bihar Planters' Association submitted written statement to Champaran Committee.

July 26: Champaran Committee met at Motihari and examined W. S. Irwin, Manager of Motihari Ltd.

July 28: Congress Committee and Muslim League Reform Council held joint conference at Bombay.

July 29: Gandhiji recorded confidential note on *sharahbeshi* for circulation among Champaran Committee members.

August: In a manifesto, prominent Indian leaders, including Congressmen, opposed passive resistance in view of Montagu's proposed visit.

August 8: Champaran Committee met at Bettiah. Gandhiji's suggestion regarding *abwab* agreed to.

August 10: Meeting of Champaran Committee agreed on abolition of *tinkathia.*

August 11: Gandhiji discussed *sharahbeshi* and made proposals at Champaran Committee meeting.

August 12: Champaran Committee held discussions with planters.

August 13: Gandhiji wrote to Chairman, Champaran Committee, on *sharahbeshi* and *tinkathia* and offered terms of compromise with planters.

August 14: Champaran Committee discussed Gandhiji's suggestions and adjourned.

August 15: Gandhiji complained to Manager, Pipra Indigo Concern, against molestation of *raiyats.*

August 16: Reached Patna on way to Ahmedabad, leaving behind volunteer camps at Bettiah and Motihari to continue welfare work.

August 20: In House of Commons, E. S. Montagu declared British Government's policy of "increasing association of Indians in every branch of the administration".

August 24: Gandhiji addressed meeting of business men held in Ahmedabad to demand release of Mrs. Besant and co-workers.

August 31: Told Mahadev Desai, "I have got in you the man I wanted" and asked him to join him.

September: In article entitled "Indian Colonial Emigration" in *Indian Review,* discussed implications of report of Inter-Departmental Conference held in London.

September 1: Government of India issued resolution embodying report of Inter-Departmental Conference held in London regarding emigration to Colonies.
Letter to Shankarlal Banker on satyagraha.

September 2: Gandhiji took part in Bombay Provincial Congress Committee meeting held to consider passive resistance campaign against coercive measures of Government.

September 4: Returned to Ahmedabad from Bombay.

September 11: Left Ahmedabad for Madras.

Before *September 13:* Drafted petition on behalf of Gujarat Sabha for presentation to Montagu.

September 17: Mrs. Besant, Wadia and Arundale released. Gandhiji arrived in Poona.

Contributed to Provincial Co-operative Conference paper on "Moral Basis of Co-operation".

September 18: Left Poona for Ranchi.

September 21: In Imperial Legislative Council, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya moved resolution urging holding of I.C.S. examination in India and England simultaneously.

September 22: Gandhiji reached Ranchi.

September 23: In interview with Lt.-Governor at Ranchi, discussed *sharahbeshi* and work of volunteers in Champaran.

September 24–28: Champaran Committee met in second and last session at Ranchi, Gandhiji participating.

September 25: Gandhiji wrote letter to Press on third class travelling on railways.

September 27: Wrote foreword to G. A. Natesan's booklet, *What India Wants: Autonomy within the Empire.*

September 29: Gandhiji signed agreement with leading planters at Ranchi regarding reduction of *sharahbeshi.*

October 2: Mrs. Besant unveiled portrait of Gandhiji in Gokhale Hall, Madras, on his birthday.

October 3: Gandhiji along with other members of Champaran Committee signed the report.

October 4: Wrote to Lt.-Governor regarding publication in the regional language of Government's resolution on Committee's report.

October 5: Reached Patna from Ranchi and left for Allahabad to attend Congress Committee meeting.

October 6: A.I.C.C. and Council of Muslim League met in joint session at Allahabad and decided to send all-India deputation to Viceroy and Secretary of State in support of Congress-League scheme.
Champaran Committee's report was accepted by Lt.-Governor-in-Council.

INDEX OF TITLES

Acknowledgement, **374**

(On) Ahimsa: Reply to Lala Lajpat Rai, **294-7**

Amendments to "Objects" of Imperial Indian Citizenship Association, **40**

Application for Membership, Gujarat Vernacular Society, **267**

(The) Ashram: An Estimate of Expenditure, **84-7**

Cable to Transvaal B.I. Association, **26**

Circular Letter for Funds for Ashram, **455-8, 460-3**

Confidential Note to Champaran Committee Members on *Sharabeshi*, **482-4**

Diary for 1915, **156-85**

Draft Constitution for the Ashram, **91-8**

Draft letter for V.G. Desai, **151**

Extracts from Minutes of Champaran Committee Meeting, **481-2, 486-7, 488-90, 491-3, 494-9, 539-42, 558**

(A) Few Words to Orphanages, **469-72**

Foreword to "What India Wants: Autonomy within the Empire", **556**

(The) Hindu Caste System, **301-3**

Indenture or Slavery?, **146-8**

Indentured Labour, **247-50**

Indian Colonial Emigration, **512-5**

Instructions for Workers, **369-70**

Instructions to Volunteers, **529-30**

Interview at: Lucknow, **324-5**; Rangoon, **42**

Interview to: A.P.I. on Benares 'Incident', **217-8**; Associated Press, Madras, **57**; (*The*) *Bombay Chronicle*, **1-2**; (*The*) *Madras Mail*, **54-6**; Press at Karachi, **257**; (*The*) *Times of India*, **2-3**

Interview with Lt.-Governor of Bihar, **436-8**

Introduction to "Vernaculars as Media of Instruction", **336-7**

Letter, Fragment of, **10, 76, 144, 326, 561**

Letter to: Agents of B.I.S.N. Company, **41**; Andrews, C.F., **17, 284**; Associated Press of India, **396**; Bajaj, Jamnalal, **482, 509, 551**; Bhave, Narhar Shambhurao, **279**; Bose, Satyanand, **531-2**; Chairman, Champaran Committee, **500-1**; Chhotalal Tejpal; **119-20, 121-2, 124**; Chief Secretary, Bihar, **423-6**,—and Orissa, **416-7**; Chief Traffic Manager, E. I. Railway, **28-9**; Chitalia, Karsandas, **208**; Darbhanga, Maharaja of, Extract from, **216-7**; Desai, Harilal, **383**; Desai, V.G., **152**; Deshpande, Gangadharrao, **271**; Deva, Dr. H. S., **335, 380, 411**; District Magistrate, Champaran, **367, 373, 374**; Edward, J.P., **397, 411**; Faering, Esther, **327, 329-30, 357-8, 360, 364, 371, 381, 384-5, 403, 418-9, 439-40, 442, 446, 451-2, 454, 466, 472, 485-6, 499, 526-7, 562**; Gait, Sir Edward, **560-1**; Gandhi, Chhaganlal, **246-7, 397-8, 414**; Gandhi, Jamnadas, **43-4, 383-4**; Gandhi, Khushalchand, **139**; Gandhi, Maganlal, **4-5, 19, 33-4, 37-9, 87-8, 100, 128-9, 137, 140, 258, 360-1, 363, 364, 365-6, 430-1, 432-4, 459, 473, 475, 515-6, 538, 552**,—Fragment of, **134-5**,

344-5; Gandhi, Manilal, **118, 355, 356**,—Fragment of, **115**; Gandhi, Narandas, **36-7, 62-3, 73, 90, 113, 125, 127, 330-1**; General Traffic Manager, G.I.P. Railway, **114-5**; Hancock, Major, **14**; Heycock, W.B., **377, 378, 381, 395, 404-6, 412-3, 415, 417-8, 421, 431, 449, 478**; Higginbottom, S., **330**; Holttum, A.K., **400-3**; Irwin, W.S., **415, 422-3**; Kalelkar, Kaka, **382-3**; Kotwal, **106, 274-5**; Kripalani, J.B., **372-3**; Lazarus, **48-50**; Lewis, W.S., **379-80**; McPherson, H., **441-2, 443, 449**; Madhuriprasad, **126**; Mathuradas Trikumji, **139, 487**,—Extract from, **31**,—Fragment of, **17-8, 120, 357**; Maude, W., **394**; Mehta, Kalyanji, **328, 331-2, 528**; Mehta, Kunvarji, **102, 291**; Morshead, L.F., **362-3, 395**; Munshiram, Mahatma, **18, 106-7, 378**; Natesan, G.A., **83, 99, 557**; *New India* on Benares 'Incident', **243**; Norman, J.B., **509**; Parikh, Narahari, **398-400**; Patwari, Ranchhodlal, **101, 103, 104-5**; Petit, J.B., **107-13, 265-6, 292, 453-4**; Polak H.S.L., **291, 371-2**; Popatlal, **486**; Prabhudas Bhagwandas, **14-5**; *Praja Bandhu*, **268-71**; Prasad, Ajit, **307**; Prasad, Ramnavami, **466-7**; (the) Press on Third Class Travelling on Indian Railways, **547-51**; Private Secretary to Viceroy, **368-9, 464-5**; Purshottamdas Thakurdas, **102**; Rudra, S.K., **376**; Saraiya, V.G., **327**; Sastri, V.S. Srinivasa, **88-9, 98, 119, 122, 125, 126, 127-8, 200, 431, 453, 559**; Schlesin, Sonja, **201**; Secretary, Passengers' Grievances Committee, Rangoon, **476-8**; Shah, Fulchand, **452-3, 460, 467-8, 484**; Shah, Sankalchand, **427-9**; Shah Virchand, **103, 275-6**; Shankarlal on 'Ideas About Satyagraha', **517-20**; Sheth, Ratilal M., **30**; Shukla, D.B., **31**; Singh, Maharaja Bahadur Sir Rameshwar, **435-6**; Sodha, Ratanshi, Fragment of, **156**; Sodha, Revashanker, **413-4**; Students of Bhavnagar Jain Boarding House, **274**; Sundaram, **118**; Sundaram, V.A., **344**; Tilak, B.G., **121, 124**; Umiyashanker, **99**; Vakil, Bhagwanji, **527, 560**; Wedderburn, Sir William, **32**; West, A.H., **72, 122-3, 129-30, 135-7, 138, 279-80, 292-3, 308-9**; West, Mrs. A. H., **293**

Message of Gokhale's Life, **202-8**

Minutes of Champaran Committee Meeting, **502-8, 542-7, 552-6**

(The) Moral Basis of Co-operation, **532-7**

National Gujarati School, **332-4**

Note(s) on the Situation in Champaran —III, **407-10**; V, **426**; VI, **444-6**

Notes on the Position in Champaran to Date, **391-4**

Our System of Education, **358-9**

Petition to E.S. Montagu, **528-9**

(The) Present System of Education, **297-300**

Presidential Address at All-India Common Script and Common Language Conference, Lucknow, **323**

Questions During Evidence before Champaran (Enquiry) Committee, **475, 479-80**

Railway Passengers, **284-7**

Rejoinder to Ramsay Macdonald, **361**

Replies to Questions at Poona Meetings, **20-1**

Reply Regarding Dress to *The Pioneer*, **450-1**
Reply to Mrs. Besant, **239-42**
Report of Condition of Ryots in Champaran, **385-90**
Resolution on Indenture System, Ahmedabad, **306**
Satyagraha—Not Passive Resistance, **520-6**
Speech: Against Press Act, **280-3**; (at) Ahmedabad Function, **144-6**, (at) Ahmedabad on Sarojini Naidu, **346**; (at) Allahabad on Education, Ancient and Modern, **318-9**; (at) All-India Common Script and Common Language Conference, Lucknow, **321-2**; (at) Anti-Indenture Meeting, Ahmedabad, **338-9**, — at Karachi, **354**, —Bombay, **342**, **343**,—Calcutta, **354-5**; (on) Arrival at Madras, **47**; (at) Arya Samaj Annual Celebrations, Surat, **186-90**; (at) Arya Samaj Function, Surat, **192-4**; (on) 'Ashram Vows' at Y.M. C.A., Madras, **225-35**; (at) Bavla, **201-2**; (at) Bagasra on Viramgam Customs Cordon, **151**; (at) Bangalore, **78-9**; (at) Belgaum, **272**; (at) Benares Hindu University, **210-6**; (at) Bhavnagar for Gokhale Memorial Fund, **149**; (at) Bombay Provincial Conference, Ahmedabad, **303-4**,—at Belgaum, **272-3**, —Poona, **116-7**; (at) Bombay Provincial Congress Committee Meeting, **516-7**; (at) Calcutta Reception, **35-6**; (on) Caste System, Ahmedabad, **277-9**; (at) Champaran Enquiry Committee Meeting, **474**; (at) Civic Reception, Bangalore, **81-3**; (at) Condolence Meeting, Ahmedabad, **268**; (at) Conference for Elevation of Untouchables, Gurukul, **259**; (at) Conference of Communities, Ahmedabad, **276-7**; (on) Defence of India Act, **305**; (on) Gokhale Anniversary at Godhra, **345**; (at) Gokhale Club, Madras, **50-1**; (at) Gokhale Condolence Meeting, Poona, **32-3**; (at) Gondal Rasashala, **15**; (at) Gondal on Gokhale, **148**; (at) Gurjar Sabha Reception, Bombay, **9-10**; (at) Gurukul, Hardwar, **46-7**; (at) Gurukul Anniversary, **260-4**; (at) Hardwar, **265**; (at) Home Rule League Headquarters, Karachi, **352**; (at) Hyderabad, Sind, **251**; (at) Hyderabad on Vaccination, **252**; (on) Indentured Indian Labour at Bombay, **130-4**; (on) India and the Colonies at Bombay Congress session, **153-5**; (on) Indian Women's University, **245-6**; (at) Industrial Conference, Bombay, **153**; (at) Jetpur on Gokhale Memorial Fund, **149**; (at) Kapol Hostel, Bombay, **23-4**; (at) Karachi, **255-6**, —on Gokhale, **254-5**; (at) Karachi Reception, **257**; (at) Kashi Nagari Pracharini Sabha, **209-10**; (at) Kathor, **198**: (at) Lakshmi Memorial Arya Pathshala, Madras, **67**; (at) Limbdi, **89**; (at) Lucknow Congress, **320-1**; (at) Madras Law Dinner, **59-60**; (at) Madras Social Service League, **235-9**; (at) Mahomedan Association, Surat, **197**; (at) Meeting of Business Men, Ahmedabad, **510**; (at) Mission School, Bombay, **17**; (at) Mota Varachha, **198-9**; (at) Muir College Eco-

nomic Society, Allahabad, **310-7**; (at) Muslim League Conference, Lucknow, **325-6**; (at) National Union Meeting at Bombay, **7-8**; (at) Navasari, **199-200**; (at) Nellore, **74-5**; (at) Parsi Theatre, Karachi, **353**; (at) Pherozeshah Mehta Condolence Meeting at Ahmedabad, **141-3**; (at) Poona on Gokhale Anniversary, **244-5**; (at) Poona Public Meeting, **22**; (at) Porbunder in Reply to Citizens' Address, **13**; (at) Prize Distribution, Gurukul, **259**; (at) Prize Distribution to Students in Bombay, **22-3**; (at) Public Reception, Bombay, **5-7**, —Madras, **51-3**; (at) Rajchandra Birth Anniversary, Ahmedabad, **143-4**; (at) Rajchandra Jayanti, Wadhwan, **307-8**; (at) Rajkot in Reply to Citizens' Address, **10-2**; (at) Reception at Badin, Sind, **258**, —at Darbargadh, **13**, —at Ghatkopar, **3**, —at Mayavaram, **69-71**, —at Tranquebar, **68**; (at) Reception by Ahmedabad Citizens, **16**, —by Arya Vaishya Mahasabha, Madras, **62**, —by Bhavnagar Modh Community, **150**, —by Calcutta Modh Community, **35**, —by Depressed Classes Society, Tranquebar, **68**, —by Gondal Citizens, **15-6**, —by Gujaratis of Madras, **67-8**, —by Indian Christians, Madras, **63**, —by Mahajan Sabha and Congress Committee, Madras, **56**, —by Muslim League, Madras, **58**, —by Porbunder Modh Community, **13**, —by Rajkot Modh Community, **12**; (at) Reception in Hyderabad, Sind, **250-1**; (in) Reply to Address, Karachi, **253-4**; (at) Salej, **186**; (at) Santiniketan on Gokhale's Death, **26-8**;—Reception, **24**, Servants of India Society, Bombay, **8**; (at) (at) Social Service League, Madras, **60-1**; (at) Students' Hall, Calcutta, **44-6**; (at) Students' Meeting, Nellore, **75**; (at) Surat, **186**, —on Indenture, **347-51**, —on Place of English, **191-2**, —Reception, **194-6**; (on 'the) Secret of Satyagraha in South Africa', **287-91**; (on) Swadeshi at Missionary Conference, Madras **219-25**; (on) Vernaculars and Education, Madras, **243**; (at) Viramgam, **148**; (on) Viramgam Customs Cordon, **306-7**; (at) Y.M.C.A., Madras, **64-7**; (at) Youth Association, Surat, **192**

Spreading Hindi, **419-20**

Statement: (on) Abolition of Indentured Labour, **339-42**; before the Court, **374-5** (at) Indian South African League Meeting, Madras, **76-8**; (on) Lionel Curtis' Letter, **328-9**; (to the) Press, **377-8**, —(on) Champaran Committee, **421**, —(on) Gokhale Anniversary, **343-4**

(A) Suggestion, **531**

Talk with: Bangalore Citizens, **79-81**; Mahadev Desai, **510-12**; Teachers of the National School, **446-8**

Telegram to: Andrews, C.F., **352**; Ashram, Ahmedabad, **376**; Chief Secretary, Bihar, **439**; Desai, V.G., **152**; Karsandas Chitalia, **25**; Kunzru, H.N., **25**; Maharaja of Kasimbazar, **351**; Private Secretary to Lt.-Governor of Bihar and Orissa, Puri, **377**

INDEX

A

ABEDA AIKYA ANANDA SAMAJUM, 58
Abhanga, 173
ADAJANIA, Sorabji Shapurji, 159, 195, 265, 266
ADAMI, 436, 491, 498, 505, 506, 540, 542 to 546, 553
ADWANI, Durgadas, 179, 196, 348, 351, 352
AHIMSA, 50, 65-6, 224, **228-9**, 252, **262, 294-7**
AIYAR, Sir Subrahmania, 51 *fn*
AIYER, N. Swaminatha, 67
AIYYAR, Venkatapar Seturam, 166
AKHANDANAND, 158, 164, 174, 274 *fn*
ALI, 518 *fn*
ALI, Mahomed, 165
ALL-INDIA COMMON SCRIPT AND COMMON LANGUAGE CONFERENCE, **321-3**
ALL-INDIA MUSLIM LEAGUE, 58, 156, 212, 241, 517, 528; Lucknow conference of, 325
ALWATT, 164
Amaranatha Jha: A Memorial Volume, 310 *fn*
AMARSINH, 176, 177
AMATHALAL, 171
AMBARISH, 296
AMMON, A., 475
(*The*) *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, 33 *fn*
ANANDBEHN, 17 *fn*, 357, 487
ANANDJI, Kunvarji, 467
ANARCHISM; has no place in India, 214, 215, 240, 241
ANDREWS, Charles Freer, 4, 5, 17, 18, 46, 119, 147, 159 to 161, 163, 179, 248, 284, 338, 341, 352, 355, 361 *fn*, 366, 370, 372, 376, 557 *fn*; and indenture system, 130, 339, 348, 349
ANNA, *see* SHARMA, Harihar
Antyajas, 17, 93, 276, 277. *See* also DEPRESSED CLASSES and UNTOUCHABLES
APPERLEY, F. W., 507
ARJAN LAL, 307
ARJUNA, 202
ARULMAYEE, 266
ARYA SAMAJ, 18 *fn*, 186 to 188, 190, 192, 193, 260; and *Shuddhi*, 325; (its) work, 263
ARYA VAISHYA MAHASABHA, 62, 166
ASHWORTH, E. H., 310
ASSASSINATIONS, 229; no place in India for political, 45, 65
(*An*) *Autobiography*, 143 *fn*, 159 *fn*, 160 *fn*, 164 *fn*, 200 *fn*, 224 *fn*
AYAMAL, 266
AYERST, Lieutenant, 207 *fn*
Ayodhya Kanda, 37 *fn*
AYURVEDA, 15
AYYANGAR, C. Srinivas, 167
AYYANGAR, S. Shrinivas, 60, 166

B

BABU, *see* MADHAVAN
BADAI, Bhardul Thakore, 397
BAHADURJEE, Mrs., 8
BAJAJ, Jamnalal, 182, 482, 509, 551
BALA, 84, 266
BALFOUR, Arthur James; and indenture system, 133
BALIAMA, *see* VALIAMMA
BALKRISHNA, 190
BALVANTRAI, 159
BANERJEA, Surendranath, 36 *fn*

BANERJI, Lalit Mohan, 310
BANKER, Shankarlal G., 467, 517
BANTOOS; and Indian claims in South Africa, 21
BAPTISTA, J., 7, 273
BARBHAIYA, Mulji, 24
BARCLAY, J., 400, 401
BARNES, 352
BARVE, 19, 159
BAWAZEER, Imam Abdul Kadir, 129, 136, 197, 247, 265, 266, 293, 516
BECHAR, 158, 182, 413
BEHRAM, Dr. Edul, 467
BEJANJI, 351
BELARAM, Diwan Wadhumal, 252
BELVI, D. V., 273 *fn*
BENARES; incident at meeting in, 215, 216, —and Gandhiji, **239-42**,—and Missionaries, 243
BENARES HINDU UNIVERSITY, 210
BENGAL; partition of, 215
(*The*) *Bengalee*, 46 *fn*, 468
BENJAMIN, Doctor, 182
BESANT, Annie, 51 *fn*, 74, 98, 99, 165, 166, 201, 210, 215, 217, 218, 239, 282, 452, 454 *fn*, 510 *fn*, 531 *fn*, 559 ; prohibition order against, 305; release of, demanded, **464-5**, 517, 519, 520, 525
BEYERS, General, 60
BHAGA, 247
BHAGAT, Akha, 145, 193, 399, 430
BHAGAT, Bapuji, 140, 182, 185
BHAGAT, Bhoja, 145
Bhagavad Gita, 70, 150 *fn*, 165, 202 *fn*, 220, 223, 232, 271, 433 *fn*
Bhagavata, 177, 189
Bhagini Samaj Patrika, 202 *fn*
BHAGIRATH, 323 *fn*
BHAGVANLAL, 158
BHAGWANDAS, *see* PRABHUDAS Bhagwandas
BHAICHANDJI, 179
BHAISHANKER, 171
BHAJEKAR, 174
BHANDARKAR, Sir Ramakrishna, 22, 339
Bharat Sevak, 301 *fn*
BHARATA, 37 *fn*, 39, 43, 81 *fn*, 275, 365
BHAVE, Narhar Shambhurao, 279
BHAVE, Vinoba, 279
BHIMJI, Ali Muhammad, 8
BHURGRI, 250
(*The*) *Bible*, 220, 321
BIBLE SOCIETY, 321
BION, 555
BITTMANN, 452
BOER WAR, 63 *fn*, 135 *fn*
(*The*) *Bombay Chronicle*, 1, 16 *fn*, 33 *fn*, 244 *fn*, 252 *fn*, 280, 329 *fn*
BOMBAY NATIONAL UNION, 7
— PROVINCIAL CONFERENCE, 305, 306
BOOTH, Dr., 63
BOSE, H., 163
BOSE, Sir J. C. 212, 221
BOSE, Satyanand, 531
BOTHA, General Louis, 3 *fn*, 57, 205
BOURDILLON, B. H., 310
Brahmacharya, 16, 17, 33, 34, 50, 92, 105, 177, 229, 269; observance of, by Gandhiji, 100
BRAHMO SAMAJ, 187
BRIAN, 50
BRITISH CONSTITUTION, 110, 464
— EMPIRE; and freedom of India, 216; and Gandhiji, **59-60**; rights and duties under, 66
— INDIA STEAM NAVIGATION COMPANY, 41, 476
— INDIANS; in Crown Colonies, 40, 154, 155; in South Africa, 1, 2, 3, 9, 20, 57, 62, 111
BUDDHA, 276, 277, 290, 296, 297, 314
BUDDHISM, 220

BUDHADURI, 46
BUSINESS MEN; and freedom of India, 510; and swadeshi, 255, 256

C

CACHALIA, Ahmed Muhammad, 58, 108, 109, 136, 195; death of his son, 354
CÆSAR, 221
CAMPBELL, Lord Colin, 346
CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN, Sir Henry, 248
CANTLIE, Doctor, 270
CAPE; licence laws in, 110
CASSIMBAZAR, Maharaja of, 35 *fn*, 351, 354
CASTE SYSTEM, 301-3
CHAITANYA, 314
CHAMANLAL, 131, 148
CHAMBERLAIN, Joseph, 142, 249, 256
CHAMPARAN; agrarian situation in, 368, 369, **385-90, 391-4, 407-10**, 426; fire at factories in, 395, 396, 406, 408, 409, 412-3, 424; Gandhiji invited to, 362, 363,— —asks workers to continue work in case of his arrest, 369-70,— (his) mission one of peace, 405 to 407,—refuses to leave, 367; intimidation of peasants by planters in, 407, 409, 410
—ENQUIRY COMMITTEE; acceptable on conditions, 407, 408; and *sharahbeshi*, 492, 497, 502, 506, 507, 552, 553; and *tawan*, 481, 482, 492, 508, 541, 542; and *tinkathia*, 488, 489, 494, 555; appointment of, 436, 443, 444; Gandhiji agrees to serve on, 439, 445; report of, 561; terms of reference for, 437; work of, defined, 435-43, 474
CHANDAVARKAR, 342
CHANDRAMANI, 174
CHANDULAL, 184, 185, 432
CHAPEKAR, Damodar Hari, 207 *fn*
CHARACTER, 17, 18, 45, 225, 226
CHATTERJI, Bankim Chandra, 64 *fn*
CHATUR, 182
CHAVDA, Hirji Bhimji, 84, 171, 178
CHELMSFORD, Lord, 339, 368 *fn*
CHETTIAR, C. Ramanujam, 67
CHETTY, Dewan Bahadur Puttana, 82 *fn*
CHETTY, Salla Guruswamy, 62 *fn*
CHETTY, V. Chakkarai, 63
CHHABILDAS, 19, 99
CHHAGANLAL, Master, 170
CHHAGANLAL GHORDHAN, Vakil, 151
CHHOTALAL TEJPAL, 19, 84, 119, 121, 124, 181, 414, 432, 459, 473
CHHOTAM, 266, 414
CHINTAMANI, C. Y., 310
CHINUBHAI, 141 *fn*, 143 *fn*, 179
CHITALIA, Karsandas, 25, 208
Chitramaya Jagat, 469 *fn*
CHRIST, Jesus, 220, 276, 277, 290, 313, 314, 317, 440, 485, 524, 531
CHRISTIAN LITERATURE DEPOT, 321
CHRISTOPHER, 49
CHUDGAR, Popatlal, 468
CHUNILAL, 179, 180
CHURCHILL, Winston, 532
CITIZENS' ASSOCIATION, KARACHI, 253, 354
CIVILIZATION; Indian, 21, 261; Western, 21, 65, 80, 261, 298, 319
CLARKE, Sir George, 141
CLIFFORD, Dr. John, 532
COLLINS, 533
CONGRESS, *see* INDIAN National Congress
CONSOLIDATED GOLD FIELDS OF SOUTH AFRICA, 141 *fn*
CORBETT, F. H. M., 59

Corinthians, 442 *fn*
Cox, Herbert, 378, 380
CRINDLE, 512
Cronprinz, s.s., 116
CROWN COLONIES; British Indians in, 154, 155
CUPPU, 84
CURTIS, Lionel, 328, 329, 338
CURZON, Lord, 204, 223

D

DAHYABHAI, 181
DALPATRAM, 169 *fn*, 171
DAMRI, Bejonji Meherwanji, 10 *fn*
DANA, 140
DANI, 8
DANIEL, 522, 531
DAS, 163
DASHARATHA, 81
DAVE, Baldeo Ram, 310
DAVE, Vithalji, 181
DAVIS, 179
DAVLE, Chintaman Sakharam, 148
DAWAD, Hoosen, 198
DAWOOD, Mulla, 162
DAYALJI, 174, 180 to 182
DAYANAND, Swami, 186 *fn*, 187, 262, 314
DECCAN SABHA, 20, 244
DECK PASSENGERS; difficulties of, 41, **476-8**
DEEPCHAND, 103
DEFENCE OF INDIA ACT, 305
DEPRESSED CLASSES, 61, 68; need to elevate, **276-9**. *See* also ANTYAJAS and UNTOUCHABLES
DESAI, Harilal Maneklal, 383
DESAI, Mahadev; Gandhiji's praise for, 510-1
DESAI, Pragji Khandubhai, 129, 136, 137, 173, 186 *fn*, 247, 308, 309, 331, 356
DESAI, Valji Govindji, 151, 152
DESHPANDE, Gangadharrao, 180, 271
DEVA, Dr. H. S., 31, 128, 140, 175, 183, 200, 335, 380, 411, 449, 453
DEVADHAR, G. K., 8, 159, 164, 533
DEVADOSS, M. D., 63
DEVCHAND UTTAMCHAND, 151, 185
DEVIBEHN, *see* WEST, Miss Ada
DEVKARANDAS, 172
DEVLE, 184, 185
DHARAMDHAR, 391
DHARAMSEY, D. Jamnadas, 281
DHARSIMAL, 164
Dheds, 93, 179; admission of, into Satyagraha Ashram, **127-8**, 144
DHRUVA, Anandshanker Bapubhai, 183, 399, 456, 463, 473
DHRUVA, Dewan Bahadur Keshavlal Harsadray, 399
DHULABHAI, *see* DUDABHAI
DIET; need for reforming, 269
DOCTOR, Jayakunvar, 181, 201
DOKE, J. J., 182
DRUMMOND, Henry, 442, 466 *fn*
DUDABHAI, 127 *fn*, 128, 179, 180, 276, 277
DUNN, 310
DURVASA, 296
DWARKADAS, 101

E

EDUCATION; aim of, 65, 259; ancient and modern, 318-9; elementary, 61; idea of, **358-9**, 399; necessity to reform, in India, 462; present system of, 298-300; through English 221, 318; through mother tongue, 211, 212, 221, 233, 243, 257, 298, 318, 319, 328
EDWARD, J. P., 397, 411
EMIGRATION; opposition to, 512-5
ENGLAND; and India, 222, 223

ENGLISH; and vernaculars, 70; as medium of instruction, 298; education through, 318; its place in India, **191-2**, 359
EQUALITY; legal, for British Indians in South Africa, 154
ESCOMBE, Harry, 146
EUROPEANS; and Indian claims in South Africa, 21
EWBANK, 459, 532, 533

F

FAERING, Esther, 327, 329, 357, 360, 364, 371, 381, 384, 403, 419, 439, 442, 446, 451, 452, 454, 466, 472, 485, 499, 526, 562
FAKIRA, 459
FAKIRI, 84, 161, 181
FATIMA, 518 *fn*
FEARLESSNESS, 66, 93; need for, 193 to 195, 199, 244, 253, **260-1**; vow of, 232
FERARD, H. C., 310
FIJI; indenture system in, 130-1
First Lessons in Tamil, 83 *fn*
FRANCIS OF ASSISI, St., 295
FULI, 10, 158

G

G. A. NATESAN & CO., 47, 76 *fn*, 557 *fn*
GAIT, Sir Edward, 438, 539, 560
GAJJAR, Tribhuvandas Kalyandas, 456, 462
GANDHI, Chanchalbehn, 134, 179
GANDHI, Chhaganlal, 57, 122, 129, 130, 135 to 138, 140 *fn*, 178, 246, 258 *fn*, 308, 309, 331, 363, 364, 366, 383 *fn*, 397, 398, 414, 430, 432, 434, 456, 462, 538
GANDHI, Devbhabhi, 180, 247
GANDHI, Devdas, 84, 118, 258, 363, 430, 432, 440, 484
GANDHI, Gangabehn, 90, 158, 169, 170
GANDHI, Harilal, 10, 19, 73, 134 *fn*, 158, 174, 176, 178, 179; his relations with Gandhiji, 36, 62, 161
GANDHI, Jamnadas, 19, 43, 73, 90, 113, 137, 140, 158, 164, 176, 178, 180, 184, 185, 246, 258, 266, 326, 383, 397, 511
GANDHI, Kashi, 331
GANDHI, Kasturba, 1, 3 to 9, 19, 23 *fn*, 28, 36, 41, 46, 47, 49, 56, 58, 63, 67, 68, 73 *fn*, 74 *fn*, 83, 84, 113, 127, 128, 137, 158, 160, 164, 171, 175, 181, 184, 440, 472, 477, 552
GANDHI, Khushalchand, 4 *fn*, 90, 113, 128, 137, 139, 246, 247, 331, 430, 432, 433
GANDHI, Krishnadas, 331
GANDHI, Lakshmidas, 12 *fn*, 46 *fn*, 90
GANDHI, Maganlal, 4, 10 *fn*, 19, 33, 37, 62, 84, 87, 90 *fn*, 100, 106, 109, 123, 128, 134, 136 to 138, 140, 160, 162, 163, 168 to 171, 174, 177, 181, 246, 258, 265, 266, 309, 344, 360, 363 to 365, 413, 414, 428, 430, 432, 459, 467, 468, 473, 475, 511, 515, 538, 552
GANDHI, Manilal, 84, 115, 118, 125, 134, 140, 171, 174, 175, 181, 309, 330 *fn*, 331, 355, 356
GANDHI, Mohandas Karamchand; and Christian Missionaries, 220; and cruelty to animals, 198, 199; and indenture system, 130-4; and Nationalist Party, 272; and World War I, 1; applies for life-membership of Gujarat Vernacular Society, 267; as disciple of Gokhale, 2, 3, 8, 9, 16, 22, 36, 42,

44, 54, 55, 57, 78, 250; demands removal of Viramgam Customs, 151, 306; explains his manner of dressing, 450-1, and why he goes about barefooted, 352; explains incident at Benares meeting, 217-8; (his) loyalty to British Empire, 59-60; misunderstanding between, and Harilal Gandhi, 36, 62, 161; studies Bengali, 5; surrenders Kaiser-i-Hind Medal to Government, 368; two vows taken by, 63

GANDHI, Nandkor, 90

GANDHI, Narandas, 19, 36, 62, 73, 84, 90, 113, 125, 127, 128 *fn*, 170, 172, 174, 180, 208, 265 *fn*, 330, 360, 383, 397, 433

GANDHI, Prabhudas, 84, 140, 258, 360, 363, 430, 484

GANDHI, Ramdas, 36, 63, 84, 161 to 163, 178, 258, 309, 310 *fn*, 329 to 331

GANDHI, Santok, 84, 90, 128, 159, 169, 179 to 181, 246, 432, 473

GANDHI, Shamaldas, 90, 113, 169

Gandhi and Marx, 456 *fn*

Gandhijini Sadhana, 37 *fn*

GANESH & Co., 82 *fn*

GAURI, Baji, 349

GEORGE, King, 214

GHORDHAN, *see* CHHAGANLAL Ghordhan, Vakil

GHOSH, Babu Motilal, 35 *fn*

GIBBON, T. M., 505 *fn*

GIDWANI, 310, 316

GIRJASHANKER, 171

Gitanjali, 78 *fn*

GOKHALE, Gopal Krishna, 6, 7, 14, 22 *fn*, 42, 44, 51, 52, 60, 66, 72, 74, 77, 82, 102, 107, 141, 143, 147, 148, 156, 159, 168, 190, 194 to 196, 200, 226, 244, 245, 247, 248, 251, 266, 278, 335, 361, 364, 380, 399, 484, 552; and Hindu-Muslim unity, 207; and indenture system, 130, 131, 146, 147, 153; death of 25, 26-8, 31 to 33, 35, **116-7**, 343 to 345; memorial for, 149, 151, 162, 196; political guru of Gandhiji, 2, 3, 8, 9, 16, 22, 36, 42, 44, 54, 55, 57, 78, 250 (his) services to country, **202-8, 245, 254-5**,—to South Africa Indians, 1, 3, 205, 206, 289

GOKHALE CLUB, MADRAS, 50

GOKIBEHN, *see* RALIATBEHN

GOKULDAS, 157 to 159, 168, 169, 306

GOMATIBEHN, 177

GONDAL, Thakore Saheb of, 15

GOPALJI, 185

GORDON, Lord, 295, 350, 525

GOURLAY, W. R., 400, 474, 547

GOVADIA, 364

GOVINDAS, LODD, 67, 68

GOVINDDAS, 166

GOVINDJI DAHYABHAI, 467

GOVINDSWAMY, 308

GRAHAM, Miss, 353 *fn*, 360, 364

(*The*) *Greatest Thing in the World*, 442 *fn*, 466

GREEN, 512

Gujarat Mitra ane Gujarat Darpan, 190 *fn*

GUJARAT VERNACULAR SOCIETY; Gandhiji applies for life-membership of, 267

Gujarati, 16 *fn*, 23 *fn*, 143 *fn*, 190 *fn*, 251 *fn*, 328 *fn*, 517 *fn*

GUJARATIS, 67, 68, 255

GUNAJI, 180

GUPTA, Makkhanlal, 183

GUPTA, Shiva Prasad, 310

GUPTA, Sir Krishna, 353

GURJAR SABHA, 9

GURTU, Rai Braj Narain, 310

GURUDEV, *see* TAGORE, Rabindranath

H

HAJIBHAI, 172
HALLEY, 165
HALLEY, Mrs., 165
HALWAI, Butai Sahu, 397
HAMIDIA ISLAMIC SOCIETY, 129 *fn*
HAMILTON, Daniel, 534
HANCOCK, Major, 14
(*A*) *Handbook of the Ordinary Dialect of the Tamil Language*, 83 *fn*
HANDLOOM INDUSTRY, 222, 334; necessity to revive, 461, 462
HANUMANTHRAO, 125
HAQUE, Muzharul, 371
HARAKHCHAND, 180, 181, 331
HARCHANDRAI, 354
HARDINGE, Lord, 214, 248, 305; and indenture system, 131, 153 *fn*, 155, 206, 338 to 341; and satyagraha in South Africa, 1 *fn*, 2, 290; and swadeshi, 223
HARIBHAI, 170
Harijan, 456 *fn*
HARILALBHAI, 185
HARIPRASAD, Dr., 344, 366, 414
HARISHCHANDRA, 167, 522
HARRIS, Lord, 141
HASAN, Wazir, 325
HASAN, Yakub, 58
HASSAN, Imam, 518
HATHIBHAI, 174
HEBER, Reginald, 376
HEMCHANDRA, 289
HEYCOCK, W. B., 367 *fn*, 377 to 379, 381, 395, 404, 408, 412, 415, 417, 418, 421, 424, 431, 449, 478, 479, 507, 553
HIGGINBOTHAM, 212, 214
HIGGINBOTTOM, 310, 316, 317, 330
HILL, 37 *fn*, 494, 495, 502, 539, 542, 552, 554, 555
HILL, Dr. E. G., 310
HILL, J. L., 492
HINDI; in South Africa, 21; is India's national language, 323, 324; need to learn, 209 to 211, 399; spreading of, necessary, 321-3, 419-20, 456, 457, 463
(*The*) *Hindu*, 66 *fn*, 225 *fn*, 242
HINDU(s), 9, 10, 13; in South Africa, 21; unity between, and Muslims, 162, 197, 198, 258, 304, 325
Hindu Nesan, 165
HINDU SOCIETY; need for reform of, 277-9
HINDU TEMPLES, 213
HINDUISM, 45, 187, 219, 220, 260; and untouchables, 69, 70; and vaccination, 252
Hindustan, 328
Hindvasi, 352
HIRANYAKASHIPU, 227 *fn*
History of India, 301
HODGE, 533
HOLLAND, 163
HOLTTUM, A. K., 400, 404
HOME RULE; and class divisions, 272
HORA, Dr., 347
HORNIMAN, B. G., 280, 281, 329
HOSSEIN, Moulvi Leakut, 96
HUDSON, 198, 542
HUMANITARIANISM; defined, 471
HUNTER, Sir William Wilson, 98, 146, 248, 301, 312, 338; and indenture system, 131
HUSSAIN, 518
HUSSEIN, Ghulam, 250

I

IMPERIAL CITIZENSHIP ASSOCIATION, 40, 155, 370
IMPERIAL LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL, 147
INDENTURE SYSTEM, 284; abolition of, demanded, 111, **130-4**, **153-5**, **247-50**, 306, 320, **338-43**, **348-51**,

354-5; and Lord Hardinge, 206 *fn*; evils of, **146-8**, 349; report of MacNeill and Chimanlal on, 148
INDIA; and England, 222, 316; culture of, 24; effect of European activity on 440; no place for anarchism in, 214, 215; poverty of, 79; superstitions in, 223
INDIAN AMBULANCE CORPS, 63
— ASSOCIATION, 163
— CIVIL SERVICE, 145, 216
Indian Empire, 131 *fn*
INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS, 5 *fn*, 6 *fn*, 151, 203 *fn*, 212, 241, 528; and Nationalist Party, 272, 273; Bombay Committee of, 516; Bombay session of, 153-5; British Committee of, 131 *fn*; Lucknow session of, 320-1
Indian Opinion, 49, 57, 72, 112, 123, 129, 130, 135 *fn*, 136, 138, 144 *fn*, 201 *fn*, 289, 308
INDIAN PRESS ASSOCIATION, 280
(*The*) *Indian Review*, 225, 513 *fn*, 514 *fn*, 556 *fn*
Indian Social Reformer, 201 *fn*
INDIAN SOUTH AFRICAN LEAGUE, 51 *fn*, 58 *fn*, 76, 77
— WOMEN'S UNIVERSITY, 245
INDIANS' RELIEF ACT, 77
— RELIEF BILL, 2, 48
INDRA, 39 *fn*
INDRAJIT, 39, 236, 237
INDUSTRIAL CONFERENCE; demands abolition of indenture system, 153
INTERNATIONAL PRINTING PRESS, 57 *fn*, 308, 309
IRWIN, W. S., 321, 415, 417, 421, 422, 450, 451, 468, 479, 490, 492, 494 to 496, 501, 503, 539, 542, 552 to 555, 558
ISLINGTON, Lord, 512
IYER, K. N. Aiya, 153

J

JAGMOHANDAS, Sir, 8
JAGMOHANDAS, Lady, 8
JAGMOHANDAS SHAMALDAS, 24
JAIKRISHNABHAI, 13
Jain Hitechchhu, 124
JAMAL, 162
JAMESON, 498, 555
JAMNA, 178
JANAHITARTHA KARYALAYA 201 *fn*
JANAKA, 365, 371, 380
JAPAL, 422
JATASHANKER, Vaidya, 172
JAYKER, Mrs. Sonabai, 8
JEEJIBHOY, Sir Jamsetji, 342
JESUS, *see* CHRIST, Jesus
JETHALAL, 176
JETHMAL PARASRAM, 352
JEVONS, Stanley, 310, 316
JEWS; and Yiddish, 336
JHA, Amaranatha, 310 *fn*
JHAVERI, Revashankar, *see* ZAVERI, Revashanker Jagjivan
JINNAH, M. A., 9, 303 *fn*, 304, 325, 453, 454
JIVANLAL, 168, 170, 434, 538
JOHNSTON, Edward Hamilton, 425, 431
JOITARAM, 180, 181

K

KABIR, 314
KAIKEYI, 81 *fn*
KAKU, 19, 84, 158, 169
KALELKAR, Dattatreya Balkrishna, 134, 161, 171, 180, 363, 382, 428, 432, 456, 462
KALI KAMLIWALA, Baba Ramnath, 163
KALIDAS, Becharlal, 467
KALLENBACH, Hermann, 5, 32, 54, 108, 116, 205, 366

KALYANDAS, 208
KANABARGI, R. S. Shivmurti Swami, 272
KANTHARIA, Bhogilal, 169
KANU, Gulli Sahu, 397
KAPOL COMMUNITY, 23, 24
KARACHI BANDHU MANDAL, 257 *fn*
KARIMBHAI, 179, 181
KARUNASHANKER, 177
KARVE, D. K., 22; and Indian Women's University, 245, 246
KARWELL, 310
KASHI NAGARI PRACHARINI SABHA, 209
KASHMIR, Maharaja of, 209 *fn*
Kathiawar Times, 23 *fn*, 284
KAUL, 160
KAVI, 181
KAWALDHARI, 415
KELKAR, N. C., 273 *fn*
KENNEDY, 175
KESARIPRASAD, 159
KESHAVAL, 170
KESHU, 33, 34, 84, 128, 137, 177
KEVALRAMBHAI, 11
KHAN, Sir Syed Ahmed, 10, 258
KHANDERIA, 185
KHAPARDE, G. S., 273 *fn*
Kheda Vartaman, 469 *fn*
KHIMJI, Rao Bahadur Vassanji, 3
KHRISTI, 159
KICHLU, 310
KITCHIN, Herbert, 135
KOLI, Fakira, 199
KOTHARI, Manilal, 170
KOTWAL, 106, 162, 164, 274
KRIPALANI, J. B., 372, 382, 429
KRISHNA, 16, 84, 177, 222, 223, 312
KRISHNA, Sir Bhalchandra, 8
KRISHNAMACHARIAR, V. T., 60
KRISHNARAO, 176
KRISHNASAMI, 258
KRISHNASWAMI, 178
KUMAR, 163
KUNZRU, Hriday Nath, 25, 159, 163, 169

L

LAJPATRAI Lala, 294
LAKSHMANA, 39, 236, 380
LALJI, 397, 433
LALLUBHAI SHAMALDAS, 173, 467
Land and Labour in a Deccan Village, 461 *fn*
LAW, Andrew Bonar, 340, 341
LAZARUS, 48, 258
(*The*) *Leader*, 310 *fn*, 547
LEADERS; premature death of political, 268-71
LEWIS, W. H., 379, 400, 406
LIMBDI, H. H. the Thakore Saheb of, 89 *fn*
LOHAR, Hiraman, 422
Lunka, s.s., 41
LUTHER, Martin, 277
LYALL, 277
Lycidas, 356
LYONS, P. C., 44, 163, 215, 217

M

Macbeth, 315 *fn*
MACDONALD, Ramsay, 361
MACKENZIE, 310
MACNAUGHTON, 512
MACNEIL, 131, 148
MCPHERSON, H., 438 441, 443, 449
MADGAONKAR, 181
MADHAVAN, *alias* BABU, 176
MADHAVDAS, 170
MADHAVJI, 73, 173
MADHAVLAL, Dr., 168
MADHAVLAL, Sir Chinubhai, 16 *fn*
MADHUBEN, 498
MADHURIPRASAD, 126
MADRAS BAR ASSOCIATION, 59
(*The*) *Madras Mail*, 54

MAFFEY, 368, 464
MAGAN, 84
Mahabharata, 43, 222
MAHADEVPRASAD, 174
MAHAJAN SABHA, MADRAS, 56, 166, 206 *fn*
MAHARAJ, Nanchandji, 185
Mahatma Gandhi: His Life, Writings and Speeches, 82 *fn*
Mahatma Gandhijina Patro, 37 *fn*
MAHAVIRA, 296, 297
MAHOMED, Dawad, 198 *fn*
MAHOMED, Prophet, 277, 314, 518 *fn*
MAHOMED, Saiyad, 397
MAHOMEDAN ASSOCIATION, SURAT, 197
MAHOMEDANS, *see* MUSLIMS
MAITLAND, Sir A. Steel, 512
MALAVIYA, Kapiladeva, 311
MALAVIYA, Madan Mohan, 162, 168 *fn*, 216, 218, 247, 248, 310, 317, 322, 323, 339 *fn*, 343, 352 *fn*, 354, 366, 370, 437, 439, 441, 442, 445, 507
MALAVIYA, Radha Kant, 310
MALAVIYA, Rama Kant, 310
MALKANI, 373
MAMA, *see* PHADKE, Mama
MANEKLAL, 169, 171, 176, 180, 182
MANGAL, 176
MANGALNATHJI, 164
MANI, 168
MANIKKAVACHAGAR, 118 *fn*
MANKAD, P. C., 252
MANN, Dr., 461
MANASUKHLAL, 176, 177, 467
MANSUKH, 170
MARAKKAYAR, Thambi, 320
MARJORIBANKS, 320
MARK, St., 313
MARSHALL, 311
MASHRUWALA, Kishorelal, 432, 456, 462, 463
MATHURADAS TRIKUMJI, 17, 31, 120, 139, 357, 487
MAUDE, W., 392, 394
MAVJI, 430, 516
MAX MULLER, 66
MEDH, Bapubhai Dolatrai, 158, 174
MEDH, Surendrarai, 16, 310 *fn*, 356
MEGHANAD, 39 *fn*
MEHROTRA, K. K., 310 *fn*
MEHTA, Chhagan, 162
MEHTA, Jagjivandas, 182
MEHTA, Jivaraj, 23
MEHTA, Kalyandas Jagmohandas, 90
MEHTA, Kalyanji Vithalbhai, 328, 331, 528
MEHTA, Kunvarji, 102, 291
MEHTA, Nanalal C., 144 to 146
MEHTA, Sir Pherozeshah, 5, 6, 98, 145, 183; death of, **141-3**
MEHTA, Dr. Pranjivan, 25 *fn*, 140, 143 *fn*, 162, 181 *fn* 201 *fn*, 336, 467
MERH, *see* MEDH, Surendrarai
MERRIMAN, 205
MESTON, Sir James, 512
MILK; legacy of non-vegetarian past, 105
MILL, 311
MILTON, John, 356 *fn*
MIRABAI, 442, 517, 522, 531
MISSIR, Gokul, 402
MIYAKHAN, 158
(*The*) *Modern Review*, 294
Modh COMMUNITY, 12, 13, 35, 150, 157, 158, 185
MODI, 158
MOHAMMAD, Nawab Syed, 56
Moksha, 33, 43
MONTAGU, E. S., 517, 520; petition to, 528-9
MONTESSORI, Dr. Maria, 177 *fn*
MOODY, 310
MOOSA, Hajee Ismail, 140
MOOSA, Seth Ismail, 183

MORARJI, Narottamdas, 467
MORSHEAD, L. F., 362, 395
MOTHER TONGUE; education through, 211, 212, 257, 318, 319; progress possible only through, 94
MOTI, 161
MOTICHAND, 331
MUEZZIN, Abdul Sahiba, 58
MUKTANAND, 202, 203
MULCHAND, 174
MUNSHI, K. M., 9
MUNSHIRAM, Mahatma, 18, 46, 47, 106, 260, 263, 378
MUSHRAN, Shamnath, 310
MUSLIM(s), 9, 10, 13; in South Africa, 21; unity between Hindus and, 162, 197, 198, 258, 304
MUSLIM LEAGUE, *see* ALL-INDIA MUSLIM LEAGUE
MUZUMDAR, 153

N

NAGAPPEN, 52
NAGIN, 428
NAGINDAS, 159, 160
NAGJI, Swami, 157, 158, 175, 179
NAIDOO, Fakiri, 134, 138
NAIDOO, Thambi, 108, 136, 201
NAIDU, Sarojini, 346 to 348
NAIKER, 83, 84, 98, 127, 167, 183
NAIR, Sir Sankaran, 259, 278
NANABHAI, 171, 179
NANAK CHAND, 259, 314
NANALAL, Kavi, 169, 170, 175
NANDI, Maharaja Manindra Chandra, 354
NANUBHAI, 179
NAOROJI, Dadabhai, 6, 145, 270
NARANJI, Kanbi, 84, 180, 182, 183
NARANSAMI, 137
NARANSAMY, 266
NARAYANA, Swami, 164
NARAYANSAMY, 52
NARMAD, 195
NARMADASHANKER, 172
NARMADASHANKER, Poet, 348
NAROTTAMDAS, 161
NATAL; licence laws in, 110
— INDIAN ASSOCIATION, 198 *fn*
NATARAJAN, 172, 180
NATARAJAN, Kamakshi, 201
NATESAN, G. A., 51, 60, 74 *fn*, 78 *fn*, 83, 99, 165, 167, 170, 210, 236 *fn* to 238 *fn*, 556, 557
NATESAN, Mrs. G. A., 83
NATESAN & Co., *see* G. A. NATESAN & Co.
NATIONAL GUJARATI SCHOOL, **332-4**, 399, **427-9**, **446-8**, 456, 462
NATIONALIST PARTY; and Indian National Congress, 272-3
Navajivan, 182 *fn*
NAVIN, 84, 177, 179
NAZAR, 135 *fn*
NEPAL, 163
NEPALI, 422
New India, 218 *fn*, 226 *fn*, 235 *fn*, 239, 243, 244 *fn*, 282, 328
NICHHABHAI, 179
NILKANTH, Vidyagauri R., 182 *fn*, 246
NOGIN, 140
NON-HOARDING, 17, 38
NON-POSSESSION, 92
NON-STEALING, 17, 38, 92
NON-VIOLENCE, 17, 37, 38, 91
NORMAN, J. B., 492, 494, 495, 509, 539, 544, 552, 553, 555, 558
NUT, 77

O

ODHAVA, 202, 203
OJHA, 310
ORPHANAGES, 469-72
OZA, Bhaishanker, 175

P

Padamji, Sirdar Nowroji, 22
Padhiar, 164
Painter, 175, 182
Paluskar, Vishnu Digambar, 251
Pandit, 11, 169, 177, 179, 184
Pandit, Shanker, 163
Pandit, Sitaram, 467
Panditji, 176
Pandurang, 182
Pandya, Kameshwar, 428, 467
Paramananddas, 185
Paranjpe, R. P., 245
Parekh, Devchand, 157, 467
Parikh, Narahari, 364, 398, 432, 456, 462, 552
Parmar, Mulchand, 177, 181
Parmar, Ratansinh, 175, 177
Parsi Samsar, 257 *fn*
Parthasarathi, 84, 137, 177
Parvati, 180
Passive Resistance, 50, 80, **517-26**; in South Africa, 1, 20, **76, 77, 107**
— Fund, 7 *fn*, 129, 308, 309, —(its) account, 265, 295-6, —allocation of, 122-3, **135-7**
Passive Resisters, 154; monetary support for, 136, 137, 266, 292
Pataliputra, 455
Patanjali, 31 *fn*
Patel, Maganbhai, 19, 34, 84, 134, 170 to 172, 174, 177, 265, 266, 274
Patel, Mulji, 161, 164, 366, 468
Patel, Narandas, 140
Patel, Purushottam, 177, 178
Patel, Raojibhai, 34, 164, 171
Patil, Govindrao Appaji, 183, 268, 269
Pattani, Sir Prabhashanker, 149, 173, 467
Patwari, Ranchhodlal, 15 *fn*, 19, 84, 102 to 104, 157, 158, 160, 168 to 170, 467
Pearson, William Winstanley, 5, 147, 179, 248; and indenture system, 130, 339
Peter, 314
Peterson, Anne Marie, 327, 329, 360, 403
Petit, Sir Dinshaw, 153 *fn*
Petit, Jehangir Bomanjee, 40 *fn*, 77, 107, 123, 135, 140, 161, 171, 172, 180, 265, 292, 293, 309, 348, 363, 453
Petit, Mrs., 515
Phadke, Mama, 173, 178, 184, 274, 432, 433
Phœnix Settlement, 108, 123, 136 *fn*
Pilgrim's Progress, 232, 280
Pim, A. W., 310
Pindaris, 255
(*The*) *Pioneer*, 421, 466, 468, 479; Gandhiji's reply to its remarks about dress, 450-1
Pittendrigh, Rev. George, 225 *fn*
Polak, H. S. L., 57, 108, 135, 136, 138, 173, 201, 291, 293, 309, 310, 338, 339, 348, 357, 358, 360, 366, 371, 418, 440, 466, 511, 516
Polak, Mrs. H. S. L., 357, 358, 360, 418, 515
Politics, 95, 234; and religion, 66
Popatlal, 162, 163, 170, 171, 184, 185, 344, 468, 486
Pope, Dr. G. U., 83, 113
Poverty; cause of India's, 79; swadeshi only cure for, 222, 223
Poverty and Un-British Rule in India, 6 *fn*
Prabhudas Bhagwandas, 14
Pragjee, Hansraj, 8
Prahlad, 91, 227, 233, 517, 522, 531
Prahlad Akhyan, 167

Prajabandhu, 144 *fn*, 268
PRAKASHANAND, 180
PRANLAL, 163
PRASAD, Ajit, 307
PRASAD, Brijkishore, 370, 378, 379, 391, 450, 466, 500
PRASAD, Rao Bahadur Chandrika, 311
PRASAD, Gorakh, 369, 372, 391
PRASAD, Dr. Mahadev, 169
PRASAD, Dr. Rajendra, 391
PRASAD, Ramnawami, 391, 466
Pratap, 459
PRATT, 175, 179
PRESS; repression of, 281-3
PRINCES; their display of wealth, 241
(*The*) *Problem of Education*, 297 *fn*
PROGRESS; moral and material, 311-6
PUNJABHAI, 170, 176, 182, 184, 185, 366, 432, 433, 460, 467, 468
Puranas, 189
PUROH, 266
PURUSHOTTAM, 128, 176
PURUSHOTTAMDAS, 184

R

RADHA, 10, 84, 181
RAGHAVENDRA, 122
RAHIM, Abdur, 361
RAHIMTULLA, Sir Ibrahim, 130 *fn*
RAI, Jadu, 423
RAI, Lajpat, *see* LAJPATRAI, Lala
RAI, Lakhan, 415, 479, 480
RAI, Man Singh, 423
RAICHANDBHAI, *see* RAJCHANDRA
RAILWAYS; difficulties of third-class passengers in, 28-9, 114, 213, 239, **284-7, 547-51**
RAINY, G., 436, 490, 491, 493, 496 to 498, 500, 506 to 508, 539 to 541, 543 to 546, 553, 556
RAJAM, A. S., 243
RAJANGAM, 84, 162
RAJCHANDRA, 143, 170, 294, 307
RALIATBEHN, 10, 90, 158, 184
RAMA, 37 *fn*, 39, 81 *fn*, 190, 236, 365, 366, 371, 380, 427, 552
RAMAKRISHNA, 314, 317
RAMAMURTI, 170
RAMANBHAI, 174
RAMANUJACHARIAR, V. K., 69
Ramayana, 26, 37 *fn*, 43, 113, 222, 236, 365 *fn*, 382
RAMJIBHAI, Munshi, 187, 467
RAMKUNVAR, 357
RAMNARAYANJI, 551
RAMRAJ, Aluri, 166
RANADE, 203
RANADE, Ramabai, 8, 116
RAND, W. C., 207
RAO, Krishna, 467
RAO, Dewan Bahadur Ramachandra, 167
RATI, 84
RAUT, Sant, 475
RAVANA, 39 *fn*, 236, 522
RAY, Sir P. C., 35, 212, 221
REDFORD, 310
REID, D., 436, 438, 481, 487, 488, 490, 492, 493, 495, 497, 498, 502, 504 to 508, 539 to 547, 553, 555, 558
RELIGION, 226; and politics, 66, 221
Report of the Committee on Co-operation in India, 535
ROBERTS, 32
ROBERTS, Charles, 1 *fn*
ROBERTSON, 152, 159
ROY, Mrs., 163
ROY, Raja Ram Mohan, 187 *fn*
RUDRA, Sushil Kumar, 376
RUKHI, 84, 181
RUSKIN, 143, 356, 537
RUSTOMJEE, Parsee, 130, 135, 200, 292, 293

S

SADASHIV, 382
SADHU, Ratanchandji, 172
SAH, Mahajan Liladhar, 422
SAHAY, 465
SAHAYA, Shyamji, 275
ST. AIDAN'S MISSION, 63 *fn*
St. Matthew, 312 *fn*
SAKHARAM, Chintaman, 184
SALISBURY, Lord, 30
SALVATION ARMY, 470
SALWALA, Karimbhai, 177
SAM, *see* GOVINDSWAMI
Samalochak, 146 *fn*
SAMBHUSARAN, 391
SANATAN DHARMA NITISHIKSHAN PRAVARTAK SAMITI, 22 *fn*
SANATANA DHARMA CONFERENCE, 167
SANATANA DHARMA NITI MANDAL, 159
SANDERSON, Lord, 132, 146
SANDHYA, Totaram, 126
SANTOK, *see* GANDHI, Santok
SANTOKBABU, 159
SAPRU, Dr. Tej Bahadur, 310, 453
SARABHAI, Ambalal, 158, 171, 179, 455 *fn*, 460, 467
SARAIYA, Vrijlal Govindlal, 327
SARAN, Iswar, 310
SARKHEJ, 181
SAROD, 161
SARVAJANIK SABHA, POONA, 20, 204
SARVANNATH, 163
SASTRI, Mrs., 89
SASTRI, V. S. Srinivasa, 51 *fn*, 60, 64 *fn*, 68, 74, 88, 98, 119, 122, 125 to 127, 167, 171, 173, 200, 370, 380, 382, 411, 431, 453, 460, 559
SASTUN SAHITYAVARDHAK KARYALAYA, 158, *fn* 274
SATYADEVJI, 459
SATYAGRAHA, **37-8**, 531, 532; in South Africa, 52, 53, **287-91**, — Gokhale's Support to, 1, 3, 205, 206, 289
— ASHRAM, 33, 158; activities in, 144; admission of *Dheds* in, 144; funds for **455-8**, **460-3**; setting up of, **83-7**, **91-8**; vows of, **91-3**, **225-35**
Satyagraha in South Africa, 151 *fn*, 280 *fn*
SCHLESIN, Sonja, 173, 201, 309, 356, 448, 511
SEARLE, Justice, 77 *fn*
SELBORNE, Lord; and indenture system, 131, 132
Select Documents on Mahatma Gandhi's Movement in Champaran, 505 *fn*, 528 *fn*
SELF-GOVERNMENT, 212, 213
SELF-REALIZATION, 127
SELVAN, 72, 76, 167
SEN, Hemendra Nath, 36, 162
SERVANTS OF INDIA SOCIETY, 8, 19, 20, 25 *fn*, 26, 50, 64, 66, 79, 88, 98, 119, 122, 140 *fn*, 148, 149, 159, 160, 164, 184 *fn*, 187 *fn*, 200, 203, 226, 244, 251, 255
SERVANTS OF PEOPLE SOCIETY, 294 *fn*
SETALVAD, Sir Chimanlal Harilal, 17, 280
SETLUR, S. S., 242
SETON, 512
SHAH, Fulchand Kasturchand, 326, 344, 345, 363, 382, 432, 434, 452, 456, 460, 462, 467, 473, 484, 516
SHAH, Sankalchand, 326, 427, 432, 456, 462
SHAH, Virchand Panachand, 103, 275
SHANKARACHARYA, 80, 104, 314
SHANTI, 19, 84, 157, 158, 169
Sharahbeshi; and Champaran Enquiry

Committee, 492, 497, 502, 506, 507, 552, 553; Gandhiji demands reduction of, 481, 491, 492, 495, 498, 500 to 503, 539
SHARAF, 170
SHARDABEHN, 176, 182
SHARMA, Harihar, 106 *fn*, 134, 162, 171, 177, 178, 258, 274
SHARMA, Krishnaswami, 140, 165, 176
SHASTRAS, 226, 241, 261
SHASTRI, 366
SHASTRI, Chintamani, 383
SHASTRI, Girijashankar, 456
SHASTRI, Jamiatram, 171
SHASTRI, Jivaram Kalidas, 15 *fn*
SHASTRI, Madhavji, 171
SHETH, Abdul Karim, 177
SHETH, Jamal, 162
SHETH, Keshavaji, 16
SHETH, Mangaldas, 84 *fn*, 158, 168, 170, 172, 175, 178, 467, 516
SHETH, Motilal, 176
SHETH, Ratilal M., 30, 151 *fn*, 467
SHINDE, 160
SHIVA, 338 *fn*
SHIVARAMAN, 176, 180
SHIVPUJAN, 84, 266, 468
SHIVRAM, 258
SHRADDHANAND, *see* MUNSHIRAM, Mahatma
SHROFF, Manmohandas, 22
SHUKLA, Dalpatram Bhavanji, 11, 31, 157, 158, 434, 437, 467
SHUKLA, Rajkumar, 360 *fn*
SHYAMLAL, 175
SIBPRASAD, 266
SIKH SAMAJ, 187
SIMON, Rev., 166, 258
SINGH, Harbat, 6, 11 *fn*, 35, 36, 53
SINGH, Raja Harihar Prasad Narayan, 216, 217, 239, 436, 438, 481 *fn*
SINGH, Lomraj, 501
SINGH, Maharaja Sir Rameshwar, 435
SINGH, Sultan, 165
SINHA, Anugrah Narain, 391
SINHA, Arikshan, 363
SINHA, Raja Kirtyanand, 481, 491, 500, 506, 542 to 544
SINHA, Mahish Charan, 46
SINHA, Sir Satyendra Prassano, 353, 512
SITA, 37 *fn*, 365
SLADEN, 157
SLADEN, Mrs., 158
SLY, Sir Frank George, 436, 474 *fn*, 500
SMITH, Adam, 311
SMITH, Langdale, 173
SMUTS, General, 60, 77, 117, 205, 532; and satyagraha in South Africa, 1
SOCIAL SERVICE, **60-1, 235-9**
SOCIAL SERVICE LEAGUE, BANGALORE, 60, 78 *fn*, 166
SOCRATES, 522
SODHA, Chhotu, 99, 156 to 158
SODHA, Ratanshi, 156
SODHA, Revashanker, 134, 156, 181, 413, 414
SONI, Mohan, 177
Source Material for a History of the Freedom Movement in India, 273 *fn*
SOUTH AFRICA; British Indians in, 2, 3, 9, 20; satyagraha in, 1, 52, 53, 76, 77, 107, 154, **287-91**
SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT, 20, 117
— INDIAN FUND, 107 *fn*, 138 *fn*
— LEAGUE, 165
SOUTH INDIAN DEPRESSED CLASSES SOCIETY, 68
Speeches and Writings of Mahatma Gandhi (Natesan), 44 *fn*, 78 *fn*. 235 *fn*

SRI PRAKASH, 310
STILL, C., 379
(*The*) *Story of My Experiments with Truth, see* (*An*) AUTOBIOGRAPHY
SUBRAMANIAM, Sir, 177
SUBRAMANIAM, K. C., 68
SUBRAMANIAM, Mrs. T., 63
SUBRAMANIAM, Rev. T., 63, 166
SUFFRAGETTE MOVEMENT, 520
SUGUNAVILAS SABHA, 167
SUNDAR LAL, Dr., 310
SUNDARAM, V. A., 83, 84, 98, 118, 168, 171, 178, 344
SURAT DISTRICT PATIDAR YOUTH ASSOCIATION, 192
SURENDRA, 452
SURJU, 168
SWADESHI, 70, 71, 93; and self-government, 251, 254; in religion, politics and economics, 219-25; means education through vernaculars, 221-2; need for, 261; vow of, 231-2; will alone remove poverty, 222, 223
SWAMI, 174
SWAMINARAYAN, 176
SWARAJ SCHEME, 531; petition regarding, 528-9
SWEENEY, J. A., 483, 497, 500, 501, 553, 554
SYDENHAM, Lord, 141 *fn*

T

TAGORE, Rabindranath, 4 *fn*, 24, 37 *fn*, 39, 78 *fn*, 161, 163, 339
TAKRU, Jagjivan Nath, 310
Talks on the Gita, 279 *fn*
TALLENTS, 438
TAMILS; and passive resistance in South Africa, 42, 52, 108
TANDON, M. C., 310
TANDON, Purushottam Das, 310
TANNER, 438
TAPIDAS, 161, 164
TATA, Sir Dorabji Jamsetji, 153 *fn*, 256
TATA, Jamshetji Nasarwanji, 256 *fn*
TATA, Ratan, 77, 172, 180, 256
Tattvabodhini Patrika, 26 *fn*, 28 *fn*
Tawan, 541, 543; abolition and refund of, 481, 482, 492, 508
TEA, dangerous for health, 270
TEJPAL, *see* CHHOTALAL Tejpal
TELANG, Justice, 269
TEWARI, Sitaram, 403
(*A*) *Text Book of Indian History*, 83 *fn*
THAKERSEY, Vithaldas, 8
THAKKAR, Amritlal, 127 *fn*, 137, 159, 174, 179, 182, 457, 461, 467, 515 *fn*, 516, 538, 552
THAKKAR, Gopalji, 467
THAKORE, Balwantrai Kalyanrai, 552
THAKORELAL, 516
THAKORERAM, 351
THAKURDAS, Sir Purushottamdas, 102
THEOSOPHICAL SOCIETY, 74 *fn*, 81
THOMPSON, 310
THOREAU, 270
THREE-POUND TAX, 110, 117
TILAK, Bal Gangadhar, 7, 121, 124, 159, 174, 273, 335, 516, 517
(*The*) *Times*, 288
(*The*) *Times of India*, 2, 121, 154, 200 *fn*, 349
Tinkathia; abolition of, 488, 489, 494, 555
TOLSTOY, Count Leo, 143, 270, 297, 531
TOLSTOY FARM, 54, 108, 116 *fn*
TOTARAM, 284
TRAMBAKLAL, 174, 176, 178
TRANSVAAL BRITISH INDIAN ASSOCIATION, 26, 58 *fn*, 108, 354
— INDIAN WOMEN'S ASSOCIATION, 309

— LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL, 328 *fn*
TRIBHUVANDAS VARJIVANDAS, 24 *fn*
TRIKUMJI, *see* MATHURADAS Trikumji
TRUTH, 17, 23, 38, 39, 50, 91, 193, 521, 526; and love, 442, 446; Gandhiji's observance of, 100; vow of, 226-8
TULSIDAS, 26, 37 *fn*, 39, 43, 210, 522
TYOBJI, Hussain, 99, 166, 433

U

UMIYASHANKER, 99, 157
UNION OF ETHICAL SOCIETIES, 366 *fn*
UNITY; between Hindus and Muslims, 162, 197, 198
UNTOUCHABILITY, 93; and religion, 232
UNTOUCHABLES, 120; and Hinduism, 69, 70; equality for, 259; vow regarding, 232-3. *See* also ANTYAJAS and DEPRESSED Classes
Upanishads, 208 *fn*
UTTAMCHAND, *see* DEVCHAND Uttamchand

V

VACCINATION; religious objection to, 252
VADILAL, 175
Vairagya Prakarana, 173
VAJSURWALA, Darbar Shri, 151
VAKIL, Bhagwanji Anoopchand, 527, 560
VALIAMMA, 11 *fn*, 35, 36, 52, 108
VALJI, 180, 184, 185
VALLABH, 104
VANAMALI, 176
VARDACHARI, Krishnamachari, 166
VARJIVANDAS, *see* TRIBHUVANDAS Varjivandas
Varnashram, 94, 324, 325, 522
VASISTHA, 82
Vedanta Kesari, 336
VERMA, Bindhyabasini Prasad, 413
VERNACULARS, 233, 243, 336-7
Vernaculars as Media of Instruction in Indian Schools and Colleges, 336
VICEROY; precautions to protect, 214, 217, 240, 241, —a matter of shame, 216
VIDYASAGAR, Ishwar Chandra, 143
VIJAYARAGHAVACHARIAR, T., 60
VIKRAMSINH, 176
VIOLENCE; condemned, 217, 218
VIRAMGAM CUSTOMS; demand for removal of, 151, 306
VISHNU, 194 *fn*, 233, 294 *fn*
VISHWAMITRA, 380
VITHALRAI, 170, 184
VORA, Vrajlal, 140, 170, 178 to 181, 183, 398, 432

W

WADIA, H. A., 342
WADIA, H. W., 22, 244
WALKING; value of, 270
WALLACE, 315
WEAVING, 95, 536
WEDDERBURN, Sir William, 32
WELBY COMMISSION, 204
WESLEYAN MISSION, 63
WEST, A. H., 57, 72, 109, 122, 129, 135, 138, 279, 280 *fn*, 292, 293, 308
WEST, Mrs. A. H., 280, 293
WEST, Miss Ada, 167, 176, 185, 308
WESTON, 164
What India Wants: Autonomy within the Empire, 556, 557 *fn*
WHITEHEAD, Mrs., 235 *fn*
WHITESIDE, 532
WHITTY, 483, 500, 504
WILLINGDON, Lord, 9 *fn*, 33, 261

WINTERBOTTOM, Florence, 366
WOMEN; education for, 245, 246
WORLD WAR I; and Gandhiji, 1

Y

YAGNIK, Indulal, 182
YAZID, 518 *fn*
Yogadarshan, 31
Young India, 219 *fn*, 467 *fn*
Y.M.C.A., 64, 165, 225

Z

ZAVERCHAND, 173
ZAVERI, Revashanker Jagjivan, 25, 37, 63, 83 *fn*, 84 *fn*, 90, 102, 143 *fn*, 175, 266, 434, 467, 484

ERRATA

PAGE	FOR	READ
143, Footnote 2	Jagmohan	*Jagjivan*
418, item 324, line 5	Chhalauni	*Chhatauni*
423, line 5	100	*10*

